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CATHAY AND THE WAY THITHER

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CATHAY
AND THE WAY THITHER

BEING A COLLECTION OF
MEDIEVAL NOTICES OF CHINA

TRANSLATED AND EDITED
BY
COLONEL SIR HENRY YULE, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I.
CORR. INST. FRANCE

WITH A
PRELIMINARY ESSAY
ON THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WESTERN NATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE ROUTE

NEW EDITION, REVISED THROUGHOUT IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES

BY
HENRI CORDIER, D.LITT., HON. M.R.A.S.,
HON. COR. M.R.G.S., HON. F.R.S.L.
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MISSIONARY FRIARS—RASHÍDUDDÍN—PEGOLOTTI—MARIGNOLLI

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II

LETTERS AND REPORTS OF MISSIONARY FRIARS FROM CATHAY AND INDIA

II

LETTERS AND REPORTS OF MISSIONARY FRIARS FROM CATHAY AND INDIA

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES

THE first two letters in this part of our collection are from the pen of John of MONTE CORVINO, the founder of those Catholic missions in China which enjoyed so much apparent prosperity during the continuance of the Mongol dynasty, and also the first Archbishop of Cambalec or Peking. They are transcribed by Wadding from an old chronicle which he assigns to Odoric of Pordenone, erroneously as we have seen[1].

The third document also, I believe to contain, for reasons which will be given, a letter from the same ecclesiastic, of earlier date than the two preceding.

The birth of this John is fixed to about the year 1247, by an incidental allusion in the first of these letters. The place of his birth is doubtful, as the honour has been claimed by two towns or villages of the name; one in the Capitanata near Lucera, and the other about fifteen miles east of Salerno in the Principato Citra[2].

[1] *Ante*, p. 22.

[2] Wadding (vi, p. 94) mentions the double claim. The former village is marked in Murray's map as Pietra Montecorvine, about twenty-two miles west of Foggia.

["Joannem hunc ab oppido nativo, de Monte Corvino cognominatum diximus, idque in Apulia Daunia situm: sed alii non hoc sed altero ejusdem nominis majori, & nobiliori oppido Montis Corvini non longe a Salerno, & flumine Silario inter Picentenos in Principatu citeriori, natum contendunt: quorum pio studio facile cedo, dum apud se ortum ostenderint; neque enim tantum virum Apulis eripere,

The first mention of him that I have found is on the occasion of his being sent in 1272, already a Franciscan, by the Emperor Michael Palæologus to Pope Gregory X, with a communication on the subject of that union of the Greek Church with Rome, which the Emperor, in his own supposed interest, professed to promote, though his efforts ended only in his being excommunicated by one of Gregory's successors, and denied Christian burial by his own.

John was sent back to the east with several companions, probably soon afterwards, and appears to have remained abroad till 1289, when he returned to the Papal Court bringing intelligence of the wide reception of the Faith in Western Asia, and of the desire of the princes and people for the preaching of the Word, the favourable dispositions of Arghún, the reigning Khan of the House of Húlakú[1], being especially eulogised. The Pope [Nicholas IV] thought it well to send back to the field of labour with additional aid a missionary so experienced as John now was, giving him letters of commendation to Arghún, to the King and Queen of (Lesser) Armenia, to the Patriarch of the Jacobites and Bishop of Tauris, and also to the great Kúblái himself, and to Kúblái's rival, Kaidu of Turkestan.

John remained at Tabriz till 1291, and then proceeded to the Far East in order to fulfil his mission to Kúblái, travelling by the way of India as he tells us in the first

neque Licentinis adjudicare velim sine gravi aliqua ratione aut auctoritate." *Wadding*, vi, p. 94.]

[There are two *comuni* of this name in the Province of Salerno: Montecorvino Pugliano and Montecorvino Rovella. – "Due sono i Montecorvino nella provincia di Salerno, oltre il Pietra Montecorvino nella provincia di Foggia. In uno dei detti comuni (propendendo lo Yule ed il Da Civezza per quest' ultimo), nacque nel 1247 Giovanni che trovo talvolta ricordato col nome di Giovanni Valente; indagini da me fatte non mi permettono di affermare se questo sia casato di famiglia." Amat di S. Filippo, *Studi bibg. e bibliog.*, 2ª ed., 1882, I, p. 79.]

[1] Reigned 1284–1291.

of the following letters. It is not likely that he reached Cambalec in the lifetime of the old Khan, who died in the beginning of 1294, for voyages were slow, and he stayed long at St Thomas's and other places on the coast of Maabar or Coromandel[1].

It will be well here to say something of the third letter in the collection, which purports to be written from that coast. This is derived from a MS. in the Laurentian Library, of which I found the indication in Quétif's *Script. Ord. Prædicatorum*[2]. The transcriber Friar Menentillus of

[1] A party of friars had already been dispatched in April 1278 by Pope Nicholas III [successor of John XXI] on a mission to Cathay and with a very long letter from the Pope to Kúblái Khan, who was then alleged to have been baptised. He is addressed "*Quolibey, Magnus Cham, Imperator et Moderator Omnium Tartarorum Illustris.*" The members of the mission were Gerard of Prato, Antony of Parma, John of St Agatha, Andrew of Florence, and Matthew of Arezzo, all Minorites. There seems to be no further knowledge of them. The words of John of Montecorvino in the first of his letters seem to make it pretty certain that they did not reach Cambalec. (See *Mosheim*, p. 68, and *Append.*, Nos. xxii, xxiii.)

[It is rather difficult to give an exact date to the arrival of Monte Corvino in China: in one of his letters "data in civitate Cambaliech regni Catan, anno Domini MCCCV, die VIII mensis Januarii," see *infra*, John says that he had been alone in Cathay during eleven years, but that two years before this letter, a brother Arnold, of Cologne, joined him; thus he arrived thirteen years before 1305, viz. 1292; he might have known Kúblái, who died in 1294, after his expedition to Java in 1293; but these figures scarcely agree with another part of the same letter, when John says that he left Tauris in 1291, proceeded to India where he remained thirteen months, where he lost his companion, Nicholas of Pistoia; though, if his departure from Tauris were at the beginning of the year 1291, thirteen months would carry John to January or February 1292, and there is then a possibility of his having reached Cathay this very year 1292 or in 1293, always before the death of Kúblái.]

[2] The original, which is in quaint Italian, was published by Professor Kunstmann of Munich, in *Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1855, Nos. 21 and 22, and I am indebted to his kindness for a copy which I had failed to procure otherwise. There is also a brief notice by the same author in one of his papers already referred to. (*Phillips* and *Görres*, Bd. 37, p. 26–7.) Before I obtained the papers from Professor Kunstmann I had got a transcript of the MS. from Florence, from which the translation was made. I have now been able to correct some passages of this by comparison with Professor Kunstmann's edition. [Marcellino da Civezza, *Saggio di Bibliografia Sanfrancescana*, 1879, p. 410, says that a copy of this letter, which he believes to be unpublished, is kept in the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Florence.]

Spoleto, in sending a copy or abstract of this letter to gratify the curiosity of an inquiring friend, informs him that it was written by a certain Franciscan missionary proceeding to the court of the Sovereign of all India, and who had been in company with their friend and brother Dominican Nicholas of Pistoia, when the latter died in India. Now we know from one of Montecorvino's authenticated letters that *he* was the Franciscan who was in company with Nicholas of Pistoia, when he died at St Thomas's, or the modern Madras. And moreover this very document, which we have here in an anonymous form, is quoted as "a letter of Friar John the Cordelier," or Franciscan, by a contemporary author, the celebrated physician and reputed sorcerer Pietro of Abano[1]. The document itself, as given by Friar Menentillus, is none of the most lucid, and reads like a translation by a not very intelligent person, rather than like a transcript of the original.

Besides these letters of Montecorvino's already spoken of, Wadding has handed down the fragment of another, written on Quinquagesima Sunday, 1306 (13th February). In this John mentions that a solemn deputation had come to him from a certain part of Ethiopia, begging him to go or to send preachers thither, for they had had no preachers since the time of St. Matthew the Evangelist, etc. (see below at the end of John's second letter this fragment in full)[2].

[1] "Moreover, almost quite recently hath Friar John the Cordelier written a letter respecting the inhabitants of the climate in question from the territory of Mohabar in India, in the coast where lieth the body of the Apostle Thomas. And in this he saith that you find it ever summer and never simmer (*semper æstas et non æstus*), because there be continually breezes which moderate the heat"—and so on, quoting several periods out of this very letter. (*Petri Aponensis*, etc., *Conciliator.*, Venet., 1521, f. 97; see note on Introductory Notices of Marignolli, *infra.*) [See *Marco Polo*, i, p. *119*, note on Pietro of Abano.]

[2] Wadding under 1307, § vi.

[P. 92. "Data dicebat littera ipsa in Cambaliech civitate regni Kathag, anno Domini MCCCVI, in Dominica Quinquagesimae mensis Februarii."]

This is a singular circumstance, and difficult to elucidate, even supposing that the deputation consisted only of some whom accident or trade had brought to such a centre of attraction as Cambalec. For even this is so improbable that I think we may adopt the suggestion of Professor Kunstmann that this fragment is really only the end of John's second letter from Cambalec, from which it had been accidentally separated. The date, which is absent from the second letter, fits in perfectly; and as it will be seen that in the end of that letter the writer was recurring to his experiences in Southern India, we should then see that he is speaking of the Ethiopian party as having visited him in that country, and not in China[1]. There is an old legend that St. Matthew preached in Ethiopia, which is referred to Nubia by Ludolf, as the Abyssinians have no tradition of his visiting them[2]. On the whole, however, perhaps no place to which the name of Ethiopia could be applied is more likely to have been the country of these people than Socotra, an island in which the traces of a debased Christianity still faintly lingered in the 17th century[3].

[1] *Kunstmann* in *Philips* and *Görres*, Bd. 37, p. 236.

[2] The monk Burchard in the middle of the thirteenth century also speaks of *Æthiopia quæ hodie Nubia dicitur* as the field of St. Matthew's preaching.

[3] This is suggested by Assemani (p. 516).

The Christianity of the people of Socotra is mentioned by the Arab voyagers edited by Renaudot and again by Reinaud. That work alleges that Socotra was colonised with Greeks by Alexander the Great in order to promote the cultivation of the Socotrine aloes, and that after the advent of our Lord, when the other Greeks had embraced Christianity, these colonists also adopted it, and had retained the profession till that day (the ninth century). Edrisi tells the same story. Marco Polo tells us that the people of Socotra, though greatly addicted to incantations, were baptised Christians and had an Archbishop subject to a patriarch at Bagdad. [II, p. 406.] The next notice of the subject that I am aware of is found among the curious extracts given by Quétif, I, pp. 572–3, from a MS. in the Colbertian library, of which some account will be given further on. The author, writing about 1330, seems to speak of Socotra in the following extract: ["Ultra versus meridiem procedendo est quaedam insula in mari Indico satis

The letter in question was brought home from Tartary by Friar Thomas of Tolentino, who had already for some

magna, ubi populus circumcisionem obtinet pariter & baptismum. De qua quidem insula dicere quomodo aut qualiter illuc pervenerim, & de conditione illius gentis, & de moribus ac modo vivendi & de consuetudinibus & legibus & modo extraneo dominandi, si ad nostrum propositum conveniret, esset audientibus curiosum." The editor adds: "Quae sit illa insula geographis permitto inquirendum."]:—"As you proceed further to the south there is a certain island in the Indian Ocean of considerable size, where the people use both circumcision and baptism. And if it were but more pertinent to our subject it would be a very curious story to tell about that island, how I got there, as well as about the circumstances of the people, their manners and mode of living, their customs and laws and strange system of government." That the Socotran Christians practised circumcision is alleged also by Maffei, in his Indian History, in noticing the transactions of Albuquerque at Socotra, and this with others of their practices leads him to connect them distinctly with the Abyssinian church, in which a kind of circumcision is well known to have been maintained. They had sunk into an almost savage state; but retained the practice of annual fasts, daily prayers (which he alleges were in Hebrew?), and veneration for the cross, which they all wore round the neck. Marco Polo perhaps considered them as Nestorians, and this also is asserted by Nicolo Conti, who spent two months on the island in the first half of the fifteenth century. In the beginning of the sixteenth Barbosa speaks of their nominal profession of Christianity as still maintained, though in great ignorance and without baptism. That some faint traces of their former Christianity lingered even to the middle of the seventeenth century we learn from the Travels of Father Vincenzo Maria, who was sent from Rome in that age to reconcile the differences of the Malabar Christians with the Roman hierarchy, a work containing many interesting particulars, and which might be worth the attention of the Hakluyt Society were it not so lengthy. He says the people still retained a Christian profession, though having no true knowledge of the faith. They had in his day but a jumble of doctrines and observances; worshipping and sacrificing to the moon; *circumcising*, abominating wine and pork. They had churches which they called *Moquame* [Ar. *Maqâm* "locus statio"], dark, low, and dirty, the walls of which they anointed daily with butter. On the altar they had a cross, and one candle in a candlestick. For the cross they retained a singular but ignorant reverence, carrying it in their processions. Three times in the day and three times in the night they were assembled in their churches by the striking on a piece of timber in lieu of a bell, and in their worship burned much incense and fragrant wood. The priests were called *Odambo*, were elected and consecrated by the people, and were changed every year. They dressed like the rest of the people, being distinguished only by a cross full of eyes, upon the breast. These priests were also the judges of the people. There was a fast of sixty days observed annually, beginning with the new moon of April, during which they abstained from meat, milk, and fish, eating only raw vegetables and dried dates. Of baptism and the other sacraments they had lost all knowledge, and their marriages were very lax. There were two apparently distinct races on the

years been preaching among the heathen in Asia; and the reports which he made at the Papal Court of John's great devotion and success probably led to the creation of the metropolitan see of Cambalec in the latter's favour.

This seems to have taken place in the spring of 1307[1], and was accompanied or immediately followed by the appointment of seven other Franciscans to be suffragan Bishops under the new metropolitan. The powers conferred on the Archbishop were unusually ample, empowering him to rule like a Patriarch over all bishops and prelates of those parts, subject only to his recognition of the superiority of the Roman see, and to the reception of the pallium from it by himself and his successors.

The suffragan bishops thus nominated for Cathay were

island, one of negroes with crisp hair; the other less black, of better aspect, and with straight hair;—the first living on dates, butter, and flesh; the others on fish. All used sour milk. They never shaved any part of the body, so that many of them looked like absolute satyrs (compare in *Photii Bibliotheca* the notice from the Embassies of Nonnosus of a remote island in the Indian Sea inhabited by black hairy dwarfs who lived on fish and shell-fish). They had no houses, but lived in caves and holes. Their only art was that of weaving a coarse camlet of goat's hair. They cultivated a few palms and kept flocks; had no money, no writing, kept count of their flocks by bags of stones. Each family had a cave in which they deposited their dead without covering the bodies. They often put themselves to death when old or sick or vanquished. They had no remedies for disease except the aloe. When rain failed they selected a victim by lot, and placing him within a circle addressed their prayers to the moon, and if without success they cut off the poor wretch's hands. They had many who practised sorcery, and being very shy of communication with strangers, shut themselves out from better knowledge. The women were all called *Maria*, which the author regarded as one of the relics of their Christianity. The mountains abounded in wild hogs, *wild asses*, and partridges. The whole account is very curious. (*Anciennes Relations*, etc., of Renaudot, p. 113; *Jaubert's Edrisi*, i, 47; *Maffei, Hist. Indic.*, lib. iii; *Ludolf, Comment.*, p. 268; *Quétif, Scriptores Ord. Præd.*, i, pp. 572–3; *Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, p. 252; *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 406, and long note, pp. 408–410; *India in the Fifteenth Century, Conti*, p. 20; *Viaggio all' Indie Orientali del P. F. Vincenzo Maria*, etc., Roma, 1672, pp. 132 and 442.)

[1] Only a fragment without date remains of the bull of appointment. But the letter nominating William de Villa Nova to be one of the Suffragans is dated from Poitiers, 1st May, 1307. (*Wadding*, vi pp. 93, 147–8.) ["Datum Pitavis Kalen. Maji an. III."]

Gerard, Peregrine of Castello, Andrew of Perugia, Reader in Theology, Nicholas of Bantra or of Apulia, Minister (in the order) of the Province of St. Francis, Andrutius of Assisi, Ulrich Sayfustordt, and William of Villeneuve[1]. Of these, as we learn from the fourth letter in the present collection, only Gerard, Peregrine and Andrew ever reached their destination. They consecrated the Archbishop, and in course of time all three in succession officiated as Bishops at Zaitún. The next three in the list were killed by their first experience of Indian climate, and William either never started or did not prosecute his journey, for he certainly did not reach Cathay, and sixteen years later he is found holding episcopal office in Europe[2].

According to a story related by Wadding, the Emperor then reigning in Cambalec, and his mother, were eventually converted and baptized by John. Shortly afterwards the Khan died, and was buried with imperial solemnity in the Convent church. When the troubles broke out thirty (fifty?) years later, and the friars had to quit Cathay, they removed this imperial body with them to Saray, and when taken up it was found all fresh as when just buried. If the story of conversion were true the Emperor in question would probably be Ayur Balibatra, grandson of Kúblái, who died in 1311. But unfortunately there was scarcely a single Khan of the dynasty regarding whose conversion some story did not reach Europe; all probably alike baseless[3].

[1] There are some differences in regard to this list of bishops among the annalists. It is not worth while to go into detail, and I have followed the list adopted by Dr. Kunstmann.

[Nicholas of Bantra, Pietro de Castello and Andruzio of Assisi died in India. See my edition of Odoric, pp. xviii–xix.]

[2] Nominated to the diocese of Sagone in Corsica [on the 19th Feb.] 1323, and translated in 1327 to Trieste, where [he died in 1331], and where his tomb existed in the seventeenth century. (*Ughelli, Italia Sacra*, quoted by *Mosheim*, p. 98.) A certain Tuscan saintess is said to have prognosticated from the face of one of the bishops that he would not persevere in his mission. (*Mosheim, ib.*)

[3] Misled by such stories in relation to the Persian branch of the Mongol House, Edward II writes to Oljaïtu proposing that they

In 1311 the same Pope Clement V nominated three more bishops to serve under John of Montecorvino, by name Thomas, Jerome, and Peter of Florence[1]. This last we hear of, in *the Book of the Great Caan*, as presiding over one of the convents in Zaitún, whilst Andrew of Perugia ruled the other.

And this appears to be the latest notice bearing upon the history of this venerable man's life, excepting the anecdote related by Odoric[2], and what can be gathered out of the letter of Bishop Andrew given below.

John died, aged upwards of eighty years, sometime about the year 1328[3], as we gather from a letter addressed to the Pope by certain Christians of Cathay, which will be quoted in another section of this book[4]. Pagans as well as Christians followed him to the grave with demonstrations of the deepest grief and veneration[5]. No character so worthy of respect, except Benedict Goës in later days, appears among the ecclesiastical travellers with whom our subject brings us into contact.

He appears to have been not only the first, but the last effective Archbishop of Cambalec[6]. In 1333, after the news of John's death had reached Avignon, one [French] Friar

should unite to destroy the abominable sect of the Mahomedans; the Khan himself belonging to the said sect. (*Rymer*, quoted by *D'Ohsson*, iv, 592-4.) [Cf. *Marco Polo*, 1, p. 36 *n.*]

[1] *Wadding*, vi, p. 184.

["Quare, alios tres ejusdem Suffraganeos creavit hoc anno ex eodem Ordine Pontifex; videlicet fratrem Thomam, fratrem Hieronymum, & fratrem Petrum de Florentia; datis XI. Kal. Martii, & XIII. Kal. Januarii litteris incipientibus; *Rex Regum & Dominus Dominantium.*"]

[2] *Ante*, p. 270. [3] [Gams, 1330; others, 1333.]

[4] See Introductory Notices of Marignolli.

[5] See the *Livre du Grant Caan*, infra.

[6] [Angelo de Gubernatis in his *Storia dei Viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie orientali*, Livorno, 1875, has devoted a chapter to the *Viaggiatori italiani nella Cina che visitarono l' India*, pp. 95-98; it is an abstract of *Cathay*.

In his *Saggio di Bibliografia Sanfrancescana*, pp. 409-410, Marcellina da Civezza has only devoted to Monte-Corvino a few extracts from the works of Amat di San Filippo and of Angelo de Gubernatis

Nicholas[1] [professor of Divinity at the Faculty of Paris], was appointed to the See [18th Sept. 1333], and was sent

but he has given a full account of the beginnings of the mission of this celebrated Franciscan brother in his *Storia universale delle Missioni Francescane*, III, cap. vi, p. 252, without adding any new information, however.]

[1] ["At the close of the Yüan Dynasty [A.D. 1278–1368] a native of this country [Fu lin], named Nieh-ku-lun, came to China for trading purposes. When, after the fall of the Yüan, he was not able to return, the Emperor T'ai Tsu, who had heard of this, commanded him to his presence in the eighth month of the 4th year of Hung Wu (=September 1371) and gave orders that an official letter be placed into his hands for transmission to his king, which read as follows: 'Since the Sung dynasty had lost the throne and Heaven had cut off their sacrifice, the Yüan [Mongol] dynasty had risen from the desert to enter and rule over China for more than a hundred years, when Heaven, wearied of their misgovernment and debauchery, thought also fit to turn their fate to ruin, and the affairs of China were in a state of disorder for eighteen years. But when the nation began to arouse itself, We, as a simple peasant of Huai-yu, conceived the patriotic idea to save the people, and it pleased the Creator to grant that Our civil and military officers effected their passage across eastward to the left side of the River. We have then been engaged in war for fourteen years; We have, in the west, subdued the king of Han, Ch'ên Yu-liang; We have, in the east, bound the king of Wu, Chang Shih-ch'êng; We have, in the south, subdued Min and Yuëh [=Fu kien and Kwang tung], and conquered Pa and Shu [=Sze ch'wan]; We have in the north, established order in Yu and Yen [=Chi li]; We have established peace in the Empire, and restored the old boundaries of Our Middle Land. We were selected by Our people to occupy the Imperial throne of China under the dynastic title of "the Great Ming," commencing with Our reign styled Hung Wu, of which we now are in the fourth year. We have sent officers with this Manifesto except to you, Fu lin, who, being separated from us by the western sea, have not as yet received the announcement. We now send a native of your own country, Nieh-ku-lun, to hand you this Manifesto. Although We are not equal in wisdom to our ancient rulers whose virtue was recognised all over the universe, We cannot but let the world know Our intention to maintain peace within the four Seas. It is on this ground alone that We have issued this Manifesto.' And he again ordered the ambassador Pu-la and others to be provided with credentials and presents of silk for transmission to that country, who thereafter sent an embassy with tribute. But this embassy was, in the sequel, not repeated until during the Wan-li period [A.D. 1573–1620] a native from the great Western Ocean came to the capital who said that the Lord of Heaven, Ye-su, was born in Ju-tê-a [Judaea] which is identical with the old country of Ta Ts'in; that this country is known in the historical books to have existed since the creation of the world for the last 6000 years; that it is beyond dispute the sacred ground of history and the origin of all worldly affairs; that it should be considered as the country where the Lord of Heaven created the human race. This account looks somewhat exaggerated and should not be trusted. As regards the abundance of produce and other

forth accompanied by twenty friars and six laymen. But it is not known what became of the party[1]. Their arrival at Almaliq and civil treatment there were heard of[2], but nothing beyond; there is no indication of their having ever reached the Court of Cathay.

The mission of John de Marignolli and his companions succeeded (1338), but there was no [residing] bishop at Cambalec in their time. Some time before 1369 a certain Cosmas had been appointed, for we find that in that year he was transferred from the see of Cambalec to that of Saray, and Friar William of Prato (Du Prè?) named in his place[3]. Probably the Pope was not aware of the revoluti[on] which had recently ejected the Mongol family, and he could not be aware of its full effect on European intercourse. Guilielmus Pratensis and the friars who followed him are heard of no more.

A list embracing several other Archbishops or Bishops of Cambalec is indeed to be found in Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*. Some of these it is probable were in fact prelates titularly named to the see, though not approaching it within thousands of miles, but others were certainly

precious articles found in this country, accounts will be found in former annals." *Ming Shih*, translated by Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 64–67.

Bretschneider, *Arabs*, p. 25, makes the following remarks about Friar Nicholas: "Nicholas, in the year 1338, had not yet arrived in Peking, for the Christians there complained in a letter, written at the above date, that they were eight years without a curate. It is therefore possible that the Nie ku lun of the Chinese Annals is identical with the monk Nicholas. The statement of the Chinese that Nicholas carried on commerce does not contradict this view. Perhaps he trafficked in fact, or he considered it necessary to introduce himself under the name of a merchant."

This Nicholas, archbishop of Khan Baliq, must not be taken—Hirth made this mistake, *Roman Orient*, p. 65—for Nicholas of Bantra, who died on the way, see p. 10.]

[1] [Gams gives 1338 as the date of the death of Nicholas.]

[2] See a letter from Pope Benedict XII to the Khan of Chagatai, thanking him for his good reception of Nicholas. (*Mosheim*, p. 111, and *App.* No. lxxix.)

[3] *Mosheim*, p. 120: "Guillelmum Pratensem Franciscanum, qui divinae institutionis praecepta Parisiis docebat, praefecit."

bishops of a different diocese, which has been confounded with that of Cambalec[1].

There is a curious notice of the proceedings and success of John of Montecorvino to be found in the chronicle of John of Winterthur, a Suabian Minorite[2], who finished his annals about the middle of the century. After mentioning the death of the friars at Tana in India, he goes on to say that a few years before that event, a certain Franciscan of Lower Germany had set out on a pilgrimage of evangelization, and had written a letter to the chief of the Northern Vicariate, which the chronicler had seen, and in which a detailed account was given of the traveller's proceedings. The substance of this letter is then recited, and we find it to be in fact the same as that of the first letter of John Montecorvino from Cambalec, though his name is never mentioned, but all is supposed to relate to the acts and sufferings of the Low German friar. Professor Kunstmann[3] identifies this person with that Friar Arnold of Cologne whom Montecorvino mentions as having joined him about the year 1303–4. It is possible that this Arnold is in some way connected with the mistake, but it seems pretty certain that what the chronicler had seen was merely

[1] *Le Quien*, iii, coll. 1346–1356. This see, as Prof. Kunstmann points out, is that of *Cembalo* in the Crimea (I presume the Symbolōn Limēn of Strabo), and now famous under the name of Balaklava.

[The list given by Gams (*Series Episcoporum*, 1873, p. 126) includes: Beatus JOANNES de MONTECORVINO, O.S. Fr., el. 1307: 1308 consecr., † in China, 1330.—NICOLAUS, O.S. Fr., elect. 18. IX, 1333; † 1338.—COSMAS, O.S. Fr., tr. ad Sarai 1369 Christiani expulsi; † 1376.—Hic, et qui sequuntur, non residebant.—GUILIELMUS de PRATO, O.S. Fr., el. 14 III, 1370.—JOSEFUS,—DOMINICUS, O.S. Fr., el. 9. VIII, 1403.—CONRADUS (*Scopper*), O.S. D., el. c. 1408.—JACOBUS, O.S. D., el. 8. I, 1427.—LEONARDUS.—BARTHOLOMAEUS, O.S. Fr., el. 15. IV, 1448.—BERNARDUS.—JOANN. de PELLETZ, O.S. Fr., el. c. 1456.—BARTHOLOMAEUS II.—ALEXANDER de CAFFA, O.S. Fr., captus a Turcis c. 1475, in quorum captivitate 7 annos erat, † in Italia, 1483.—Titulus episcopatus deficit.]

[2] *Jo. Vitodvrani Chronicon*, in *Eccard, Corpus Historicum*, etc., Lipsiae, 1723, i, coll. 1895–7. Winterthur is in the modern Swiss canton Zurich.

[3] *Phillips* and *Görres*, xliii, 677.

a copy of Montecorvino's letter. There are one or two slight circumstances in the chronicle which are not mentioned in that letter, but they look very like such amplifications as would be natural in such a case.

John in the first of these letters makes interesting mention of a certain King George of the family of Prester John. This George is mentioned by Marco Polo as exercising a secondary sovereignty in Tenduc, the position of which has been explained in a note on Odoric (p. 244). Marco also names the same George as one of the generals of Kúblái's army in a great battle with Kaidu, the Khan's inveterate rival[1]. This seems the most suitable place to introduce some account of the personage whose name of Prester John is so constantly recurring in the narratives of that age.

The first notice of a potentate so styled appears to have been brought to Europe by the Syrian Bishop of Gabala

[1] *Marco Polo*, i, 183, 186 *n.*, 187, 214 *n.*; ii, 148 *n.*, 333, 334 *n.*, 348, 457–459, 463–467.

["M. Polo and Johannes de Monte Corvino transfer the title of Prester John from Wang-khan, already perished at that time, to the distinguished family of Wang-ku. Their Georgius is undoubtedly K'o-li-ki-sze, Alahush's great-grandson. That this name is a Christian one is confirmed by other testimonies; thus in the Asu (Azes) regiment of the Khan's guards was K'o-li-ki-sze, alias Kow-r-ki († 1311), and his son Ti-mi-ti-r. There is no doubt that one of them was Georgius, and the other Demetrius. Further, in the description of *Chin-kiang* in the time of the Yuen, mention is made of K'o-li-ki-sze Ye-li-ko-wen, i.e. K'o-li-ki-sze the Christian, and of his son Lu-ho (Luke). K'o-li-ki-sze of Wang-ku is much praised in history for his valour and his love for Confucian doctrine; he had in consequence of a special favour of the Khan two Mongol princesses for wives at the same time (which is rather difficult to conciliate with his being a Christian). The time of his death is correctly indicated in a letter of Johannes de M. Corvino of the year 1305: *ante sex annos migravit ad Dominum.* He left a young son *Chu-ngán*, who probably is the Joannes of the letter of Ioannes (Giovani) of M. C., so called *propter nomen meum*, says the missionary. In another Wang-ku branch, Si-ki-li-sze reminds one also of the Christian name *Sergius*" (Palladius, *Elucidations of Marco Polo's Travels*, p. 23.) Prof. Pelliot has found new proofs of the identification of K'o-li-ki-sze with George, and he has the funerary inscription of this prince, written by Yen fu, which he intends to translate and publish in a book on the Christians in China in the Middle Ages, written jointly with Mr. A. C. Moule.]

[*Jibal*, south of Laodicea in Northern Syria] who came in 1145 as envoy from the King of Armenia to Pope Eugene III. For he reported that not long before a certain John, inhabiting the extreme east, king and Nestorian priest, and claiming descent from the Three Wise Kings, had made war on the [Samiard] Kings of the Medes and Persians, and had taken Ecbatana their capital. He was then proceeding with his army to Jerusalem, but was stopped by the Tigris which he could not cross, etc.[1]. We shall see hereafter what facts appear to lie at the bottom of these rumours of a conquering Christian prince in Central Asia in the first half of the twelfth century. But the Nestorians probably were glad to catch at a story which raised the importance of their sect, whilst the Catholics also greeted with joy this intelligence of a counterpoise to the Mahomedan power rising in a quarter so unexpected. The reports of Prester John's power, opulence, and sanctity expanded without limit, and letters were circulated through-

1 "Vidimus etiam ibi tunc prætaxatum de Syria Gabulensem episcopum.... Narrabat etiam, quod ante non multos annos, Joannes quidam, qui ultra Persidem et Armeniam, in extremo Oriente habitans, rex et sacerdos, cum gente sua Christianus est, sed Nestorianus, Persarum et Medorum reges fratres, Samiardos dictos, bello petierit, atque Ecbatani...sedem regni eorum expugnaverit. Cui dum præfati reges cum Persarum, Medorum et Assyriorum copiis occurrerent, triduo utrisque mori magis quam fugere volentibus, dimicatum est PRESBYTER JOANNES (*sic enim eum nominare solent*) tandem versis in fugam Persis, cruentissimâ cæde victor extitit. Post hanc victoriam dicebat prædictum Joannem ad auxilium Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiæ procinctum movisse sed dum ad Tygrim venisset, ibique nullo vehiculo traducere exercitum potuisset, ac septentrionalem plagam, ubi eundem amnem hyemali glacie congelari didicerat, iter flexisse. Ibi dum per aliquot annos moratus, gelu expectaret, sed minime hoc impediente aeris temperie, obtineret, multos ex insueto cœlo de exercitu amittens, ad propria redire compulsus est. Fertur enim iste de antiquâ progenie illorum, quorum in Evangelio mentio fit, esse Magorum, eisdemque quibus et isti gentibus imperans, tantâ gloriâ et abundantiâ frui, ut non nisi sceptro smaragdino uti dicatur. Patrum itaque suorum, qui in cunabulis Christum adorare venerunt, accensus exemplo, Hierosolymam iter proposuerat, sed praetaxata causa impeditum fuisse asserunt. Sed hæc hactenus."—*Ottonis Frisingensis Chronicon*, lib. vii, cap. 33, in *Germanic. Historic. Illust.* etc., *Christiani Urstisii Basiliensis*, Francofurdi 1585. [Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, p. 231 *n.*]

out Europe, and survive in many continental libraries, which he was alleged to have addressed to the Emperor of the East and other Christian princes. In these his great power and glory were vaunted with the most extravagant details; India and the tomb of St. Thomas being always claimed as a prominent part of his dominions. Large extracts from such a letter may be seen in Assemani, and a translation has been given by Mr. Layard[1]. By the circulation of these letters, glaring forgeries and fictions as they are, the idea of this great Christian conqueror was planted in the mind of the European nations, and twined itself round every rumour of revolution in further Asia that penetrated to Europe. Even when the noise of the real conquests of Chinghiz began to make itself audible in the west, he was invested with the character of a Christian king, and more or less confounded with the mysterious Prester John[2]. After this delusion was dispelled and the diffusion of the Mongol power had opened up the east, travellers naturally sought traces of the vast monarchy of which Europe for a century past had heard so much, but with invariable disappointment. Eventually the Chief of the Keraite tribe of Tartars became identified as the representative of Prester John, but a portion of the facts which combined with so much fable to form the legend have another source[3].

[1] *Assemani*, pp. 488–493; *Layard's Nineveh*, i, 250.

[2] See *Eccard, Corpus Historic.*, ii, 1451, "Relatio de Davide Rege Tartarorum Christiano." The name Prester John does not, I think, occur in this, but the idea seems to be there.

[3] There is a letter in the Ecclesiastical Annals of Baronius, quoted from the Chronicle of Roger Hoveden, addressed, in 1177, from Venice by Pope Alexander III to "*Carissimo in Christo filio illustri et magnifico Indorum regi, sacerdotum sanctissimo.*" The Pope recites how he had heard from his beloved son, Master Philip the physician, about the king's pious desire to have instruction in Catholic doctrine, etc., and to possess a church in Rome and an altar in Jerusalem. He found it too difficult, on account of the length and obstructions of the way, to send any one *a latere*, but he would despatch the said Philip to communicate instruction to him. It is not stated that Philip had

Plano Carpini, the first traveller to Mongolia whose narrative we have, says nothing of Prester John. Rubruquis, a few years later, goes into considerable detail on the subject[1].

"At the time," he says, "when the Franks took Antioch[2] the sovereignty in these regions of Northern Asia was held by a certain Coir-Kham[3]. *Coir* was his proper name, *Cham* his title, the word having the meaning of soothsayer, which is applied to their princes, because they govern the people by means of divination[4]. And we read in the history of Antioch that the Turks sent for succour against the Franks to King Coir-Cham; for all

actually been to the king's court, but only that he had heard of his majesty's pious desires from conversation with honourable persons of his kingdom, whom the physician had met with in those parts (*in partibus illis*). Baronius refers this to "the King of the Indians, vulgarly called *Pretejanni*, reigning far and wide over Ethiopia," and supposes it possible that the church possessed in his own time by the Abyssinians, at the back of the apse of St. Peter's, might have been granted on this occasion. The commentator, Pagius, rejects this, and considers the king to have been Prester John of Asia.

But I suspect that Baronius is right, and that the King of Abyssinia is in question. The *illis partibus* is vague, and may refer to Egypt or to Palestine, where Doctor Philip might well have met with Abyssinian pilgrims. There is no mention of the term *Prester John* in the document itself; and the application of that title to the Abyssinian king was probably a good deal later than this, though earlier than has generally been supposed, as will appear hereafter. (*Annal. Eccles.*, Lucæ, 1746, vol. xix, p. 450.)

A letter given by Matthew Paris, which was written from the Holy Land, in 1237, by Philip, Prior of the Dominicans there, speaks of the heads of the various sects of oriental Christians; and among others, of one who was over all the Nestorians in the east, and whose prelacy extended over India the Greater, and the kingdom *Sacerdotis Johannis*, and other realms still nearer the sun rising. Here it is, doubtless, the Asiatic potentate who is spoken of (*Rerum Angliæ Scriptores*, etc., Francofurti, 1601, p. 301). [On Prester John, we shall refer to the long note in our *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 231–237.]

[1] Page 259 *et seq.* [2] [In 1098.]

[3] ["Belonged to a certain Con cham." Rockhill's edition of *Rubruck*, p. 108.]

[4] The old "medicine men" of the Tartars, before the introduction of Buddhism, were really called *Kams* (*Qāmān* of the Persian writers, see *D'Ohsson*, i, 17, and also between 429 and 435). But I do not suppose there is any connexion between *Khān* or *Qān* and this *Kam*. [There is no confusion possible between *Qām* قام, Persian plural *Qām ān* قامان, "medicine men," and *khān* خان or *Qaān* قان.]

the Turks came originally from those parts of the world. Now this Coir was of Cara Catay: *Cara* meaning *Black*, and *Catay* being the name of a nation, so that *Cara Catay* is as much as to say the Black Cathayans. And they were so called to distinguish them from the proper Cathayans, who dwell upon the ocean in the far east, of whom I shall tell you something hereafter. But these (Black) Cathayans inhabited certain mountain pastures (*Alpes*) which I passed through; and in a certain plain among those mountains dwelt a certain Nestorian who was a mighty shepherd, and lord over the people called Naiman, who were Nestorian Christians. And when Coir Cham died, that Nestorian raised himself to be King (in his place), and the Nestorians used to call him King John, and to tell things of him ten times in excess of the truth. For this is the way of the Nestorians who come from those parts of the world; out of a mere nothing they will spin the most wonderful stories, just as they have spread all about that Sartach is a Christian, and have told the same of Mangu Cham, and of Ken Cham[1]; the fact being merely that they treat Christians with more respect than other folk, but all the while are not Christians a bit. However in this way great tales went forth about this King John; though even when I passed over the lands that had been his pasture grounds nobody knew anything about him except a few Nestorians. Those pastures are now occupied by Ken Cham, whose court was visited by Friar Andrew, and I passed that way myself on my journey back. Now this John had a brother, who was also a great pastoral chief, whose name was Unc, and he dwelt on the other side of those Alps of Caracatay, some three weeks' journey distant from his brother, being the lord of a certain little town called CARACORUM, and ruling over a people called Crit and Merkit[2]. These people were also Nestorian

[1] [Keu Cham = Kuyuk Khan.]

[2] The Kerit or Kerait [who lived on the Orkhon and the Tula], and

Christians, but their lord had abandoned Christianity and had taken to idolatry, keeping about him those priests of the idols who are all addicted to sorcery and invocation of demons. Beyond his pastures again, some ten or fifteen days, were the pastures of the Moal[1], a very poor tribe without any captain, and without any religion except soothsaying and sorceries, such as are followed by all the people in those parts. Next to the Moal again was another poor tribe called Tartar[2]. Now King John being dead without leaving an heir, his brother Unc was brought in and caused himself to be called Cham, and his flocks and herds were spread about even to the borders of the Moal[3]. And at this time there was a certain Chinghiz a blacksmith among the tribe of Moal, and he took to lifting the cattle of Unc Cham whenever he had a chance, so that great complaints were made by the herdsmen of Unc Cham to their lord. So Unc got together an army and made a raid into the land of the Moal denouncing Chinghiz, and the latter fled into the land of the Tartars and hid himself there," etc.

the Merkit, two of the great tribes of Mongolia. [The Merkits were a nomadic people of Turkish stock, with a possible infusion of Mongol blood. They are called by Mohamedan writers Uduyut, and were divided into four tribes. They lived on the lower Selenga and its feeders. *Marco Polo*, i, p. 236 *n.*]

[1] The Mongols.

[2] The tribe of Tartars proper dwelt to the eastward, near Lake Buyar.

[3] ["Friar William's transcription of the word Mongol seems to be taken from the Turki form of that word *Mogal*." Rockhill's *Rubruck*, p. 112 *n.*]

[Rubruck says that the Naimans were "Nestorian Christians" (Rockhill's ed., p. 110), while Piano Carpini says that they were "pagans." (Rockhill's ed., p. 17.) Rockhill, *l.c.*, p. 17 *n.*, writes: "Supposing they professed the Uigur creed, which Rubruck states to have been a jumble of Manichaeism and Buddhism, with perhaps a slight tinge of Nestorianism, they might be classed among his idolaters (as he, in fact, sometimes does the Uigurs), or among Christians." Conf. Ney Elias (*Tarikhi-raskidi*, 290), where, translating from Jiwani, he speaks of the Naiman as *Tarsa*, which he renders by "Christians."]

In this passage we have the two sources of the story of Prester John, to which we have alluded, mixed up together, as will be seen by a short statement of the histories referred to.

The empire of Karâ Khitai was founded by a prince of the Khitan dynasty of Liao [or *Si Liao*, Western Liao], who escaped with a body of followers from Northern China, on the overthrow of that dynasty by the Kin in the beginning of the twelfth century. This chief, called by the Chinese Ye-liu Ta-shi, and by Rashíduddín, Fushi Taifu, was well received by the Uighúrs, and some others of the tribes west of the desert who had been subject to the Khitan empire. Gathering an army, he commenced a course of conquests which eventually extended over the whole of Eastern and Western Turkestan, including Khwarizm. In 1125 he took the title of Gur-Khan, or Universal Khan, fixing his residence at Bela-Sagun [Tokmak, on the Chu River], and establishing the Buddhist faith, to which he adhered, as dominant in this new empire, which was known as Karâ [black] Khitai[1]. [Ta Pu-yen (as princess regent) 1136; Ye-liu I-lie (1142); Ye-liu Shi (as princess regent) 1154; Ye-liu Che-lu-ku (1168), second son of Ye-liu I-lie] successively occupied the throne after him; and the latter was still reigning in 1211 or 1212, when the son of the last Khan of the Christian [Turkish] tribe of Naimans [Kuchluk] sought and found shelter at the court of Karâ Khitai, and received the daughter of the Gur-Khan in marriage. But he formed a plot to displace his benefactor, and was eventually successful in capturing him, and in mastering a large part of his dominions: he abandoned Christianity for Buddhism at the persuasion of his wife, and eventually was attacked by the Mongols under Chinghiz in 1218, and slain in the mountains of Badakhshan[2].

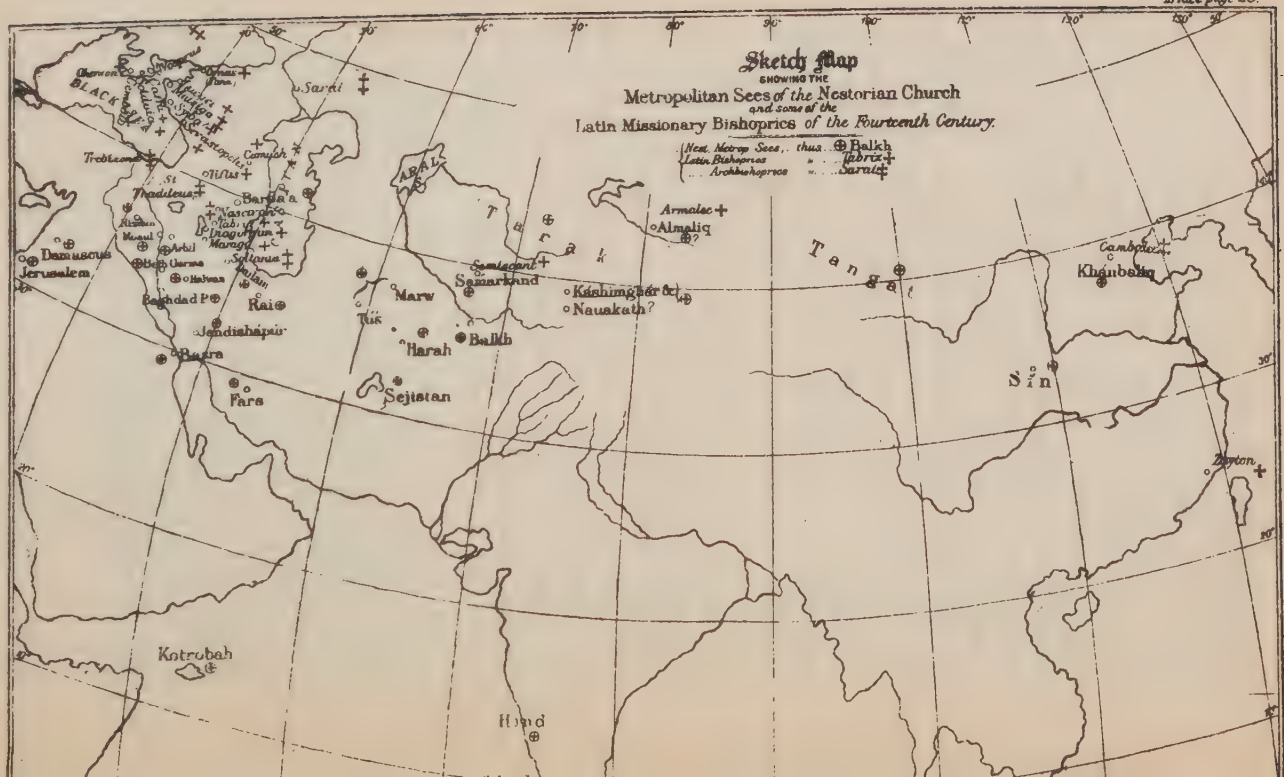
[1] [*Marco Polo*, i, p. 232. On Prester John, see *ibid.*, pp. 231–237.]
[2] *D'Ohsson*, i, 163, *seq.*; 441, *seq.*

Here we see not only the source of a part of the story of Rubruquis, the domination of Coir Cham (the Gur-Khan) over Karâ Khitai, and the usurpation of the chief of the Naiman tribe of Nestorians in his place, but also the probable original of the stories of the conquering lord, brought to Europe by the Bishop of Gabala not many years after the first Gur-Khan had overrun Turkestan to the borders of Persia. This Gur-Khan was indeed a Buddhist, and not a Christian; but we shall have occasion to note hereafter the constant confusions of rumour between the two religions as they existed in Eastern Asia. The source of the other part of Rubruquis's story, and that which in the latter part of the thirteenth century had superseded the memory of the Gur-Khan in connexion with the legends of Prester John, requires the recapitulation of a different history.

The Nestorians, in the centuries succeeding the condemnation of their doctrine in the Roman empire, had sought to penetrate eastward. Their success may be gathered from their old establishment in India and in China, and from the long list of their metropolitan sees in the middle of the thirteenth century, embracing the regions from Armenia and the Persian Gulf in the west to Tangut and Cambalec in the east[1].

[1] These Metropolitan sees were as follow. 1. Of Elamitis or of Jandishápúr (*Khuzistan*). 2. Nisibis. 3. Perath Mesenæ (*Basrah*). 4. Assyria and Adiabene (*Mosul* and *Arbela*). 5. Beth Garma or Beth Seleucia and Carcha in Assyria. 6. Halavan or Halala (*Zohab* on confines of Assyria and Media). 7. Persia or of Urumiah, Salmasa and Van. 8. Merv, or Khorasan. 9. Hara or Heriunitis, i.e. *Herat*. 10. Razichitis, or Arabia and Cotroba (said to be an island in the Sea of Oman). 11. Of the Sinæ (China). 12. Of India. 13. Of Armenia. 14. Of Syria or Damascus. 15. Azerbijan. 16. Of Rai and Tabaristan (*Rai*, an ancient city, of which vast traces exist near Tehrán). 17. Dailam, south of the Caspian. 18. Samarkand. 19. Cashgar. 20. Balkh. 21. Segestan (*Seistán*). 22. Hamadan. 23. Khanbaleg (*Peking*). 24. Tanchet (*Tangut* or N.W. China). 25. Chasemgarah and Nuachet. (These seem to be Indian names, Hassan-or Kasimghar and Nyakot? but I do not know where.) See *Assemani*, p. 630; and the list as given by *Layard* in his *Nineveh*, i, 257.

To face page 23.



It is related by the Christian historian, Gregory Abulfaragius, that between 1001 and 1012 the patriarch of

The lists of *Metropolitan Sees of the Nestorian Church*, as given by the original authors in Assemani's second volume (pp. 458–9), differ somewhat from these. I take the opportunity of presenting them here, with some more precise geographical explanations.

The earlier list as given by Elias, Metropolitan of Damascus (A.D. 893), is as follows:

1. Province of the Patriarch (resident at Baghdad); 2. Jandisapúr; 3. Nisibis; 4. Mosul; 5. Bethgarma; 6. Damascus; 7. Rai; 8. Herat; 9. Armenia; 10. Kand (supposed *Samarkand*); 11. Fars; 12. Barda'a; 13. Halwán.

The later list as given by Amru, who wrote about 1349, runs thus:

1. JANDISABUR [or Jandishápúr, a city of Khuzistan built by Sapor I; identified by Rawlinson with the traces of a great city at Sháhábád between Dizfúl and Shuster (*J.R.G.S.* ix, 72)].

2. NISIBIN [Nisibis].

3. BASRAH.

4. MOSUL and ATHUR [or Nineveh].

5. ARBIL and HAZAH [*Chazene* and part of *Adiabene*; see p. 53].

6. BAJARMA. i.e. Beth-Garma [in the region of Ptolemy's *Garamæi*, north of Baghdad. The see is also called *Karkha* and *Beth-Seleucia*; and Assemani identifies it with "the ancient Seleucia Elymaidis adjoining the river Hedyphon or Hedypnus"; but here he goes strangely astray, some four hundred miles indeed. Rawlinson points out the true site as that called now Eski Baghdad, a little east of the Tigris, and below Dúr (*J.R.G.S.* x, 93–94). It was apparently the *Charcha* mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus in the retreat of Jovian after Julian's death (*Ritter*, x, 157; *Am. Marc.*, xxv, 6)].

7. HALWÁN [called also, according to Assem., *Halacha*, and believed to be the *Calah* of Gen. x, 11, and the *Halah* of the Captivity; eight miles south of the modern Zohab in the Province of Kirmanshah (see Rawlinson, as above, ix, 35). It was a hot-weather residence of the Khalifs].

8. FARS.

9. MERV.

10. HARAH [Herat].

11. KOTROBAH. [According to Edrisi this was an island inhabited by Christians, which by his description must have been near Socotra. As there is no island suiting the description but Socotra itself, and as Polo specifies that the latter island had an archbishop, there can be little doubt that Kotrobah is another name for Socotra.]

12. SÍN [i.e. China. The see was probably at Si-ngan fu].

13. HIND [i.e. India].

14. BARDA'A. [This city was the metropolis of the Province of Ar-Rán on the Kur. It is often mentioned in the History of Timur. Arrowsmith's Map to Burnes marks it on the R. Terter, a considerable distance to the south-east of the modern Elisabètpol. See also *J.R.G.S.*, vol. iii, p. 31.]

15. DAMASHK [Damascus].

16. RAI and TABARISTAN [country E. of Tehrán].

17. DAILAM [S.W. of the Caspian, the hill country above *Gilán*].

18. SAMARKAND.

Baghdad received a letter from the metropolitan of Merv, in Khorasan, which related the miraculous conversion of the King of KERITH, a sovereign living far to the north-east, in the interior of the land of the Turks, who had sent to Merv to demand a Christian priest, and 200,000 of whose subjects were ready to follow him to baptism[1]. The patriarch gave the needful orders for the despatch of priests and teachers. The Christianity of the Keraits, as a tribe, is also attested by Rashíduddín, the Mahomedan historian of the Mongols[2].

The seat of these Keraits lay originally about the sources of the Amúr; but on being invaded by the Khitan in the ninth century, a large body of them took refuge in the mountains north of the Hwang Ho, called In shan, and there became powerful, spreading across the river into the territory called in our maps the Ordo country; the region so occupied by them on both banks being, as we have seen[3], the Tenduc of Marco Polo. Here they lived on good terms with their neighbours of the adjoining empire. The connexion between these people in Tenduc, and those of their tribe who had remained north of the desert, appears to have been maintained or renewed; but the light

19. TARK [Turkish Tribes beyond Samarkand probably].

20. HALAHA [as we have already had Halwán, considered to be the same with Halaha, Assem. proposes to read *Balkh*].

21. SEJISTAN.

The remaining names are entered in the margin of the MS., viz.:

22. JERUSALEM. [This became a metropol. see in 1200.]

23. KHANBALIQ and AL FALIQ [qu. *Almáliq*?].

24. TANGAT.

25. KASHIMGHAR and NAUAKATH. [The former name is probably intended for *Kashghar*, as Assemani in one place interprets it, though in the list at p. 22 he has given it in addition to Kashghar. *Nauakath* is found as the name of a place in Turkestan in Edrisi (ii, 217). Here it may possibly represent Yanghi-Hisar near Kashghar, or Yanghikand near Talas, the names of which are of like meaning. The provinces 24 and 25 were probably subdivisions of the former province of Tark.]

[1] So says *Assemani*, pp. 484, 485. But I cannot find the story in *Pococke's Abulfaragius*.

[2] Quoted by *St. Martin, Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, ii, 280.]

[3] See note on Odoric, p. 244.

on this point is not very distinct. Certainly, however, we find that the chief of the Keraits in the time of Chinghiz and his father occupied the country about Kara Korum; whilst it is seen from Marco Polo that Tenduc was a part of the same chief's dominions. Tribes of Keraite lineage are found to this day in the country which Polo called Tenduc.

The chief of the Kerait just alluded to is he who is introduced as Unc Cham in the second part of the story of Rubruquis, and whom Marco Polo, whilst giving him the same name, identifies with Prester John. His proper name is called Tuli by the Chinese, and Togrul by the Persian historians, the name of Unc being a corruption of the Chinese title *Wang*, or King, which had been conferred on him by the Kin sovereign of Northern China, after which he called himself Wang-Khan. The circumstance mentioned by Rubruquis of his having abandoned Christianity, does not appear to be alluded to by the eastern writers; but one would rather hope that it was true, for his career does no credit to Christianity. He at first obtained the sovereignty of the Keraits by the murder of two of his brothers and several nephews. His father's brother, Gur-Khan by name (and here we have probably the origin of a part of the confusions of Rubruquis), who had taken refuge with the Naimans, got the chief of that tribe to take arms in his favour, and succeeded in displacing Tuli-Wang-Khan. The latter fled for help to Yessugai, the father of Chinghiz, who gave it so effectually that Tuli was again restored to his dominions. After a reign of many years, however, he was again ejected, and reduced to a destitute condition. Hearing, by-and-by, of the rising influence of Temujin, afterwards called Chinghiz Khan, the son of his old friend, he visited him, was received in the most cordial manner, and was treated with the greatest consideration and liberality. This was in 1196. For some years the two chiefs conducted their raids in alliance, but differences

sprang up between them; the son of Wang-Khan entered into a plot to kill Temujin, and in 1202–3 they were in open war with one another. In the latter year, Temujin completely defeated the old Kerait in a battle fought between the Tuli and Kerulen rivers; and the vanquished chief, as he fled through the Naiman country, was slain by two of that tribe. This *Potente*, as Marco Polo calls him, it is whom that traveller identifies with Prester John, and in this Polo is followed by Montecorvino and Odoric. The idea must have been derived from the oriental Christians; for the title of *Malik Yūḥannā* (King John) is applied expressly by Abulfaragius to the same Tuli-Wang-Khan. But we have seen that the name reached Europe more than a century before that chief's time[1].

There seems to have been discovered no corroboration from oriental sources of the restoration of a measure of power and dignity to the descendants of the Kerait king who had wronged Chinghiz so grievously. But for this Marco's authority might well suffice, even were it not so fully confirmed by Montecorvino.

Much ingenuity has been expended by learned men to little purpose in devising an origin for the name of Prester John. The *John* alone has been derived from the Chinese title Wang, or has been connected with the old legends of the immortality of John the Evangelist. *Prester John* has been interpreted as a corruption of *Firishtajān*, *Paraster Khan*, *Presbyter Cohen*, and what not, down to the Pedro Juan, and Preto Joam, or Black John, which the Portuguese applied to the King of Abyssinia, and the *Pretiosus Joannes*, with which one of the Popes actually addressed that potentate.

[1] *Pococke's Abulfaragius*, p. 280; and for the preceding paragraphs see *D'Ohsson*, i, 48–83; *Klaproth* in *Journ. Asiat.*, sér. i, tom. ix, 299–306, *Pauthier*, *Le Pays de Tanduc et les Descendants du Prêtre Jean*, Paris, 1862; *Ritter*, vol. ii, pp. 253–295; and especially *D'Avezac* in his introduction to Carpini.

The history of the transfer of the name to the King of Abyssinia, as the phantom conqueror of Central Asia faded into thin air, would too much lengthen this digression. It is sufficient to remark that though this transfer is usually referred, as by Ludolf, to the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese began to get acquainted with the quasi-Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, there is proof in this collection that the name was applied to the African monarch already in the first half of the fourteenth century[1].

[1] See Marignolli in this collection. Friar Jordanus had already, according to my understanding of him, placed Prester John in Africa. In the middle of the next century Fra Mauro expressly identifies him with the King of Abyssinia. In connexion with this subject I may notice that a critic in the *Spectator* (April 2nd, 1864, p. 397) blames me for referring in a note on this passage of Jordanus to the remarks of D'Avezac on Prester John "as if they supported my views," whilst, he says, on turning to those remarks he found they did just the contrary.

The implied censure has no ground. I did not refer to D'Avezac's Essay as supporting any views, but as containing a comprehensive "dissertation on Prester John and the confusions which transferred a Christian prince of Central Asia to Central Africa," and this it certainly does contain. Incidentally D'Avezac indicates the view that the India Tertia of Jordanus is somewhere in Asia or in the far East, and not in Africa as I assumed. But this affects nothing in the reference to him. That the India Tertia and Ethiopia of Jordanus were both in Africa as a matter of fact is plain, whatever the friar's own notions as to their whereabouts might be. India Tertia is the country of rhinoceroses, civet-cats, horned adders, true negroes, ambergris, and zebras; that is to say it is in Africa. Between India Tertia and India Major (i.e. India proper) also lay the Male and Female Islands, which we know from Polo were believed to lie between Persia and Africa, and from Conti to adjoin Socotra. The Ethiopia again of Jordanus is no Asiatic region, but simply Abyssinia. It adjoins India Tertia; its emperor rules over more than fifty kings, according to the old fable regarding the King of Abyssinia (see *Ludolf*, bk. ii, c. 18, § 1, and *Suppt.*, p. 15); its people are all Christians but heretics; and its king, according to another old legend, received a large tribute from the Sultan of Egypt (as a bribe not to stop the Nile; see note on *Marignolli, infra*). I may add that Friar Burchard the Dominican, nearly a century before Jordanus, knows Ethiopia as including Nubia (see above, p. 7).

It is very probable that the application of the name of India to a part of Africa connected itself with geographical notions alluded to by the Reviewer, of which there are indications in Ptolemy and Marcianus of Heraclea, and more plainly in Edrisi, and according to which Africa ran far to the East, and so as to meet, or nearly to meet, the coast of S.E. Asia. Even in Fra Mauro's map the African coast trends considerably eastward from the Red Sea (see cut

The fourth letter in the present section, written in 1326, is from the pen of ANDREW OF PERUGIA, Bishop of Zaitún, the last survivor of the six bishops sent out twenty years before by Pope Clement. Like the first two letters it is derived by Wadding from the chronicle which he ascribed to Odoric, now preserved in the National Library at Paris[1]. The impression which the letter gives of Bishop Andrew is not quite a favourable one, and it is plain that he did not pull well with Archbishop John. I have elsewhere suggested the possibility that this bishop might have been that Andrew the Frank who came to Pope Benedict in 1338 as the head of the Great Khan's embassy[2]. Even an aged man might have been tempted to revisit the Latin world before he died, and Andrew need not have been a very aged man in 1338.

We hear of but one successor to Andrew as Bishop of Zaitún, and of him only his death[3]. Under 1362 Wadding records that "Friar James of Florence, Archbishop of Zaitún, and Friar William the Campanian, two Minorites, were slain as Christian confessors in the empire of the Medes[4]."

The next letters are those of FRIAR JORDANUS the Dominican, the author of the *Mirabilia*, of which a translation was published by the HAKLUYT SOCIETY in 1863.

in *Marignolli*, *infra*). But I believe the India Minor, India Major, and India Tertia of Jordanus will be found to answer pretty closely to the SIND, HIND, and ZINJ of the Arabs, and that these names are the origin of the three Indias.

[1] *Wadding*, vii, p. 53. There is an Andrew of Perugia mentioned by Quétif as writing against the Emperor Lewis in 1330. But even if he were not a Dominican (which Quétif is not sure of) it is most improbable that this should have been our Andrew come back from the East. (*Quétif* and *Echard*, i, p. 567.)

[2] See introduction to Marignolli.

[3] [The list given by Gams (*Series Episcoporum*, 1873, p. 126) includes: GERARDUS, O.S. Fr., el. c. 1313, † in Zaytoun.—ANDREAS de PERUGIA, recus.—PEREGRIN, O.S. Fr., † 6. VII, 1322.—ANDREAS de PERUGIA (iterum sed. el. 1323), † 1326.—JACOBUS de FLORENTIA, martyr, † 1362.—Episcopatus cessat.]

[4] See this expression (*empire of the Medes*) explained in a note on the seventh letter below.

There are a few remarks to make in addition to what was said of Jordanus in the preface to that translation.

We have nothing to guide us as to the age of Jordanus at the time of his appointment to be Bishop in India. But it is just possible that we trace the journey of his party to the East as early as 1302, when Thomas of Tolentino took out with him to Asia twelve friars, of whom it is reported incidentally that they proceeded first to Negropont, and afterwards to Thebes. Now, it is obvious from the second and third pages of the *Mirabilia* that this was precisely the route followed by Jordanus, and as it seems a somewhat peculiar one the coincidence is worthy of note. The company doubtless was chiefly composed of Franciscans, but so was that party with which he went to India[1].

One of the letters translated here appears perhaps to imply that Jordanus had been to Columbum before his landing at Tana with the Franciscans[2]. And it seems to me certain that he wrote the *Mirabilia* before he went out again as bishop. His appointment to that office appears to have taken place in 1328[3], though he did not leave Europe till 1330, and as the heading of the book sets forth his episcopal designation, it is probable that he noted down the *Mirabilia* in the interval between those two dates.

That he had been at Columbum before he was made bishop is confirmed by the following circumstance. Among the Ecclesiastical Records, besides the Pope's letter to the Christians of that place there is another in like terms

[1] *Wadding*, vii, p. 11.

[2] *Loca sunt tria ubi Fratres multum fructificare poterunt et communiter vivere*, quas ego scio: *et unus est Supera...et alter est in contracta de Parocco...et alter Columbus.*" This is the only place I know in which the latter name appears in the nominative case, so that it would seemingly have been more correct to call it Columbus than Columbum as I have done, following the French editor of the *Mirabilia*.

[3] *Bzovii Annal. Ecclesiast.*, Coloniæ, 1618, tom. xiv, col. 531.

commending the new bishop "to the whole body of Christian people dwelling in *Molephatam*[1]." Now, this kingdom is mentioned by no one else that we know of except Jordanus himself in his *Mirabilia*, where he spells the name precisely as in the Pope's letter, a very unusual agreement when Asiatic names are in question. Hence, to me it seems certain that the information which led the Pope to write to Molephatam was given by Jordanus himself, and derived from his personal knowledge.

Indications of date, though slight, may also be gathered from the book. In it (p. 54) he speaks of Elchigaday as the reigning sovereign of the second Tartar (or Chagatai) empire. Ilchigadaï became Khan in 1321 [1322 ?], and the date of his death is not given. Some of the histories, indeed, put the death of his successor in 1327, but this is certainly inaccurate as will be shown below. Still, as that successor (Tarmashirin Khan)[2] had a reign of some length [1322–1334] and certainly was dethroned about 1334 at latest, it seems pretty clear that Ilchigadaï must have been dead long before Jordanus could have *returned* from exercising his episcopate in India. Hence he must have written his work before he went on that mission.

Before the printing of the *Mirabilia* the name of Jordanus was known, from his connexion with the friars put to death at Tana, but it was not known of what country he was. Hence the Portuguese claimed him as a countryman, and the Portuguese Hagiologist Cardoso declares that Jordanus himself was eventually a martyr to the faith, but with no particulars or evidence[3]. It is

[1] *Odoric. Raynaldi Annales Ecclesiast.*, 1330, § lv. ["Universis Christianis commorantibus in Molephatam gratiam in præsenti, quæ perducat ad gloriam in futuro."] Molephatam (*Malifatan*) is mentioned by the historian Rashíduddín as one of the cities of Ma'abar, in a passage quoted at the end of the third letter in this collection.

[2] [There is a Khan, Dua Timur (1321–1322), between these two, of very brief reign. This, however, rather strengthens the argument.]

[3] *Kunstmann* in *Phillips* and *Görres*, xxxvii, p. 152.

not known that he ever reached Columbum as bishop; we only know that there is no mention of him or any other bishop on Marignolli's visit twenty years later.

I have taken the opportunity of inserting at the end of these remarks a few additional notes to the *Mirabilia* of Jordanus, in correction of my own mistakes or in further illustration of the author's text.

The last letter is one from PASCAL, a young Spanish Franciscan on a mission to Tartary, written in August 1338 from Almaliq, the capital of the Khans of Turkestan or Chagatai. It describes his proceedings from his quitting his convent at Vittoria in Spain to his arrival at Almaliq, and shows a burning zeal for his work, which had the consummation which he seems almost to have anticipated, in the martyrdom which befel him, together with several of his brethren, probably within less than a year from the date of this letter[1].

The letter is derived from Wadding, who also relates the story of the martyrdom. Its circumstances are likewise briefly told by John de' Marignolli, who was at Almaliq the year after they occurred. And another reference to the story, of earlier date perhaps than the composition of Marignolli's book, is found in John of Winterthur's chronicle[2]. The narrative is given most fully by one of the Franciscan hagiologists, Bartholomew of Pisa, who wrote later in the same century, and his account, with which Wadding's is nearly identical, runs as follows[3]:

"In the Vicariat of Cathay or Tartary, in the city of Armalec in the Middle Empire of Tartary, in the year 1340, the following Minorites suffered for the faith—viz.,

[1] Compare note on Marignolli, with the remarks on that traveller's chronology in the introductory notice. The data appear to fix the death of the friars to 1339, whilst the time of year assigned by the ecclesiastical writers (midsummer) would be probably correct.

[2] *Eccard, Corpus Histor.*, i, col. 1877–8.

[3] *Barthol. Pisan., De Conformitate*, etc. (as above, p. 5) f. lxxx *ver.*

Friar Richard the Bishop of Armalec, Friar Francis of Alessandria, Friar Pascal of Spain, Friar Raymond of Provence; these four were priests; also Friar Lawrence of Alessandria, and Friar Peter of Provence, both lay brethren, and Master John of India, a black man, belonging to the third order of St. Francis, who had been converted by our friars. All these had been very well treated in that empire by the emperor then on the throne. Indeed, he had been cured of a cancer by Friar Francis of Alessandria (more by prayer than by physic), and on this account the emperor used to call Friar Francis his father and physician. And so it came to pass that he bestowed upon the brethren lands and privileges and full authority to preach, and even made over to them his own son, then seven years of age, to be baptised; and so he was accordingly, by the name of John. But by the permission of God, the emperor himself, on his way to a hunting match, was taken off by poison, and his four sons also were put to death. Then the empire was seized by a certain villain of a falconer[1], a Saracen of the blood-royal, whose name was Alisolda. And as the brethren by their preaching had made many converts to the faith, this new emperor ordered that all the Christians should be made Saracens, and that whosoever should disobey the third order to this effect should be put to death. And so when the brethren aforesaid would not obey this order they were bound and all tied to one rope, which was dragged along by the infuriated mob, who smote and spat upon them, stabbed and slashed them, cutting off their noses and ears, and otherwise mutilating them, till at length they fell by the sword and made a blessed migration to the Lord.

"But the aforesaid emperor before long was himself slain, and his house destroyed by fire. Now, these brethren suffered in the year before-mentioned, about the Feast of

[1] *Falcherius.*

St. John Baptist, and whilst Gerard Odo was General of the Order[1].

It is impossible to reconcile the revolutions of government, as stated in this ecclesiastical story, with the chronology of the Chagatai empire as given by Deguignes[2]. But the latter admits the dates of succession to be very uncertain, and there seems some ground for believing that the Franciscan statements are substantially correct.

According to the lists of Deguignes Tarmeshirin Khan, the first Mussulman Khan of Chagatai, was dethroned in 1327 by his brother Butan Khan; Butan again was dethroned by Zenkshi or Jinkshi; he by his brother Yesun Timur; and he again by ALI-SULTAN of the descendants of Okkodai, who in 1332 was succeeded by Kazán, who reigned till 1346[3].

[1] There is a little discrepancy in the list of friars. Wadding omits Raymond, and adds that William of Modena, a Genoese merchant, moved by their example, also suffered with constancy. Marignolli omits Raymond, calls Lawrence *of Ancona*, and gives Gilott as the name of the merchant.

The appointment of a bishop to Armalech seems to have escaped the notice of the annalists, nor is any other besides this Richard named by Le Quien in *Oriens Christianus*. [iii, col. 1360: "Is probabiliter est episcopus ille Armalech, nomine Richardus de Burgundia, Ordinis Minorum, quem idem Waddingus refert ad annum 1342. num. 7. pag. 480. hoc anno, circa festum S. Joannis Baptistae, gloriosum, cum pluribus aliis Minoritis, martyrium subiisse in civitate Armalech vicaria Tartariae."] He may have been sent in 1328, when John XXII is stated to have despatched bishops of the two orders with priests to various Asiatic states, including Khorasan and Turkestan. (*Wadding*, vii, 88.) But it is pretty clear that Pope Benedict himself did not know anything of the bishop, for in a letter to two ministers of the Khan of Chagatai, who were Christians, he praises their beneficence "*cuidam Episcopo* de Ord. Frat. Min. in civitate Armalech deputato." (*Mosheim*, *App.*, p. 177.)

[According to Gams, p. 454, Richard of Burgundy, O.S. Fr., was appointed bishop of Armalech in 1338, and was martyred in 1342: the pope Benedict XII being elected in 1334, it was during his reign and not under John XXII that the appointment of a bishop, the only bishop of Armalech, was made.]

[2] *Deguignes*, i, p. 286; and iv, p. 311.

[3] [According to Stanley Lane Poole's *Muhammedan Dynasties*, p. 242, the list of these chiefs of the western branch of the line of Chagatai Khans (those of Mávará-un-Nahr or Transoxiana) is: 17. Tarmashirin, began to reign A.H. 722=1322; Sanjar? A.H. 730-4?

Again, in the narrative which is given in Astley's collection from Abulghazi and others, the succession of the princes is the same, but Tarmeshirin Khan dies in 1336, and no other date is given except the death of Kazán in 1348.

If the dates in Deguignes be correct, the Ali-Sultan of the history certainly cannot be the Alisolda of the Franciscans. The other statement has nothing inconsistent with this identification which so obviously suggests itself. Now, the first dates are *certainly* incorrect; for Ibn Batuta visited Tarmeshirin Khan not many months before he entered India, and that was in the end of 1333. About two years later, he tells us, he heard of the dethronement of Tarmeshirin by his cousin Buzan Oglu (Butan Khan?)[1]. This would place the event about 1334–5. Ibn Batuta also tells us that this Buzan was an unjust sovereign who persecuted Islam, and allowed the Jews and Christians to rebuild their temples, etc. This looks very like a counterpart, from the Mussulman point of view, of the favourable character given by the missionaries of the sovereign who patronised them.

There is, however, a letter written in 1338, from Pope Benedict XII to the Khan of Chagatai, thanking him for his kindness to the Christians in his territory, and especially to Archbishop Nicholas when on his way to Chambalec[2]. And another letter to the ministers of the Khan, already quoted, speaks of their having granted a piece of land to the mission to build a church on, etc. Now, this Khan is

=1330–4?; 18. Jinkishai, A.H. 734=1334; 19. Buzun, A.H. *c.* 735 =*c.* 1335; 20. Isun Timur, A.H. *c.* 739=*c.* 1339; Ali (of Oktai stock), A.H. *c.* 741=*c.* 1340; 21. Muhammad, A.H. *c.* 743=*c.* 1342; 22. Kazán, A.H. 744=1343; Danishmanja (of Oktai stock), A.H. 747=1346; 23. Buyan Kuli, A.H. 749=1348; anarchy and rival chiefs until the supremacy of Timur, A.H. 760–771=1358–1370 A.D.]

[1] There are some curious difficulties attending the chronology of Ibn Batuta's journey, but though their solution might throw the dates in question later, I believe it could not throw them earlier.

[2] *Mosheim, App.*, p. 175.

called in the Pope's letter *Chansi*, which seems to identify him with the Jinkshi of the historical lists; whilst the circumstances mentioned seem to identify him with the Khan whose kindness to the mission is commemorated in the martyrology, and who would thus appear to be Jinkshi rather than Butan. As Nicholas was named Archbishop late in 1333, the date of his being at Almaliq was probably 1335 or 1336. There is, under these circumstances, nothing inconsistent with the revolt and success of Ali Sultan taking place in 1338 or 1339, or with his being slain soon afterwards, as the ecclesiastical story tells; though there remain some minor discrepancies.

It may be added that we have the positive statement of Friar Pascal in the letter here translated, that when he arrived on the frontiers of Chagatai, the emperor thereof had lately been slain by his natural brother. The letter is dated August 10th, 1338, and the event in question, which might have occurred from half a year to a year earlier, must have been, it seems to me, the dethronement of Jinkshi by YesunTimur. We shall then have the data afforded by Ibn Batuta, the Pope's letter, the ecclesiastical story of the martyrdom, and Pascal's own letter, all quite consistent with one another, though all inconsistent with the accepted historians. The succession of sovereigns will then run :—

Ilchigadai dies probably about		... ...	1321.
Dua-Timur		...	1321–22.
Tarmeshirin Khan dethroned by Butan		...	1334.
Butan	„ by Jinkshi	...	1335.
Jinkshi	„ by YesunTimur,		1337.
YesunTimur	„ by Ali Sultan,		1338–9.
Ali Sultan	„ by Kazán	...	1339–40.

And this Kazán was no doubt reigning when Marignolli was so well treated at Almaliq[1].

[1] See Marignolli, *infra*.

Another piece inserted in this part of our collection is a short account of "The Estate and Governance of the Grand Caan" (*i.e.*, of the Empire of Cathay under the Mongols), which was written in Latin by a certain Archbishop of Soltania under instructions from Pope John XXII. I have not been able to hear of a copy of this Latin original, but at an early date the work was done into French by that diligent John le Long of Ypres who wrought so largely in that way, and seems to be the true prototype of all the Ramusios, Hakluyts, and Purchases. Of this translation two copies exist in the Bibliothèque Nationale[1], and one did exist formerly in the Cottonian collection. This French version was printed at Paris in 1529, and subsequently, as mentioned in the bibliography relating to Odoric[2]. It was again printed from the MS. by M. Jacquet in the second series of the *Journal Asiatique* (vi, pp. 57–72) (and from that impression I have translated) [and pp. 335–346 of the miserable book of Louis de Backer, *L'Extrême Orient au Moyen âge*, Paris, 1877].

The names of several Archbishops of Sultaniah have been preserved, and as this work fixes its own date approximately as between the death of John Montecorvino, which it alludes to as recent, and that of Pope John, it must have been written about 1330, and therefore almost certainly by JOHN DE CORA, nominated to the see of Sultaniah by that

[1] In MSS. Nos. 1380 (late 7500 c) and 2810 Fr. (late 8392). See the list of MSS. of Odoric, *supra*, p. 68 and 71.

[2] *Supra*, p. 76. LHystore merueilleuse // Plaisante et Recreatiue du grād Empereur de Tar // tarie seigneur des Tartres nōme le grād Can. Cōte = // nāt six liures ou parties: Dont....On les vēd a paris en la rue neufue nre dame a leseigne. S. Nicolas // et au pallays en la gallerie cōe on va a la chācellerie pour Jehā. S. dēys. Small fol. [1529].

Begins f. 142 recto: De la gouūnance du grant caan de cathay.

— Louis de Backer. L'Extrême Orient au Moyen Age d'après les manuscrits d'un Flamand de Belgique Moine de Saint Bertin à Saint-Omer et d'un Prince d'Arménie Moine de Prémontré à Poitiers. Paris, 1877, 8vo.

Cf. H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 1930–1938.

Pope in the beginning of the year just mentioned (or somewhat earlier). It does not seem possible to determine from the text whether the author had himself been in Cathay, or only compiled from the reports and letters of others[1].

This Archbishop John, a Dominican[2], was perhaps also, as Le Quien has suggested, the author of a curious work described in Quétif's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, as existing in the Colbertian library[3], which was presented to the French king, Philip of Valois in 1330, and in which are discussed the various ways by which an army might be conducted to the Holy Land, how the Byzantine Empire might be reconquered by the Latins, and its church subjected to Rome, how the Turks might be subdued, &c. Various passages quoted by Quétif from this work show that the author was in Persia already in 1308, and had more than twenty-four years' experience of residence among the

[1] Cora, this John's name-place, is a town of the Roman Campagna six miles from Velletri. [The see of Sultaniah was created on the 1st May, 1318, for Francus of Perugia, replaced (1st June, 1323) by William Adam, who being transferred to Antivari had for his successor John of Cora, a Dominican, appointed by John XXII on the 9th August, 1329.—I find *Cori*, Province of Rome, Circondario de Velletri.] M. d'Avezac says that the reference to Montecorvino's funeral implies the author's presence at it, but there appears to be a difference in the readings. The passage as given in Jacquet's publication in the *J. A.*, p. 69, runs thus:

"Cilz Arceuesques comme il plot a Dieu est nouuellement trespassez de ce siècle. A son obseque et a son sepulture *vinrent* tres grant multitude de gens crestiens et de paiens, et descioient ces paiens leurs robes de dueil," etc. M. d'Avezac's quotation, which appears to be taken from the work as printed in 1529, has *vis* instead of *vinrent*.

[2] [There was later at Sultaniah an Archbishop John, promoted in 1398 from the bishopric of Nakhschiwan; he was also a Dominican and was sent in 1403 by Timur as an ambassador to the Court of Charles VI, King of France. Cf. H. Moranvillé, *Mémoire sur Tamerlan et sa Cour, par un Dominicain, en* 1403. (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, lv, 1894, pp. 432–464.)]

[3] *Quétif and Echard*, i, pp. 571–4. It is entitled, "*Directorium ad faciendum passagium transmarinum editum per quemdam Fratrem ordinis Prædicatorum scribentem experta et visa potius quam audita, quod dirigitur serenissimo principi & Domino D. Philippo Regi Francorum, compilatum anno D^ni* [MCCCXXX] *millesimo ccc^o trigesimo.*" There is a MS. of the same work in Magdalen College Library at Oxford.

infidels; that he had been a great labourer in the reconciliation of the Armenians to Rome; that he had seen armies of almost all the nations of the east go forth to war; that he had visited an island of the Indian sea, which appears to have been Socotra[1]; and that he had been present with Don Martin Zacharia, the Genoese Captain of Chios, in some of his victories over the Turks[2]. The rank of the author as Archbishop in the East is gathered by Quétif from the records of the French council, in which the proposals made in this work were discussed, vii Kal. August, 1330.

D'Avezac indeed says that the work in question was written by Fr. Burchard, the author of a celebrated description of the Holy Land, and informs us that this is stated in a French translation of the work, executed for the Duke of Burgundy in 1457, as well as in the catalogue of the Colbert MSS. drawn up by Baluze in the end of the seventeenth century. But there is certainly some mistake here, as Burchard or Brocard the Dominican, who wrote the *Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ*, went to the Holy Land in 1283[3], a century before the date to which the *Directorium* described by Quétif most assuredly belongs. It is curious that so accurate and accomplished a writer as M. d'Avezac should have overlooked this.

[1] See *supra*, p. 7.

[2] See *Jordanus*, p. 56, and additional notes to *Jordanus*, *infra*.

[3] The date 1232 for Burchard's visit to Palestine in the first edition of *Cathay* was taken from the *Biographie Universelle*. But the editor of *Peregrinatores Quatuor*, etc., shows that the journey occurred in 1283. (Yule.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE *MIRABILIA* OF FRIAR JORDANUS.

(HAK. SOC. 1863.)

Preface, p. iv. The MS. of Jordanus is stated by a reviewer in the *Spectator* to be now in the British Museum.

Page vii. *Bishop of Semiscat.* Prof. Kunstmann takes this place for Meshed, but we are both wrong. M. Coquebert-Montbret, the French editor, was right in identifying it with Samarkand, though the identification did not seem probable in absence of reasons alleged. But it is clear, from reading the records in reference to this appointment in Wadding or Mosheim, that Samarkand is meant. The bishop in question, Thomas of Mancasola[1], is commended by the Pope to Elchigaday, Emperor of *Turquestan*, in whose territories he had been previously labouring, and was now promoted to a bishopric *in civitate Semiscantensi*, as it is written in one place, no doubt, correctly. For we learn from Clavijo that Samarkand was also called *Cimesquinte.* It is called *Siemi-se-kan* also in old Chinese annals, which is, perhaps, an indication of the same form (*Deguignes*, iv, 49).

Page ix. *Chronicle in the Vatican.* The doubts as to this chronicle being written by our Jordanus are confirmed by a reference to Muratori (*Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, vol. iv, pp. 949 *et seq.*), who gives a number of extracts, and states the author's apparent interests to be Venetian and Franciscan.

[1] [We read in Gams; *Series Episcoporum*, p. 454: "Eccl. Semiscatensis. 1329. sed. Thomas Mancasola, O.S.D."]

Page xiv. *Note referring to Conti.* Being compelled to finish this preface in great haste, I made a mistake here, for which apology is due to Mr. Major. In the travels, as published in his *India in the Fifteenth Century*, the first name is *Peudefitania*, which Mr. Major explains as "Durmapatnam, near Tellicherry"; the second is *Buffetania*, which he explains as "Burdwan"; I believe, however, that the two names represent the same place, and I do not admit that either could mean *Burdwan*.

In the same note, for *Barandṣi* read *Barânasí*.

Page xvii. My surmise as to the reading of the first words of Jordanus is "emphatically wrong," a critic says, in the *Spectator*; and I believe he is "emphatically" right.

Text. Pages 4, 5. *The Catholic Archbishop, Zachary by name.* This personage, Zachary Archbishop of St. Thaddeus, is congratulated by Pope John XXII on his reconciliation and zeal for the Catholic faith, in a letter dated in November, 1321. St. Thaddeus was a celebrated convent immediately south of Ararat (*Od. Raynaldi Annales Eccl.*, sub an. 1321 vi; *Jour. Asiat.*, sér. v, tom. xi, 446).

Page 6. *The tomb of Húlakú.* Húlakú not only did build a castle, called Tala, on an island in the lake, in which were deposited his treasures; but he was himself buried there, and much gold, etc., cast into the tomb with him. His successor, Abaka, was also buried there (*D'Ohsson*, iv, 257, 406–7, 538).

Page 7. *Lake where Ten Thousand Martyrs were crucified*, etc. This lake is not Sevan, north of Ararat, but the great lake of Van, south of the mountain. The great city called Semur must be ancient Van, called by the Armenians *Shamirama Kerta* (the city of Semiramis). There are vast remains. And six miles from Van is a monastery on a hill called Varac, where they relate that ten thousand martyrs were crucified, as Jordanus says. Another authority, however, speaks of their being crucified

on Mount Ararat, "under Adrian and Antoninus Pius," and being valorous soldiers who refused to sacrifice. They are said to be celebrated in one of the sermons of Ephraim Syrus (*St. Martin*, in *Journ. As.*, sér. ii, tom. v, 161; *Viaggi Orient. del P. Filippo*, Venice, 1667, p. 1089; *Breve Desc. dello Stato della Christianità, etc., nell' Armenia, per il R. P. Domenico Gravina*, Roma, 1615, p. 38).

Page 10. *Pix, dico seu Pegua.* There is rather a wild question in the note on this last word. I suppose now that it is a form of *pegola*, old Italian for *pitch*.

> "Tal non per fuoco ma per divina arte
> Bollia laggiuso una *pegola* spessa."
>
> Dante, *Inf.*, xxi, 16.

The word *pegola* is applied to the same thing, *viz.* the mineral pitch of Persia, by Cesar Frederic in *Ramusio* (iii, 386 v., ed. of 1606).

Page 12. *Risis autem comeditur atque* Sagina *in aquâ tantummodò cocta.* This is mistranslated; it should be "Rice, however, and *millet* are eaten merely boiled in water." *Saggina* in Italy is the tall Asiatic millet, or *sorghum*, which in India we call *jowar*. The common dictionaries, with their usual imbecility, explain it, some as *Turkey-wheat*, some as *buck-wheat*, some as both!

Page 13. *Pliny's Pala and Ariena, the Jack.* Ritter strangely assumes these to be the *banana*. "Humboldt" he says, "writes, that many Indians (of S America) make their meal with a very little manioc and three bananas of a larger kind. Still less satisfied the Indian Brahmans, for one fruit of that kind was enough for four." And he refers to the above-cited passage in Pliny. Here the great geographer is all abroad. Four Brahmans would be as ill-pleased to dine off one plantain of the largest kind known in India, as four Germans off one potato. The only feature suggesting the plantain in Pliny's description is the greatness of the leaves; but the form (three cubits by two)

is quite different, and the great leaves were probably suggested by the great fruit; also the production of dysentery by the fruit, which Pliny mentions, is entirely foreign to the plantain.

Page 18. *The Rhinoceros in Western India.* The following references will show that the rhinoceros was in Sindh and the Punjab, at least as late as Jordanus's time, and in Peshâwar province two hundred years later (*Ibn Batuta*, iii, 100; *Baber*, pp. 292, 316; *Journ. Asiat.*, sér. i, tom. ix, 201; *Pétis de la Croix, Timur*, p. 158).

Page 24. *Alleged Hindu Theism.* On this subject Gasparo Balbi says, that we must not assume that *idol* stands for *God* with those heathen, "*perchè questa gente credono anch' essi che vi sia un Dio che regge e governa la machina di questo mondo;* ma adorano l' idolo come noi adoriamo nelle imagini quello che si rappresentano" (p. 68).

Page 30. *Island of naked folk.* The Carta Catalana exhibits this east of Java (which is there called *Jana*), with the title "Insula nudorum in quâ homines et mulieres portant unum folium ante et retro alium."

Page 34. *A star of great size*, etc., *called Canopus.* Baber, on describing his first invasion of Cabul, and his passage of the Indian Caucasus, says: "Till this time, I had never seen the star *Soheil* (*Canopus*); but on reaching the top of a hill, Soheil appeared below, bright to the south. I said, 'This cannot be Soheil!' They answered, 'It is, indeed, Soheil!' Baki Cheghaniani recited the following verses:

'O Soheil! how far dost thou shine, and where dost thou rise?
Thine eye is an omen of good fortune to him on whom it falls!'"

Baber, p. 133.

Page 37. *Even the Devil, too, speaketh to men*, etc. "This, for certain, I can affirm, that oftentimes the Devil doth cry with an audible voice in the night: 'tis very shrill, almost like the barking of a dog. This I have often heard

myself, but never heard that he did anybody any harm" (*Robert Knox's Hist. Rel. of the Island of Ceylon*, p. 78; see also *Campbell's Excursions*, etc., i, 311).

Page 40. *Note.* On Fandaraina and Singuyli, see *note* to Odoric (p. 133).

Page 45. *Fifty-two kings under the Lord of Ethiopia.* On the numerous tributaries ascribed to the "Emperor of Ethiopia," *i.e.*, the King of Abyssinia, sometimes one hundred and twenty (as in Fra Mauro), sometimes sixty, sometimes fifty, sometimes forty, see *Ludolf*, book ii, c. xviii, § 1, and suppt., p. 15.

Page 53. *Moorish Sea.* Read Black Sea (*Mare Mauruin*), and see note near beginning of Odoric.

Page 54. *Dua, Cayda, Capac, and Elchigaday.* Both Kaidu and Dua reigned in the Turkestan or Chagatai division of the Mongol dominions in the latter part of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. Kaidu long disputed with Kúblái the supreme *Khanate*, whilst Dua was the inheritor of the special Khanate of Chagatai. Capac, the *Guébek* of D'Ohsson or Kapak of others, was the fourth Khan from Dua, dying in 1321, and succeeded by *Ilchikdai*, the Elchigaday of our author.

Page 56. *A very noble Genoese, by name Martin Zachary, etc.* The story of this worthy, and how the Emperor (Andronicus Senior) got Chios from him, and took him prisoner, may be read in *Nicephorus Gregoras*, ix, 9, vi, and in *Joannes Cantacuzenus*, ii, c. 10 and 11. In 1338 Pope Benedict XII and King Philip of France wrote to the Emperor of the East to obtain Martin's liberation, and probably with success; for a Genoese Martin Jaqueria is found in command of the Pope's galleys two years later (*Ducange, Hist. de Constant.* Pt. ii, p. 103).

Page 57. *Andreolo Cathani.* For *camp* read *castle.* This castle was that of Phocæa Nova or Foglia Nuova as the Latins called it, three hours from ancient *Phocæa* on the

coast of Ionia. Here certain Genoese obtained a grant of the alum-mines in an adjoining hill during the time of Michael Palæologus, and worked them to great profit. When the Turkish power became predominant they made terms with their Mussulman neighbours, and the position was maintained by the Genoese at least till late in the fifteenth century. Andrew Catanea or Cathani, the chief of the settlement in the reigns of the Andronici, is mentioned by several of the Byzantine Historians. The process of extracting the alum at Phocæa is described much as by Jordanus, in the Byz. History of Michael Ducas. (*Ducange, Hist. de Constant.* ed. 1729, Pt. ii, p. 136; *Georg. Pachymeres*, v, 30; *Ducæ Michaelis Nepotis Hist. Byz.*, cap. xx.)

Page 58. *St. John supposed to be asleep at Ephesus.* I find this belief is spoken of not only by Sir John Mandeville (p. 136), but by Saint Augustine himself as reported to him by respectable Christian folks of Ephesus. (*Romance of Travel*, ii, 88.)

LETTERS AND REPORTS OF MISSIONARY FRIARS.

No. I. FIRST LETTER OF JOHN OF MONTECORVINO[1].

I, FRIAR John of Monte Corvino, of the order of Minor Friars, departed from Tauris, a city of the Persians, in the year of the Lord 1291, and proceeded to India. And I remained in the country of India, wherein stands the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months, and in that region baptized in different places about one hundred persons. The companion of my journey was Friar Nicholas of Pistoia, of the order of Preachers, who died there, and was buried in the church aforesaid.

I proceeded on my further journey and made my way to Cathay, the realm of the Emperor of the Tartars who is called the Grand Cham. To him I presented the letter of our lord the Pope, and invited him to adopt the Catholic Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, but he had grown too old in idolatry[2]. However he bestows many kindnesses upon the Christians, and these two years past I am abiding with him.

[1] [No. XXXXIIII. Ex L. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.*, T. vi, p. 69, *s.*: "Ego frater Ioannes de Monte Corvino de Ordine Fratrum Minorum, recessi de Thaurisio ciuitate Persarum anno Domini MCCXCI. et intraui in Indiam....Data in Ciuitate Cambaliech regni Catan, anno Domini MCCCV. die VIII. mensis Ianuarii." (Mosheim, App., pp. 114–117.)]

Cf. Wadding, vi, anno 1321, 359–361.—Raynaldus, iv, 401.—Marcellino da Civezza, *Storia*, Vol. iii.

[2] The expression "*nimis inveteratus est idololatria*" might seem to point to old Kúblái. But the expressions that follow seem to imply that the same emperor continued to reign up to the date of the letter. This was Timur, grandson of Kúblái (1294–1307), who had a strong propensity to the Lamas and their doctrines (*Quatremère's Rashídeddín*, p 191).

The Nestorians, a certain body who profess to bear the Christian name, but who deviate sadly from the Christian religion, have grown so powerful in those parts that they will not allow a Christian of another ritual to have ever so small a chapel, or to publish any doctrine different from their own.

To these regions there never came any one of the Apostles, nor yet of the Disciples. And so the Nestorians aforesaid, either directly or through others whom they bribed, have brought on me persecutions of the sharpest. For they got up stories that I was not sent by our lord the Pope, but was a great spy and impostor; and after a while they produced false witnesses who declared that there was indeed an envoy sent with presents of immense value for the emperor, but that I had murdered him in India, and stolen what he had in charge. And these intrigues and calumnies went on for some five years. And thus it came to pass that many a time I was dragged before the judgment seat with ignominy and threats of death. At last, by God's providence, the emperor, through the confessions of a certain individual, came to know my innocence and the malice of my adversaries; and he banished them with their wives and children.

In this mission I abode alone and without any associate for eleven years; but it is now going on for two years since I was joined by Friar Arnold, a German of the province of Cologne.

I have built a church in the city of Cambaliech, in which the king has his chief residence. This I completed six years ago; and I have built a bell-tower to it, and put three bells in it. I have baptised there, as well as I can estimate, up to this time some 6000 persons; and if those charges against me of which I have spoken had not been made, I should have baptized more than 30,000. And I am often still engaged in baptizing.

Also I have gradually bought one hundred and fifty boys,

the children of pagan parents, and of ages varying from seven to eleven, who had never learned any religion. These boys I have baptized, and I have taught them Greek and Latin after our manner. Also I have written out Psalters for them, with thirty Hymnaries and two Breviaries. By help of these, eleven of the boys already know our service, and form a choir and take their weekly turn of duty[1] as they do in convents, whether I am there or not. Many of the boys are also employed in writing out Psalters and other things suitable. His Majesty the Emperor moreover delights much to hear them chaunting. I have the bells rung at all the canonical hours, and with my congregation of babes and sucklings I perform divine service, and the chaunting we do by ear because I have no service book with the notes.

A certain king of this part of the world, by name George, belonging to the sect of Nestorian Christians, and of the illustrious family of that great king who was called Prester John of India, in the first year of my arrival here attached himself to me, and being converted by me to the truth of the Catholic faith, took the lesser orders, and when I celebrated mass he used to attend me wearing his royal robes. Certain others of the Nestorians on this account accused him of apostacy, but he brought over a great part of his people with him to the true Catholic faith, and built a church on a scale of royal magnificence in honour of our God, of the Holy Trinity, and of our lord the Pope, giving it the name of the *Roman Church*[2].

This King George six years ago departed to the Lord a true Christian, leaving as his heir a son scarcely out of the cradle, and who is now nine years old. And after King George's death his brothers, perfidious followers of the errors

[1] "*Tenent chorum et hebdomadas.*" The passage is quoted under *Hebdomadæ* by Ducange, with the explanation of that word which the text gives.

[2] Probably in Tathung, towards the Hwang Ho; see note to Odoric, pp. 244–245.

of Nestorius, perverted again all those whom he had brought over to the church, and carried them back to their original schismatical creed. And being all alone, and not able to leave his Majesty the Cham, I could not go to visit the church above-mentioned, which is twenty days' journey distant[1].

Yet, if I could but get some good fellow-workers to help me, I trust in God that all this might be retrieved, for I still possess the grant which was made in our favour by the late King George before mentioned. So I say again that if it had not been for the slanderous charges which I have spoken of, the harvest reaped by this time would have been great!

Indeed if I had had but two or three comrades to aid me 'tis possible that the Emperor Cham would have been baptized by this time! I ask then for such brethren to come, if any are willing to come, such I mean as will make it their great business to lead exemplary lives, and not to make broad their own phylacteries.

As for the road hither I may tell you that the way through the land of the Goths, subject to the Emperor of the Northern Tartars, is the shortest and safest; and by it the friars might come, along with the letter-carriers, in five or six months[2]. The other route again is very long and very

[1] "This is precisely the distance which the Imperial Geography assigns as the distance from the capital of the country occupied by the tribe of *Urat* [a branch of the old Kerait still occupying the country adjoining Tathung], that is to say, 1520 *li*, or 152 leagues, of which about 7½ go to a day's journey." *Pauthier, Le Pays de Tanduc*, etc., p. 38.

[2] This first route is the way by Tana and Sarai as described by Pegolotti. He, however, makes upwards of eight months actual travelling from Tana to Cambalec.

Respecting the Goths of Gazaria see Rubruquis (p. 219), in Rockhill's ed., p. 42, and Barbaro in Ramusio (ii, 97 vers.). Both of these travellers attest the Germanic dialect, and the latter had a German servant who spoke with them. "They understood each other reasonably well, much as a man of Forli might understand a Florentine." Busbeck, who was the emperor's ambassador at Constantinople between 1554 and 1560, saw two of these Crimean Goths,

dangerous, involving two sea-voyages; the first of which is about as long as that from Acre to the province of Provence, whilst the second is as long as from Acre to England. And it is possible that it might take more than two years to accomplish the journey that way[1]. But, on the other hand, the first-mentioned route has not been open for a considerable time, on account of wars that have been going on[2].

It is twelve years since I have had any news of the Papal court, or of our Order, or of the state of affairs generally in the west. Two years ago indeed there came hither a certain Lombard leech and chirurgeon, who spread abroad in these parts the most incredible blasphemies about the court of Rome and our Order and the state of things in the west, and on this account I exceedingly desire to obtain true intelligence. I pray the brethren whom this letter may reach to do their possible to bring its contents to the knowledge of our lord the Pope and the Cardinals, and the agents of the Order at the court of Rome.

I beg the Minister General of our Order to supply me with an Antiphonarium[3], with the Legends of the Saints,

and gives a list of some forty of their vocables, which are pure Teutonic, some of them pure English (one at least pure Scotch, *criten*, to weep or *greet*); other words which he gives are apparently not Teutonic at all. Their numerals are Germanic up to 100, but 100 itself and 1000 are Persian (*Sada* and *Hazar*). (*Busbequii Opera Omnia*, Amst., 1660, pp. 321–326.) The Goths of the Crimea are also mentioned by the comrade of Plano Carpini, Benedict the Pole (776), who calls them *Saxons*; by Nicephorus Gregorias (*Hist. Byzant.*, i, 5); by Laonicus Chalcondylas (iii, p. 68), and probably by many others.

[1] This alternative route is that which John himself had followed to Cathay. The first sea voyage alluded to is that from Hormuz to Malabar, and the second that from Malabar, or from St. Thomas's (Madras) to China. The distances do fairly correspond with the voyages from Acre which he adduces in illustration.

[2] The wars carried on, since thirty years, against the Grand Khan by Kaidu; or perhaps rather the wars of succession in Turkestan after his death in 1301 at a very great age (see *D'Ohsson*, ii, 451, 512, etc. and *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 458-9 *n.*).

[3] The *Antiphonæ* now are short anthems from the Psalms and similar parts of Scripture, which are chanted in whole or in part before the appointed Psalms, and in whole after these. The Antiphonæ, or part of one, before the Psalms, determines the pitch for the intona-

a Gradual[1], and a Psalter with the musical notes, as a copy; for I have nothing but a pocket Breviary with the short Lessons[2], and a little missal: if I had one for a copy, the boys of whom I have spoken could transcribe others from it. Just now I am engaged in building a second church, with the view of distributing the boys in more places than one.

I have myself grown old and grey, more with toil and trouble than with years; for I am not more than fifty-eight. I have got a competent knowledge of the language and character which is most generally used by the Tartars[3]. And I have already translated into that language and character the New Testament and the Psalter, and have caused them to be written out in the fairest penmanship they have; and so by writing, reading, and preaching, I bear open and public testimony to the Law of Christ. And I had been in treaty with the late King George, if he had lived, to translate the whole Latin ritual, that it might be sung throughout the whole extent of his territory; and whilst he was alive I used to celebrate mass in his church, according to the Latin ritual, reading in the before-mentioned language and character the words of both the preface and the Canon[4].

tion of these. It would seem that the etymological meaning of the term has been abandoned. But an *Antiphonarium* is or was also a name applied to a book containing all that is sung by the choir during vespers.

[1] *Graduale* is a psalm or part of a psalm sung at mass between the Epistle and Gospel, some say because read on the steps of the altar. But *Graduale* is also a name applied to a book containing all that is sung by the choir in the service of the mass.

[2] The *Lectio Brevis* is a short passage of Scripture read at the end of *Prime* and the beginning of *Complines*.

[3] The original seems to be corrupt here, and does not bear closer rendering: "*Didici competenter linguam et litteram Tartaricam, quæ lingua usualis Tartarorum est.*" *Tartaricam* can scarcely be the true reading. Perhaps it should be *Tarsicam*; see passage in the following letter.

[4] *Præfatio* is that part of the service of the mass commencing with the words *Sursum Corda* which immediately precedes the *canon*, by

And the son of the king before-mentioned is called after my name, John; and I hope in God that he will walk in his father's steps.

As far as I ever saw or heard tell, I do not believe that any king or prince in the world can be compared to his majesty the Cham in respect of the extent of his dominions, the vastness of their population, or the amount of his wealth. Here I stop.

Dated at the city of Cambalec in the kingdom of Cathay, in the year of the Lord 1305, and on the 8th day of January[1].

No. II. SECOND LETTER OF JOHN OF MONTECORVINO[2].

To the Reverend Father in Christ the Vicar General of the Order of Minor Friars, and to the Vicar of the said Order, and to the Master of the Order of Preachers, and to

which name is implied the series of prayers and ceremonies followed in the consecration of the Eucharist. In explaining these terms of the Roman service I have consulted Ducange; a modern Italian encyclopædia (*N. Encic. Popol. Italiano*); and an Italian priest of my acquaintance.

[1] I think that here January 1305 must mean *our* January 1305, and not 1306. The next letter we shall find to be written about a year after this one. And that next letter had been read by the Pope when he created John Archbishop, for the fragments of his bull on that occasion (see *Wadding*, vi, 93; or *Mosheim*, App., p. 124) contain allusions to its contents. Now, though the date of this bull is not preserved, it is fixed by other circumstances to the spring of 1307. Hence, letter No. II could not have been written later than 1306, nor this letter, No. I, later than 1305.

[2] No. XXXXV. Ex L. Waddingi *Annal. Min.*, T. vi, p. 69 *s.*: "Reuerendo in CHRISTO Patri Fratri NN. Vicario Generali Ministro Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, et Vicario Fratrum, et Magistro Ordinis Praedicatorum, et Fratribus Ordinis vtriusque in provincia Persarum manentibus: frater IOANNES DE MONTE CORVINO de Ordine Fratrum Minorum, inutilis CHRISTI seruus, praedicator fidei sacrae Christianae, Legatus et Nuncius Sedis Apostolicae Romanae, salutem et caritatem in eo qui est vera caritas et salus omnium.

Ordo eximiae caritatis inuitat, ut longe lateque distantes, et maxime, qui peregrinantur pro lege CHRISTI, cum revelata facie se inuicem videre non possunt, saltem verbis et litteris se inuicem consolentur... Baptizaui ibi circa centum personas cet. *Deest finis.*" (Mosheim, App., pp. 117–120.)

the Friars of either Order abiding in the province of the Persians;

From Friar John of Montecorvino of the Order of Minor Friars, an unprofitable servant of Christ, Preacher of the Holy Christian Faith, Legate and Nuncio of the Apostolic See of Rome;

Health and Love in Him who is the True Love and Health of all.

The requirements of blessed brotherly love demand that those who are separated far and widely, and especially those who are Missionaries of Christ's Law in distant lands, when they cannot see each other face to face, should at least send one another comforting communications by letter.

I have been thinking that you had some reason to be surprised that during my long residence in so distant a region you had never yet received a letter from me[1]. And I also was surprised that until this year I never received a letter from any friend or any Brother of the Order, nor even so much as a message of remembrance, so that it seemed as if I was utterly forgotten by everybody. And most of all I was grieved at this when I heard that rumours of my death had reached you.

But now I wish to tell you that last year, in the beginning of January, by a certain friend of mine who was attached to the court of the Lord Kathan Khan[2], and who had come to his majesty the Cham, I sent a letter to the father vicar and the friars of the Province of Gazaria, giving a short account of the whole state of affairs with me. And

[1] This is clearly what he means. But he *says*: "*Vos non sine causâ mirari, quòd tot annis in Provinciâ tam longinquâ consistentes, nunquam meas litteras recipistis.*"

[2] "*Qui fuit ex sociis Domini Kathan Chamis.*" This seems to refer to Ghazan Khan, sovereign of Persia; but, according to Deguignes and D'Ohsson, he died in 1304. It is, therefore, perplexing that in 1306 the writer should still speak of the "Messengers of the said Lord Kathan" as just arrived, which he does a little further on.

in that letter I begged the said vicar to send you a copy; and now I have learned from some persons who have just arrived with the messengers of the aforesaid Lord Kathan to his majesty the Cham, that my letter did reach you, the bearer of it from this having after a while gone on from the city of Sarai to Tauris. I do not therefore think it necessary to detail the contents of my former letter nor to write them over again. I will only mention that the first matter spoken of was about the persecutions which the Nestorians raised against me, and the second was about the church and houses which I had completed.

I have now had six pictures made, illustrating the Old and New Testaments for the instruction of the ignorant[1]; and the explanations engraved in Latin, Tarsic[2], and Persian

[1] This is the passage alluded to in the Pope's bull appointing John to the archbishopric (see note above, p. 51).

[2] "Tarsic letters," says Rémusat, quoting this passage, are "those of the Uighúrs, to whose country the relations of that age gave the name of *Tarsia* from a Tartar word signifying *infidel*, and which appears to have been applied in Tartary successively to the followers of Zoroaster, and to the Nestorian Christians." (*Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, ii, 198.)

[According to Palladius, *i'e sie* is the Chinese transcription of the word *tersa*, used by the Persians since the time of the Sassanides to designate the Christians, and sometimes also the Fire-worshippers and Magi. Cf. Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i, p. 67 *n.* We read in Ney Elias' translation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 290: "Now the tribe of Náimán were mostly Christians [*Tarsa*]." In a long note Elias makes the following remark regarding Rémusat's passage: "Thus the name was applied also to the Uighúrs as a nation, but probably only on account of their Christianity or Buddhism—for both religions were prevalent among them."]

[Devéria thinks that by *Tarsicis* Monte Corvino means the writing of the Unfaithful, *i.e.* of the Mongols. Bonin, *Jour. As.*, May–June 1900, p. 587, says the word refers to "Syrian letters."]

The name of Tarse is applied expressly to the kingdom of the *Yogurs* by Hayton the Armenian; and Marino Sanudo the Elder also speaks of the kingdom of Tarse where the Tartars first learned letters and also idol worship; he is probably drawing from Hayton. (*Secreta Fidel. Crucis*, p. 235.) Carpini likewise (p. 709) has *Tarci* in his list of nations conquered by the Mongols, but the reading is doubtful. *Tharze* appears in Fra Mauro and *Tarssia* in the earlier Catalan map, somewhere about Turkestan. The author was apparently also following Hayton, as he states that the Three Kings came from that country. Trigautius tells us that in his time (the beginning of the seventeenth century) the Mahomedans in China spoke of the old professors of

characters, that all may be able to read them in one tongue or another.

Christianity in that country as *Terzai*, the origin of which appellation he was ignorant of; but he heard from an Armenian that the Armenian Christians in Persia were called by the same name. (*De Christiana Exped. apud Sinas*, 1617, p. 137.) The word is apparently that given by Meninski as "*Tarsá*, a Christian, an infidel, a fire-worshipper." Its application to the Uighúrs and their character perhaps indicates the extensive prevalence of Nestorian Christianity among them.

Quatremère quotes the author of a book called *Tabakati Naseri*, as saying that the inhabitants of a certain city of Tibet professed the *Dín Tarsáyi*, which he renders *religion Chrétienne*, though considering that the writer had mistaken Buddhism for Christianity. (*Rashíd-eddin*, p. 198.)

The Uighúr [or rather the *Soghdian*] character was the original source of those still used by the Mongols and Manchus, and was itself almost certainly derived from the old Syriac character through the Nestorians.

The modern Tartar characters are written (and, I presume, read) in vertical lines from top to bottom of the page, the lines succeeding each other from left to right. It seems doubtful whether the Uighúr itself was thus written; at least, Rémusat says that the only document in that character which was known to him was written in horizontal lines, though the language of Rubruquis as to the Uighúr writing most precisely describes the vertical direction of the modern Tartar alphabets. Rémusat thinks that the vertical direction may have been acquired by the frequent necessity of interlining Chinese documents, a suggestion which seems ingenious rather than convincing. It has, indeed, been maintained by some authorities that the ancient Syriac itself was vertical, and an old line is cited,

"E cœlo ad stomachum relegit Chaldæa lituras,"

but Rémusat denies this. [The Syriac part of the inscription of Si-ngan fu is in vertical lines.]

I may venture to remark that the direction in which a character is *read*, and not that in which it is written, is the essential distinction. Everyone has acquaintances whose characters run, if not vertically, at least in a resultant direction between vertical and horizontal; and the Indian Munshi in *writing* the Persian character on a paper in his hand, according to the usual practice, does really by some natural necessity write *e cœlo ad stomachum*, a practice which, by becoming systematised or copied by a people to whom writing was a new acquirement, might give rise to a modified character, *read* as well as written vertically.

The language of the Uighúrs appears to have been Turkish. So Rubruquis, who shows unusual discernment for his time in all linguistic matters, expressly testifies. Rashíduddín says that Mangú Khan had secretaries to write his orders in Chinese, Tibetan, Tangutan, and Uighúr. Unless the latter represent Turkish, that language, which was spoken over so great a part of his empire, was omitted altogether.

Mr. Schmidt, the translator of Ssanang Setzen, maintains against the general opinion that Uighúr was Tangutan or Tibetan; his arguments are not convincing, and his temper does not beget confidence. Whatever Uighúr may have meant in Mongol authors, the people and language so called by the Western Asiatics were Turkish.

As regards a third subject (I may add that) some of the boys whom I purchased and baptized have departed to the Lord. A fourth matter mentioned was that since my first coming to Tartary I have baptized more than five thousand souls.

In that same year of the Lord 1305, I began another new place before the gate of the Lord Cham, so that there is but the width of the street between his palace and our place, and we are but a stone's throw from his majesty's gate. Master Peter of Lucolongo, a faithful Christian man and great merchant, who was the companion of my travels from Tauris, himself bought the ground for the establishment of which I have been speaking, and gave it to me for

The "Ugaresca" of the Genoese in the Crimea, and the Uighúr character which Friar Pascal learned at Saray (see below) could have nothing to do with Tibetan.

Captain Valikhanoff speaks of the language now in use at Kashgar as being *Uighúr*, but it is not clear whether he means that this term is known to the natives. (*Russians in Cent. Asia*, p. 67.)

On the original seat and migrations of the Uighúrs, see D'Ohsson (i, 107 *seq.*, and 429 *seq.*) [and Introductory Essay].

(*Rubruquis*, pp. 288, 289; *Plano Carpini*, 651; *Klaproth* in *J. As.*, sér. i, tom. v, 203; *Rémusat, Rech. sur les langues Tart.*, 38, 39, 60–63; *St. Martin, Mém. sur l'Arménie*, ii, 275; *Schmidt, Ssanang Setzen*, etc., pp. 211, 386, 396–8, 406, 412.)

[According to Dr. Von le Coq (*Exploration archéol. à Tourfan, J. As.*, Sept.-Oct. 1909, p. 325) the Uighúr, who go back to the Hiung nu, were a mixed race, of Scythic, Iranian, and Turkish elements; their language was a Turkish dialect somewhat similar to that of the Tu kiue. Their tribe was the first Turkish tribe reaching a high degree of civilisation; most of them were Buddhist, but many were Manichaeans and Nestorian Christians. These Uighúr, called *Hwei-ho* by the Chinese, at the time of the Wei (Toba) dynasty were known as the *T'ie-le* (Tölös) tribes and were then subject to the Tu-kiue; these Hwei-ho became gradually powerful from the beginning of the VIIth century, after they had defeated Ch'u-lo kagan; Hami, Kashgar, Turfan fell into their hands; subsequently they were known to the Chinese as *Wei-wu-rh*; at the height of their power, it extended from Pei-t'ing (Gu-chen) to Aqsu. They had several capitals; among others Kao ch'ang, Kho cho or Idiqut-shahri (Turfan), and Kara balgasun near the Orkhon river. The Uighúr character is of Syriac origin, introduced into Eastern Turkestan by the early Nestorian missionaries; it is the basis of the modern Mongol and Manchu characters. According to Palladius, the Uighúr writing was introduced by Chinghiz among his people a few years after Ch'ang ch'un visited Mongolia. (*Marco Polo*, i, p. 28 *n.* Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i, pp. 53, 236, 263. Chavannes, *Tou-kiue.*)]

the love of God. And by the divine favour I think that a more suitable position for a Catholic church could not be found in the whole empire of his majesty the Cham. In the beginning of August[1] I got the ground, and by the aid of sundry benefactors and well-wishers it was completed by the Feast of St. Francis with an enclosure wall, houses, offices, courts, and chapel, the latter capable of holding two hundred persons. On account of winter coming on I have not been able to finish the church, but I have the timber collected at the house, and please God I hope to finish it in summer. And I tell you it is thought a perfect marvel by all the people who come from the city and elsewhere and who had previously never heard a word about it. And when they see our new building, and the red cross planted aloft, and us in our chapel with all decorum chaunting the service, they wonder more than ever. When we are singing, his majesty the Cham can hear our voices in his chamber; and this wonderful fact is spread far and wide among the heathen, and will have the greatest effect, if the divine mercy so disposes matters and fulfils our hopes.

From the first church and house to the second church which I built afterwards, is a distance of two miles and a half within the city, which is passing great. And I have divided the boys into two parties, putting one of them in the first church and the other in the second, and so each party performs the service by itself. But I act as chaplain and celebrate mass in each church on alternate weeks, for none of those boys are priests.

As regards the regions of the East, and especially the

[1] This may perhaps mean August 1304, though, if we look at the beginning of this paragraph only, we should suppose it to be August 1305. But in his preceding letter written in January 1305, he says he was already in *actu edificandi ecclesiam*. And from August to St. Francis's day (4th October) in the same year seems too short a time for the amount of work reported.

empire of the Lord Cham, I give you to know that there is none greater in the world. And I have a place in the Cham's court, and a regular entrance and seat assigned me as legate of our Lord the Pope, and the Cham honours me above all other prelates, whatever be their titles. And although his majesty the Cham has heard much about the court of Rome, and the state of the Latin world, he desires greatly to see envoys arriving from those regions.

Here are many sects of idolaters holding various beliefs; and here also are many persons attached to religious orders of different sects, and wearing different habits; and these practise greater abstinence and austerity than our Latin monks.

I have seen the greater part of India and made inquiries about the rest, and can say that it would be most profitable to preach to them the faith of Christ, if the brethren would but come. But none should be sent except men of the most solid character; for those regions are very attractive, abounding in aromatic spices and precious stones. But they possess few of our fruits, and, on account of the great mildness and warmth of the climate, the people there go naked, only covering the loins. And thus the arts and crafts of our tailors and cordwainers are not needed, for they have perpetual summer and no winter. I baptized there about a hundred persons....

Here the letter, as given by the chronicler from whom Wadding copies, breaks off. But the same authority gives, as the substance of part of another letter that had been presented, what in fact appears to have been the end of this letter, perhaps accidentally separated from what goes before[1]:

"Besides what he wrote in the preceding year (*i.e.* 1305) Friar John of Monte Corvino this year relates in another letter of his that a solemn deputation had come to him from a certain part of Ethiopia, begging him either to go

[1] See introductory notice, *supra*, p. 6.

thither to preach, or to send other good preachers; for since the time of St. Matthew the Apostle and his immediate disciples they had had no preachers to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and they had an ardent desire to attain to the true Christian faith.

"Friar John also said that after the Feast of All Saints he had baptized four hundred persons. And as he had heard that a number of friars, both Minors and of the other Order, had arrived in Persia and Gazaria, he exhorted them to preach fervently the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and so to win a harvest of souls. The letter was dated at Cambalec, a city of Cathay, in the year of the Lord 1306, on Quinquagesima Sunday and in the month of February."

No. III. LETTER FROM FRIAR MENENTILLUS, A DOMINICAN, FORWARDING COPY OF A LETTER FROM JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO.

To you Friar Bartholomew of Santo Concordio[1], your brother in all things, Menentillus of Spoleto, wisheth health and wisdom in Christ[2]!

[1] This Bartolomeo a Santo Concordio, a Dominican monk, a Pisan by birth, and eminent for his learning in canon and civil law as well as his accomplishments in Latin and Tuscan literature, flourished in the early part of the fourteenth century and died in 1347. He was best known afterwards as the author of a *Summa de Casibus Conscientiæ*, arranged alphabetically, which he completed in 1338. This was printed at a very early date and often again, being apparently much used as a handbook by confessors, and known familiarly as the *Magistruccia* or *Pisanella*. (*Quétif. Scriptores Ord. Praed.*, i, 623–625.) There is a work of the same author "*De origine civitatis Pisanæ*" in *Muratori, Ital. Rer. Scriptores*, tom. vi.

[2] The opening of this letter may be given as a sample of the style of the original :—

"A vo' in Cristo frate Bartolomeo de Santo Concordio suo per tutte le cose frate Menentillo di Spuleto salute e sapienzia! Perciò che conosco che voi grande cura avete in iscienzia, e molto sapete e vorreste tutte le cose sapere, spezialmente quelle che non sapete, e vorrest' avere sapimento e cognoscienzia di tutte le cose; imperciò scrivo a voi certe cose le quali aguale sono scritte delle parte d' India Superiore per uno frate Minore, lo quale fue compagno di frate Nicolaio da Pistoia, lo quale moritte in India Superiore, andando

And because I wot of the great curiosity that you have in regard to all science, and that, much as you do know, you would fain know everything and especially things that are new to you; and in truth that you are one whose desire is to have knowledge and information of all kinds; therefore transcribe I for you certain matters just as they have been written from India by a certain Minorite Friar (the travelling companion of Brother Nicolas of Pistoia, who died in Upper India), when on his way to the court of the Lord of all India. The bringer of the letter I have seen and spoken with, and it was in his arms that the said Brother Nicholas did die. The letter was to the effect following[1]:

"The state of things [with regard to climate] in the Indies is such as shall now be related.

"In India it is always warm, and there never is any winter; yet the heat is not extravagant. And the reason is, that there be at all times winds which temper the heat of the air. And the reason why there can be no winter is the position of the country with respect to the zodiac, as I shall now tell. That is to say, the sun when entering *Virgo*, i.e. on the 24th day of August, sends down his rays, as I have seen and in particular noted with my own eyes, quite perpendicularly, so as to cast no shadow on either side. And in like manner when he is entering *Aries*, i.e. at the end of March. And when he has gone through *Aries* he passes towards the north, and casts shadows towards the south until...[the summer solstice] and then turns to *Virgo*, and after he has past through the sign of *Virgo* he then casts his shadow towards the north. And thus there

al Signore di tutta l' India. Lo messo viddi e parlai con lui, in delle cui braccia lo ditto frate Nicolaio moritte. E cosi testificava."

[1] Professor Kunstmann speaks of Menentillus having met John of Montecorvino at the court of the Khan and got the information that follows from him. But this must surely rest on some misunderstanding. Menentillus is merely a monk in Italy, who chances on a letter of John's and sends it to a learned friend to gratify his curiosity.

is never so great an elongation[1] of the sun as to admit of cold, and there are not two seasons. Or, as I have said before, there is no winter or cold season.

"As regards the length of the day and the night I have tried to determine them by such measures and indications as I could. I have observed that at the two epochs before mentioned, when the sun's rays strike perpendicularly without casting any shadow, the day is fifteen hours long, and the night nine. And when the sun is at the solstice of *Cancer*, the day is a little less than fourteen hours long, and the night is a little more than ten, perhaps by a quarter of an hour. But when the sun is in the solstice of *Capricorn*, that is to say in the month of December, the day has a length of eleven hours and the night of thirteen. For the sun's elongation is somewhat greater when it is in *Capricorn* than when it is in *Cancer*[2].

"Moreover, the star which we call the Pole-star is there so depressed, i.e. so low, that it can scarcely be seen. And methought that if I had been on a lofty point I could have seen the other Pole-star which is in the opposite quarter[3]. I looked many a time for a sight of it, and I saw several constellations which moved round about it, from observing which I gathered that they were exceedingly near to it[4].

[1] The transcript made for me gives *congiungimento*, but Professor Kunstmann's has *elongamento*.

[2] I am afraid we cannot throw the blame of these extraordinary statements on anybody but Friar John himself. He considers that at a given north latitude within the tropic the day is at its longest when the sun passes towards the north, and *diminishes* up to midsummer day, increases again till it repasses the given latitude, and then diminishes till midwinter.

[3] "*L' altra tramontana la quale è posta in contrario.*"

[4] This runs: "Molto guardai di vederla e vidi più segni che gl' andavano intorno per li quai li *conovi* et parvemi ch' elli fusseno vicini veramente, perchè la fumosità vi sono continue chontra quella parte *si tene* per li calori e per li venti ella è molto al disotto non me ne potei certificare." The words in italics are read by Prof. Kunstmann *Conobbi* and *Sottane*. The last I have adopted, but not the former, which he understands to be the name (*Canopi*) given to the stars, certainly a misapprehension.

But because of the continual haze on the horizon in that quarter, caused by the heat and the winds, and because of the stars being so low, I never could satisfy myself. However India is a very extensive region, and perhaps in some places it would be seen at a greater elevation, in others at a less. I have examined the matter to the best of my ability. So much as to [the climate of] Upper India, which is called MAEBAR, in the territory of St. Thomas.

"*Concerning the state of things as to the country itself in Upper India.* The condition of the country of India aforesaid is this. The land is well enough peopled; and there be great cities therein, but the houses are wretched, being built of sandy mud, and usually thatched with leaves of trees. Hills there are few; rivers in some places are many, in others few. Springs there are few or none; wells in plenty; and the reason is this, that water is generally to be found at the depth of two or three paces, or even less. This well water is indeed not very good to drink, for it is somewhat soft and loosens the bowels; so they generally have tanks or excavations like ponds, in which they collect the rain water, and this they drink. They keep few beasts. Horses there are none, except it be in possession of the king and great barons. Flies there be few, and fleas none at all[1]. And they have trees which produce fruit continually, so that on them you find fruit in every stage up to perfect ripeness at one time[2]. In like manner they sow and reap at almost all seasons, and this because it is always warm and never cold. Aromatic spices are to be had good cheap, some more so and some less so, according to what spices they be. They have trees that produce sugar, and others that produce honey, and others that produce a liquor that has a smack of wine. And this the natives of thos

[1] They must have come with the Portuguese then!

[2] The sentence is apparently corrupt, but this seems to be the meaning.

countries use for drink. And those three things are to be had at very small cost. And the pepper plant is here also. It is slender and knotty like a vine; and indeed 'tis altogether very like a vine, excepting that it is more slender, and bears transplanting.

"Ginger is a reed-like plant, and, like a cane-root, it can be dug and transplanted. But their canes here are more like trees, being sometimes a cubit in girth and more, with slender prickly branches round about, and small leaves.

"The Brazil tree[1] is a slender lofty and thorny tree, all red as it were, with leaves like fern. The Indian nuts are as big as melons, and in colour green like gourds[2]. Their leaves and branches are like those of the date tree.

"The cinnamon tree is of a medium bulk, not very high, and in trunk, bark, and foliage, is like the laurel; indeed, altogether it resembleth the laurel greatly in appearance. Great store of it is carried forth of the island which is hard-by Maabar[3].

"As regards men of a marvellous kind, to wit, men of a different make from the rest of us, and as regards animals of like description, and as regards the Terrestrial Paradise, much have I asked and sought, but nothing have I been able to discover.

"Oxen are with these people sacred animals, and they eat not their flesh for the worship they bear them. But they make use of cows' milk, and put their cattle to labour like other folk.

"The rain falleth at fixed seasons.

[1] *Bersi.*

[2] The word is *chocosse.* I can find nothing nearer than *cocuzza*, which is given as a South Italian word for a gourd (*cucurbita*). The comparison seems probable.

[3] Ceylon. I believe this is one of the earliest notices of the Ceylon cinnamon trade. Sir Emerson Tennent, I think, quotes Ibn Batuta as the earliest.

"The state of things as regards the inhabitants of India is as follows:—The men of this region are idolaters, without moral law, or letters, or books. They have indeed an alphabet which they use to keep their accounts, and to write prayers or charms for their idols; albeit they have no paper, but write upon leaves of trees like unto palm leaves. They have no conscience of sin whatever. They have idol-houses in which they worship at almost all hours of the day; for they never join together in worship at any fixed hour, but each goes to worship when it pleases himself. And so they worship their idols in any part of these temples, either by day or by night. They frequently set forth their fasts and feasts, but they have no fixed recurring day to keep, either weekly or monthly. Their marriages take place only at one time of the year; and when the husband dies the wife cannot marry again. The sin of the flesh they count not to be sin, nor are they ashamed to say so.

"In the regions by the sea are many Saracens, and they have great influence[1] but there are few of them in the interior. There are a very few Christians, and Jews, and they are of little weight. The people persecute much the Christians, and all who bear the Christian name.

"They bury not their dead but burn them, carrying them to the pile with music and singing; whilst apart from this occasion the relatives of the deceased manifest great grief and affliction[2] like other folk.

"But India is a region of great extent, and it hath many realms and many languages. And the men thereof are civil and friendly enough, but of few words, and remind

[1] As to the great influence of the Saracens on the coast of Maabar see the extract from Rashid *infra*, which shows that at this very time a "Saracen" was the king's chief minister and governor of the seaports of Pattan, Malipattan, and Káil (in the original *Wazír wa Mushír wa Sahib-i-tadbír*).

[2] *Rancori.* Kunstmann has *ramori.*

me somewhat of our peasants[1]. They are not, strictly speaking, black, but of an olive colour, and exceedingly well formed both women and men. They go barefoot and naked, except that they wear a cloth round the loins, and boys and girls up to eight years of age wear nothing whatever, but go naked as they came from their mother's womb. They shave not the beard; many times a day they wash; bread and wine they have none. Of the fruits that we make use of they have few or none; but for their daily food they use rice and a little milk; and they eat grossly like pigs, to wit, with the whole hand or fist, and without a spoon. In fact, when at their food they do look more like pigs than men!

"There is great security in the country. Bandits and robbers are seldom met with; but they have many exactions to pay[2]. There are few craftsmen, for craft and craftsmen have little remuneration, and there is little room for them. They commonly use swords and daggers like ourselves; and if actually they have a battle they make short work of it, however great the forces be, for they go to battle naked, with nothing but sword and dagger. They have among them a few Saracen mercenaries who carry bows.

"The state of things in regard to the Sea of India is this. The sea aboundeth greatly with fish; and in some parts of it they fish for pearls and precious stones. The havens are few and bad; and you must know that the sea here is the Middle Sea or Ocean. Traversing it towards the south there is no continent found but islands alone, but in that sea the islands are many, more than 12,000 in number. And many of these are inhabited, and many are not.

"You can sail (upon that sea) between these islands

[1] "*Sono li omini assai dimestichi e familiari e di poche parole, e quasi come omini di villa.*"

[2] "*Pedaggi molti vi si pagano.*" This I take from Kunstmann. My transcript has "*Per arti molti vi si pagano.*"

and ORMES and (from Ormes) to those parts which are called [MINIBAR] is a distance of 2,000 miles in a direction between south and south-east; then 300 miles between east and south-east from Minibar to Maabar, which (latter however) you enter steering to the north; and from Menabar [Maabar?] you sail another 300 miles between north-east and north to SIU SIMMONCOTA[1]. The rest I have not seen, and therefore I say nothing of it.

[1] I have endeavoured to reduce to shape and congruity this passage, which is a good deal bungled in the MS. It runs thus: "*Navicavisi da isse* (or *da Issa*) *infine ad Ormesse et a quelle parti le quali si dice che siano due miglia migliaia di miglia e intrà scilocco e levante da Minabar a Maabar ch' entra a tramontana ccc miglia intra levante e scirocco da Menabar a Siu Simmoncota altre ccc migliaia navicavisi intra greco e tramontana.*"

In the text I have taken *da isse*, as read by Kunstmann (for *esse*), to refer to the islands, and this requires rather a forced translation to be intelligible. But if it be a proper name, ISSA, as in my transcript, then we should read—"You can sail from Issa to Ormes and so to those parts," etc. In that case Issa must be a port of the Persian Gulf, perhaps Al-Ahsa, which is a port on the west shore below Al-Katif, and is mentioned by our author's contemporary, Rashíd, in connexion with Indian trade, in a passage which will be given presently.

The first section of the voyage, then, I understand to be from the Persian Gulf to one of the ports of Malabar (called Minabar, see p. 132, *supra*); the second from the said port to some city on the Gulf of Manaar; and the third from the Gulf of Manaar to some place on the Coromandel coast, at least as far north as the church of St. Thomas, *i.e.*, Madras. I say "some city on the Gulf of Manaar," because we shall see presently that Mabar is, with the present writer, a city, and is probably to be identified with that where Marco Polo locates his chief king of Mabar. As Polo seems to specify this as sixty miles west of Ceylon, I judge that it must have been somewhere near Ramnad. It is not Cail, because he says distinctly that Cail was subject to another of the chiefs, and Cail is a good deal more than sixty miles from any part of Ceylon.

The extreme point which our author visited, whether Siu Simmoncota or Giu Gimmoncota (for it is so read by Kunstmann), I cannot determine. It must have been *at least* as far up the coast as Madras, because he tells us in the first letter that his companion Nicholas of Pistoia was buried in the church of St. Thomas. Samulcotta (*S'yámala Kotta*—Black Fort, or Fort of Durga?), the nearest approach to the name that I can trace among existing towns, seems to be too far north. The Buddhists were called *Samanas* and Samanals in South India, and *Saman-Kotta*, "The Fort of the Buddhist," might be a probable enough name.

The name, however, taking it abstractedly as it stands, would most nearly represent *Siva-Samundra-Kotta*. *Siva* appears constantly in

"The shores of the said sea in some places run out in shoals for 100 miles or more[1], so that ships are in danger of grounding. And they cannot make the voyage but once a year, for from the beginning of April till the end of October the winds are westerly, so that no one can sail towards the west; and again 'tis just the contrary from the month of October till March. From the middle of May till the end of October the wind blows so hard that ships which by that time have not reached the ports whither they are bound, run a desperate risk, and if they escape it is great luck. And thus in the past year there perished more than sixty ships; and this year seven ships in places in our own immediate neighbourhood, whilst of what has happened elsewhere we have no intelligence. Their ships in these parts are mighty frail and uncouth, with no iron in them, and no caulking. They are sewn like clothes with twine. And so if the twine breaks anywhere there is a breach indeed! Once every year therefore there is a mending of this, more or less, if they propose to go to sea. And they have a frail and flimsy rudder like the top of

popular pronunciation as *Siu* or *Seo*, as in *Seodasheogarh*, *Seopoor*, *Seoganga*, etc., and we find the analogous name of Dwara-Samudra to be written by the Persian and Arabian historians *Dur-sammund* and *Dur-Saman* (see *Dow's Ferishta*, i, 256, 281; *Masálak al-ábsár* in *Not. et Extr.*, xiii, 170; and *Wassaf* in *Von Hammer*, op. inf. cit., ii, 202). The only place I can trace bearing at present the name of Siva-Samundra (the Sea or Lake of Siva) is a very holy and ancient site on an island in the Caveri south-east of Seringapatam, whilst the site we seek must have been on the coast. Perhaps, however, there is some indication of the existence of a place of importance on the coast in the name of which Samudra was an element, in passages of Firishta and Wassaf. The latter, in speaking of the civil wars of Maabar about this very time, says that the Raja had laid up 1200 *krors* of gold besides jewels in the treasures of *Shahrmandi*; whilst the former, after describing the prodigious spoils carried from the Peninsula by Malik Kafur in 1310, observes that he understood Dwara Samudra to have been since *destroyed by the encroachment of the sea*, and to lie in ruins. But Dwara Samudra the capital of the Belal Rajas was an inland city, which has been identified with Halabidu in Mysore (*Wassaf* in *Hammer Purgstall's Ilchane*, ii, 204; *Brigg's Firishta*, iv, 374).

[1] Here he refers apparently to the reefs and shoals between Ceylon and the mainland.

a table, of a cubit in width, in the middle of the stern; and when they have to tack, it is done with a vast deal of trouble; and if it is blowing in any way hard, they cannot tack at all. They have but one sail and one mast, and the sails are either of matting or of some miserable cloth. The ropes are of husk[1].

"Moreover their mariners are few and far from good. Hence they run a multitude of risks, insomuch that they are wont to say, when any ship achieves her voyage safely and soundly, that 'tis by God's guidance, and man's skill hath little availed.

"This letter was written in MAABAR, a city of the province of SITIA in Upper India, on the 22nd day of December in the year of our Lord MCCX (CII or CIII)[2]."

[1] *Resti.* I am doubtful of the meaning of the word.

[2] The date in the MS. at Florence is obscure, but M.CC.X...at least is legible. Quétif, in his mention of it in *Script. Ord. Prædicatorum*, gives the date as M.CCC.XX. But this is not correctly transcribed. John left Tauris in 1291, and on his way passed thirteen months in Southern India. Hence the date is doubtless M.CC.XCII or M.CC.XCIII. It is worth noting that as Marco Polo, if Rashíd's statements quoted below be exact, could not have been later than 1292 in visiting Maabar on his way westward, the two Italian travellers may have met in that region.

The "Province of Sitia" is named by no other traveller that I know of. The island or peninsula of Ramisseram was, however, called *Sethu*, "The Bridge" or Causeway, from which the chiefs of the adjoining territory of Ramnad or Marawa derived their title of *Sethupati* or "Lord of the Bridge," and perhaps this name is disguised under the form Sitia. It is possible that the same name is intended in a passage quoted by Von Hammer Purgstall from the Persian historian Wassaf, where the chiefs of Maabar are mentioned, and where they are unaccountably spoken of (without attempt at comment or explanation on the part of the editor) as "sharing the lordship of the land of *Sind*." This may have been سيت or سيتو (*Set*, or *Setú*) misread as سنت or سنتو (*Sint* or *Sintu*); if it were not *Pandi*, misread as *Sindi*, which is equally possible.

It seems impossible to derive any distinct notion of the political state of this part of the peninsula at the end of the fourteenth century from the confused and mystified genealogies of the Tamul chronicles as exhibited by Professor Wilson and Mr. W. Taylor. Something however is to be learned from Marco Polo and his Persian contemporaries, whose statements are in remarkable agreement as to the leading facts.

Marco [ii, p. 331] tells us that going sixty miles westward from

Ceylon you come to the noble province of Maabar, which in his time was divided among five kings who were brothers (*the Ramusian Polo says* four *kings*). The chief of these, who reigned at Maabar proper, was called SONDER BANDI DAVAR; another, who reigned at Cail, was called ASCIAR (Ishwar?); the names of the others he does not state. It seems also to be implied that the territory of these chiefs extended at least as far north as St. Thomas's. The brothers were constantly at strife, and Marco expresses his opinion that as soon as their mother, who tried hard to keep peace among them, should die, they would infallibly quarrel and destroy each other. He tells us also that the treasure accumulated by the sovereigns of this kingdom was immense and that as no horses (or at least only ponies with crooked legs) were reared in the country, large revenues were expended in procuring them.

["You must know that the merchants of Kis and Hormes, Dofar and Soer and Aden collect great numbers of destriers and other horses, and these they bring to the territories of this King and of his four brothers, who are kings likewise as I told you. For a horse will fetch among them 500 *saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver, and vast numbers are sold there every year. Indeed this King wants to buy more than 2000 horses every year, and so do his four brothers who are kings likewise" (*Marco Polo*, ii, p. 340).]

Now read what Rashíduddín says on the same subject: "Maabar extends from Kulam to Siláwar (this should be *Nilawar*, i.e. Nellore, as we shall see presently) 300 *farsangs* along the shore,... The king is called DEWAR, which means in the Maabar tongue 'lord of Wealth.' Large ships called *junks* bring merchandize thither from Chin and Machin...Maabar is as it were the key of India. Within the last few years SINDAR LEDI" (ليدي *Ledi*, misread for بندي BANDI), "who with his three brothers obtained power in different directions, and Malik Taki-ullah bin Abdarrahman bin Muhammed Et-Tibi, brother of Sheikh Jamaluddín, was his minister and adviser, to whom he assigned the government of FATAN MALIFATAN" (the Molephatam of Jordanus, see p. 184), "and BAWAL" (probably a misreading for *Kávil* or *Kail*). "And because there are no horses in Maabar, or rather those which are there are weak, it was agreed that every year Jamaluddín Ibrahim should send to the Dewar 1400 Arab horses obtained from the islands of Kais, and 10,000 (1000?) from all the islands of Fars, such as Katif, L'Ahsa, Bahrein, Hormuz, Malkat (Maskat?), etc. Each horse is reckoned worth 220 *dinars* of red current gold. In the year 692 H. (A.D. 1292) the Dewar died, and Sheikh Jamaluddín who succeeded him obtained, it is said, an accession of 7000 bullock loads of jewels and gold, and Takiuddín, according to previous agreement, became his lieutenant. Notwithstanding his immense wealth he established a rule that he should have the first option of purchasing all imports," etc. (In *Sir H. M. Elliott*, *Historians of Muham. India*, p. 44.)

The statements of Wassaf are more diffuse, and have been confused either by the scribe or by Von Hammer in quoting them. The latter seems content, as we have seen, to accept the confusion of Sind with the peninsula, and proceeds on his own authority to confound Maabar with Malabar. An abstract of Wassaf's statements, as well as I can understand Von Hammer's extracts, may be given as follows: "Maabar is the coast which stretches from the Persian Sea through a length of 300 *farsangs* to NILAWAR. Its princes are called DIWAR or lord. Three princee at this time shared the dominion of the country, of

whom the most powerful was Taki-uddín Abdarrahman bin Muhammed Et-Thaibi, who had a contract for the supply of horses with Jamaluddín, the Malik-ul-Islam and Farmer-General of the Customs of the Persian Gulf, who resided at Kish. The contract price of the horses was fixed at 220 ducats a head, whilst the cost of those lost at sea was borne by the contractor in Persia. In the time of Abubekr, the Salghur Atabeg of Hormuz, when that kingdom was in its glory, 10,000 horses yearly used to be shipped to India, bringing to the sellers a revenue of 3,500,000 pieces of gold!

"Two of the native chiefs of Maabar who contended for the throne were SINDARBANDI and PIREBANDI, the former the legitimate, the latter the illegitimate son of Gilishdiur Raja of Maabar" (probably *Kulesa-Dewar*; Von Hammer does not seem to see that this *diur* is the title Dewar which has just been specified), "a prince who had reigned prosperously for forty years without ever having been laid up by illness or attacked by a foe. He had named Pirebandi his successor, which so enraged Sindarbandi that he slew his father, and took forcible possession of Shahrmandi, where his enormous treasures were laid up. Pirebandi gathered an army to avenge his father's murder, and a battle took place beside a lake which the people of India called Taláji" (*Talà*, a Tank? and perhaps the same as the *Celai* (for *Telai*) of Odoric, p. 123). "Eventually Pirebandi, aided by his cousin Bermal (Perumal?) was successful; whereon Sindarbandi fled to the court of Delhi, and sought help from Alauddín against his brother." This led to the invasion of Kafur.

This historian also speaks of Jamaluddín Abdarrahman Et-Thaibi as the Farmer-General and Keeper of the Marches of Maabar, apparently the same whom Rashíd states to have succeeded to the Dewar in 1292. His son Surajjuddín, it is also stated, was plundered of all his wealth by the army of Kafur, upon which his son Nizamuddín betook himself to Delhi to make complaint, and obtained, with some partial restoration of property, the administration of the finances in Maabar, which had been held by his father and grandfather. (See *Hammer Purgstall, Gesch. der Ilchane*, ii, 51 *seq.*, and 197 *seq.*) There are evident discrepancies between the accounts of Rashíd and Wassaf, which it would be vain to attempt to reconcile without further knowledge. Nor do either their notices nor anything that I can gather from the works of Wilson and Taylor suffice to show to what dynasty belonged these princes of Maabar of whom Polo and the Persian historians speak. The names of the chiefs, Sindarbandi (Sundara-Pandi), Parebandi (Vira-Pandi), Gilish (Kalesa), are all indeed such as occur repeatedly among the half-mythical lists of the Pandyan dynasty of Madura, but there seems some reason to believe that the chiefs in question may have been rather princes of Marawa, or of some family of adventurers. The title *Dewar*, though not peculiar to the Setupatis has been specially *affected*, by all the Marawas down to our own time, and Professor Wilson finds reason to believe that these were for a long time paramount over Madura, and for three reigns held the whole of that kingdom in their hands. (*Catal. of Mackenzie Coll.*, i, 195; *J.R.A.S.*, vol. iii, 165 and 223; *Madras Journ.*, 1836, p. 35, *seq.*) The time indeed of this is left undetermined, except that it was before the rise of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century.

The nearest approach in the Tamul Annals to an indication of the period with which we are dealing appears to be the following. After a great deal of stuff about reigns of many thousand years, it is said:—

"After that the Pandyan race became extinct; the children of concubines and of younger brothers in former ages, fought against one another; and dividing the country into factions they caused themselves to be crowned in various parts of the Pandyan kingdom, and ruled each over his own town, and the surrounding neighbourhood. No one being permitted to rule in Madura, each party strove in battle against the other; and their several children continued for some generations to rule in those various places." (*Taylor, Orient. Hist. MSS.*, i, 25.) The Mahomedans are stated then to have come in during this state of anarchy, in the twelve hundred and forty-sixth year of Salivahana (A.D. 1324). But it is obvious that they had great power in the Peninsula thirty years before that date, and the invasion by the armies of Ala-uddín took place some years before.

M. Pauthier, in his new Marco Polo, has adduced curious references to Maabar, and to the five brother princes, from the Chinese Annals, and has also anticipated me in bringing forward the passage from Rashíd at p. 68 in illustration of the traveller. It is curious that its remarkable concurrence with the latter's statements should have escaped Sir Henry Elliott from whom we both derive the extract. Whilst referring to this part of Marco's narrative it seems worth while to point out that when M. Pauthier concurs with Marsden and others in identifying the kingdom of MUTFILI, which the traveller describes, with *Masulipatam* he does the same injustice to his author's accuracy which he so severely blames in others. Masulipatam, he says, is *Machli*-patam and *Machli*-bander, "*d'où est venu sans doute le nom de* Mustfili." But Marco's name is *Mutfili*, and requires no torture. The name and place still exist. Mutapali or Mootapilly, which the Arab sailors would call Mutafilly, as they call Pattan Fattan, is a port in the Gantur district south of the Krishna, which still has, or had at the beginning of this century, a considerable amount of coasting trade. The kingdom of Mutafili was no doubt, as Marsden perceived, that of Warangal or Tiling. "It is subject to a queen of great wisdom, whose husband died forty years ago, and her love to him was such that she has never married another. During this whole term she has ruled the nation with great equity, and been beloved beyond measure by her people" (*Polo*, iii, 21). The just and good queen of whom Marco here speaks can also be identified as Rudrama Devi, the daughter of the ruler of Dewagiri, and widow of Sri Kumara Kakatiya Pratapa Ganapati Rudra Deva King of Warangal, who made extensive conquests on the coast. This lady ruled after her husband's death for twenty-eight, or thirty-eight years, and then in 1292 or 1295 transferred the crown to her daughter's son Pratapa-Vira-Rudra-Deva, the Luddur Deo of Firishta. (See *Taylor, Oriental Hist. MSS.*, ii, 81; *Ditto, Catalogue Raisonné*, etc., iii, 483; *C. P. Brown, Carnatic Chronology*, pp. 54–55. The latter does not mention the queen.)

P.S. After this went to press a brief examination of the passage quoted from Rashíd (at page 68) as it is in the MS. in the India Office Library, shows its readings as *Nildwar*, *Sindar Bandi*, and *Kátl*, for *Silawar*, *Sindar Ledi*, and *Bawul*. That is, the letters will *bear* the readings stated, and not those of Sir H. Elliott's copy, but there are no diacritical points.

[See the long notes to *Marco Polo's* Chapters xvi, and xvii. of Book III, ii, pp. 331–352.]

No. IV. LETTER FROM ANDREW BISHOP OF ZAYTON IN MANZI OR SOUTHERN CHINA, 1326[1].

Friar Andrew of Perugia, of the Order of Minor Friars, by Divine permission called to be Bishop, to the reverend father the Friar Warden of the Convent of Perugia, health and peace in the Lord for ever!

...On account of the immense distance by land and sea interposed between us, I can scarcely hope that a letter from me to you can come to hand....You have heard then how along with Friar Peregrine, my brother bishop of blessed memory, and the sole companion of my pilgrimage, through much fatigue and sickness and want, through sundry grievous sufferings and perils by land and sea, plundered even of our habits and tunics, we got at last by God's grace to the city of Cambaliech, which is the seat of the Emperor the Great Chan, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1308, as well as I can reckon.

There, after the Archbishop was consecrated, according to the orders given us by the Apostolic See, we continued to abide for nearly five years; during which time we

[1] [No. XXXXVI. L. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.*, T. vii, p. 53*s.*: Frater ANDREAS de PERUSIO de Ordine Minorum Fratrum diuina permissione vocatus Episcopus, R. P. Fratri Guardiano Perusini Conuentus salutem et pacem in Domino sempiternam.

Nam propter immensam terrarum mariumque distantiam, inter me et vos interjectam, vix sperare possum, quod litterae ad vos per me transmissae ad manus vestras valeant peruenire. *Et infra sequitur.* Nouistis me itaque cum bonae memoriae fratre PEREGRINO Coepiscopo, et meae peregrinationis indiuiduo comite, praeter multos labores et languores, inedias, variaque tormenta atque pericula in terra pariter et in mari, ubi fuimus rebus omnibus, etiam tunicis et habitibus spoliati, demum, Deo juuante, ad Sambaliensem ciuitatem, quae Sedes est Imperii Magni Chanis, anno Dominicae Incarnationis MCCCVIII. vt credo peruenisse, vbi secundum mandatum a Sede Apostolica nobis datum, Archiepiscopo consecrato, moram ibi per quinquennium ferme contraximus; infra quod temporis spatium procurauimus Alafa ab Imperatore magnifico pro victu et vestitu octo personarum...Data in Cayton anno Domini MCCCXXVI. in mense Januarii. (*Mosheim*, pp. 120–3.)]

obtained an *Alafa*[1] from the emperor for our food and clothing. An *alafa* is an allowance for expenses which the emperor grants to the envoys of princes, to orators, warriors, different kinds of artists, jongleurs[2], paupers, and all sorts of people of all sorts of conditions. And the sum total of these allowances surpasses the revenue and expenditure of several of the kings of the Latin countries.

As to the wealth, splendour, and glory of this great emperor, the vastness of his dominion, the multitudes of people subject to him, the number and greatness of his cities, and the constitution of the empire, within which no man dares to draw a sword against his neighbour, I will say nothing, because it would be a long matter to write, and would seem incredible to those who heard it. Even I who am here in the country do hear things averred of it that I can scarcely believe....

There is a great city on the shores of the Ocean Sea, which is called in the Persian tongue Zayton[3]; and in this city a rich Armenian lady did build a large and fine enough church, which was erected into a cathedral by the Archbishop himself of his own free-will. The lady assigned it, with a competent endowment which she provided during her life and secured by will at her death, to Friar Gerard the Bishop, and the friars who were with him, and he became accordingly the first occupant of the cathedral.

After he was dead however and buried therein, the

[1] *Arab.* 'alaf, *pabulum*, and 'ulúfa, *a soldier's wages, a stipend or provision.* (*Freytag.*) But Quatremère points out that the exact word used here, *'alafah* is employed by Rashídeddin to signify (1) the allowance made by the prince for the keep of animals such as elephants, and (2) *an allowance for the entertainment of ambassadors and other like personages.* He refers to the passage in the text. (*Quat., Rashideddin*, p. 371.)

[2] "*Jaculatoribus*," but I suppose a misprint for *Joculatoribus.*

[3] Wadding has *Cayton.* No doubt it was Cayton, for we constantly find the ç for *z*. But printing it Cayton has led Ritter into the mistake of putting Bishop Andrew at Canton. (*Ritter's Lectures*, Berlin, 1861, p. 224.)

Archbishop wished to make me his successor in the church. But as I did not consent to accept the position he bestowed it upon Friar and Bishop Peregrine before mentioned. The latter, as soon as he found an opportunity, proceeded thither, and after he had governed the church for a few years, in the year of the Lord 1322, the day after the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul[1], he breathed his last.

Nearly four years before his decease, finding myself for certain reasons uncomfortable at Cambaliech, I obtained permission that the before mentioned *alafa* [illegible] imperial charity should be allowed me at the said city of Zayton, which is about three weeks' journey distant from Cambaliech[2]. This concession I obtained as I have said, at [illegible]y earnest request, and setting out with eight horsemen allowed me by the emperor, I proceeded on my journey, being everywhere received with great honour. On my arrival (the aforesaid Friar Peregrine being still alive) I caused a convenient and handsome church to be built in a certain grove, quarter of a mile outside the city, with all the offices sufficient for twenty-two friars, and with four apartments such that any one of them is good enough for a church dignitary of any rank. In this place I continue to dwell, living upon the imperial dole before-mentioned, the value of which, according to the estimate of the Genoese merchants, amounts in the year to 100 golden florins or thereabouts[3]. Of this allowance I have spent the greatest part in the construction of the church; and I know none among all the convents of our province to be compared to it in elegance and all other amenities.

And so not long after the death of Friar Peregrine

[1] July 7th.

[2] This is very short allowance, and an error in the number may be suspected.

[3] In intrinsic value something less than £50; but with respect to both time and place equivalent to a vastly greater sum of money doubtless than £50 is to us.

I received a decree from the archbishop appointing me to the aforesaid cathedral church, and to this appointment I now assented for good reasons. So I abide now sometimes in the house or church in the city, and sometimes in my convent outside, as it suits me. And my health is good, and as far as one can look forward at my time of life, I may yet labour in this field for some years to come: but my hair is grey, which is owing to constitutional infirmities as well as to age.

'Tis a fact that in this vast empire there are people of every nation under heaven, and of every sect, and all and sundry are allowed to live freely according to their creed. For they hold this opinion, or rather this erroneous view, that everyone can find salvation in his own religion[1]. Howbeit we are at liberty to preach without let or hindrance. Of the Jews and Saracens there are indeed no converts, but many of the idolaters are baptized; though in sooth many of the baptized walk not rightly in the path of Christianity.

Four of our brethren have suffered martyrdom in India, at the hands of the Saracens; and one of them was twice cast into a great blazing fire, but came out unhurt. And yet, in spite of so stupendous a miracle not one of the Saracens was converted from his misbelief[2]!

All these things I have briefly jotted down for your information, reverend father, and that through you they may be communicated to others. I do not write to my spiritual brethren or private friends, because I know not which of them are alive, and which departed, so I beg them to have me excused. But I send my salutation to

[1] The Chinese "hold that all the sects may agree without dispensing with their own observances, and have a text which says *San chiao yi tao*, i.e., The doctrines are three, but the reason of them is one." (*Alvaro Semedo, Rel. Della Cina*, 116.)

[2] No doubt Odoric had brought this history to Zaytún with the bones of the martyrs a year or two before.

all, and desire to be remembered to all as cordially as possible, and I pray you, father Warden, to commend me to the Minister and Custos of Perugia, and to all the other brethren. All the suffragan bishops appointed to Cambaliech and elsewhere by our lord Pope Clement have departed in peace to the Lord, and I alone remain. Friar Nicholas of Banthera, Friar Andrutius of Assisi, and another bishop[1], died on their first arrival in Lower India, in a most cruelly fatal country, where many others also have died and been buried[2].

Farewell in the Lord, father, now and ever. Dated at Zayton, A.D. 1326, in the month of January[3]

No. V. LETTER OF FRIAR JORDANUS OF THE ORDER OF PREACHERS.

To the reverend fathers in Christ, the Preaching and Minorite Friars dwelling in TAURIS, DIAGORGAN, and MAROGA, Friar Jordanus of the Order of Preachers, the least of all, after saluting them and kissing their feet humbly, commends himself with tears[4].

[1] Probably Ulrich Sayfustordt (see p. 10 *supra*).

[2] Probably at Hormuz.

[3] ["Omnes Episcopi suffraganei facti per Dominuin Papam Clementem Cambaliensis Sedis migrarunt in pace ad Dominum, ego solus remansi. Frater Nicolaus de Banthera, frater Andrutius de Assisio, & unus alius Episcopus mortui fuerunt in ingressu Indiae inferioris, in terra quadam crudelissima, ubi & plures alii mortui sunt & sepulti. Valeat in Domino vestra Paternitas nunc & semper. Data in Cayton anno Domini MCCCXXVI. in mense Januarii."]

[4] It is needful to remark on this and the following letter, the former of which is taken from Quétif and the latter from Wadding, though both are understood to be derived from the same MS., that both begin in the same manner, an identity which continues down to "*all our books.*" My impression is, however, that these paragraphs belong properly to this first letter, and have been transferred to the other by some mistake. There is an intense despondency about the second letter, of which there is no trace in these paragraphs. Nor is it easy to see how he could talk of leaving his things (*robbami*) and those of the deceased friars, and all the books, after he had been stripped to the shirt, as he represents himself in the second letter.

I have taken the names of the places partly from the version in

All your venerable company of fathers is aware that I am left alone a poor pilgrim in India, where for my sins I have been allowed to survive after the passion of those blessed martyrs, Thomas the holy, James the glorious, Peter, and Demetrius. Nevertheless blessed over all be God who disposeth all things according to his will!

After their blessed martyrdom, which occurred on the Thursday before Palm Sunday in Thana of India[1], I baptized about ninety persons in a certain city called PAROCCO[2], ten days' journey distant therefrom, and I have since baptized more than twenty, besides thirty-five who were baptized between Thana and Supera[3]. Praise be to Christ the Creator of all things; if I had but a comrade I would abide for some time longer. But now I will get ready

Quétif, and partly from that in Wadding. In Wadding they run "Tauris, Diagorgan, and Merga." In Quétif, "Tauris, Tongan, and Maroga." When publishing the *Mirabilia* of Jordanus I supposed Tongan to stand for Daumghan in Northern Persia, not knowing the grounds on which the French editor suggested "Djagorgan." There is no doubt, however, that Diagorgan is the proper reading. This is *Dekargán* (properly Dehi-Kherkán or Dehi-Kherján), a city of some antiquity, and still the capital of a district, between Tabriz and Maragha. The name of Diacoregan appears several times in Wadding's Annals in connexion with the Pope's correspondence with the Armenian clergy. A Catholic bishop, Bernard of Gardiola, was appointed to the see of Diagorgan in 1329. There were also Latin bishops of Maraga. At least one, Bartholomew [Parvus, O.S.D.], is named in 1320. [*Le Quien*, iii, 1394–1402, mentions one in 1375, without giving his name.] (See *F. Jordanus*, HAK. SOC., *pref.*; *Journ. R. G. S.*, x, 3, 4; *Le Quien*, iii, pp. 1378–1394.)

[1] See note to Odoric on the date of the event, p. 125.

[2] Bharuch or Broach, originally *Bharukachha*, Gujarāt.

[3] Respecting Supera, see note to *Jordanus*, p. vi, to which the following notices may be added. It is perhaps the Sibór of Cosmas, which he mentions as one of the chief ports of (the west of) India. It has been plausibly supposed to be the Ophir of Solomon, and to be connected with the name which the Coptic language gives to India. It is called Subára by Ibn Haukal and Edrisi, the former placing it four days, the latter five days from Kambaia, and specifying it as one of the chief Indian entrepôts. It is the Sufálah of Abulfeda. Gildemeister says of it, "*de cujus situ omnis interiit memoria.*" The following references, however, may assist, with those in the note already quoted, to ascertain it. Supera or Sufála, according to Reinaud quoting Langlois, answers to the place called by the Sanskrit writers *Subahlika*, which, if true, shows that *Sufala* rather than Supera

a church for the friars who may be coming, and I will leave my things and those of the martyrs, and all our books.

I must come away myself, both on account of the canonization of the holy brethren above-mentioned, and on account of religious and other business of a sufficiently perplexed and difficult kind. The bearer hereof will be able to explain to you what I cannot write myself for lack of time. I will only say a word as to the harvest to be expected, that it promises to be great and encouraging. Let friars be getting ready to come, for there are three places that I know where they might reap great harvest and where they could live in common. One of these is Supera, where two friars might be stationed; and a second is in the district of Parocco, where two or three might abide; and the third is Columbus; besides many others that I am not acquainted with. But I have been told by our Latin merchant that the way to Ethiopia is open for any one who wishes to go and preach there, where once St. Matthew the Evangelist did preach. I pray the Lord that I may not die until I have been a pilgrim for the faith into those regions, for this is my whole heart's desire I bid you farewell; and pray ye for me and commend me

was the genuine form of the name. Now, Padre Vincenzo Maria, in the middle of the seventeenth century, when proceeding to Surat, tells us that he landed at *Suali*. Tavernier also says that ships for Surat moor at *Suali*, which is only four leagues from Surat, and two to the north of the Tapti; and Suali is shown in the same position by Rennell, agreeing with that assigned by Ptolemy to Suppara *north* of the Tapti. Is it rash to say that Suali, which is thus precisely identified, may mark for us the true site of Sufala or Supera? (*Montfaucon, Coll. Nova Patrum*, ii, pp. 336–339; *Jaubert's Edrisi*, i, 171; *Gildemeister*, pp. 45, 179, 189; *Reinaud, Mém. sur l'Inde*, 221; *P. Vincenzo Maria, Viag.*, p. 109.) Lassen, however, gives *Śūrpāraka* as the Sanskrit name of Suppara, without noticing the alleged *Subahlika* or the recently existing Suali, and identifies the ancient city in site with the modern Surat. (*Ind. Alterthumsk.*, i, 107; iv, 957, and Map in the third volume.) [See French edition of Odoric, p. 91.] [There is still a *Sofale* (Safāle), a village in the Thana District. Cf. *Gaz. of India.*]

to all the faithful. Dated from CAGA[1] the 12th day of October, in the year of the Lord 1321.

No. VI. A SECOND LETTER FROM FRIAR JORDANUS[2]

. . . . . .

After the martyrs obtained their glorious crowns I came to Thana, as I have before related, and buried the bodies of those saints. Since then I have continued alone in the said city and the adjoining territory, for two years and a half, going out and in, but unworthy to partake of the crown of my happy comrades. Alas me, my fathers! alas me, thus left an orphan and a wayfarer in this pathless and weary wilderness! Alas for the evil and hateful day which, for the salvation of other souls, so haplessly separated me from my sainted comrades, unwitting of their coming crowns! Would that it had pleased the Lord most High that then the earth had swallowed me quick, and that I had not been left behind them, unhappy that I am, amid such miseries! Who is able to tell all the hardships that I have since endured? For I have been taken by pirates, cast into prison by the Saracens, been accused, cursed, reviled, and left this long time past like some good-for-nothing vagabond, to go about in my shirt, without the habit of my holy order. O, what hunger and thirst, what cold and heat, yea burning rather, what curses, what diseases, what

[1] Not having seen these letters when I translated the *Mirabilia* of Jordanus, I was led by the French editor's remarks on them to suppose that Caga was to be looked for in the Persian Gulf. With the letters before us we see that it is obviously to be looked for in the west of India, and there can be little doubt that it is, as has been explained by Professor Kunstmann, the port of Gujarāt, which we call *Gogo*, opposite to the Paroço and Supera of Jordanus. Gogo appears in the Catalan Map of 1375, and is mentioned by Ibn Batuta as Kúkah. [Gogha, in the Ahmadàbàd District, Bombay, in the peninsula of Kāthiāwār, on the gulf of Cambay.]

[2] The address and first part of this letter, as given by Wadding, are borrowed from the preceding letter. But the *address* probably *was* the same.

poverty and persecutions, what detraction from false Christians, what severities of climate, and what an infinite number of other hardships have I not endured since those holy martyrs won their crowns! Where shall I find tears sufficient to bewail my desolate position! But these things and more, even unto death, I am ready to bear gladly for the sake of the beloved Jesus; and may He in the end reunite me in blessedness to my blessed comrades.

In addition to all that I have mentioned, and to the extremity of poverty, I suffer continually from bodily ailments. Tortured by pains, sometimes in the head, sometimes in the chest, in the stomach, or in all my limbs in turn, here am I left in my solitude with no human aid. For there is a horrid schism among the people in reference to me. One day they are well disposed; another day quite the reverse, because of those who mislead them. I have, however, been happy enough to baptize more than a hundred and thirty of either sex, and there would be a glorious harvest if the holy friars would come; but they must be ready to bear all things with patience, and martyrdom with gladness. To you then I turn, dear brethren, beseeching you with tears to grant this consolation to a hapless pilgrim bereft of his holy comrades. Let the holy friars come then, let them come with souls established in patience, that the harvest of baptized souls may be kept from the evil one, and after it has been threshed, in the Lord's own time may be treasured in His garner!

But I must say a word as to the voyage to Ethiopia, which it would be very fitting that some friar willing to go thither to preach should undertake. He might go thither at small cost from the place where I now am, and, from what I have heard, it would be a glorious journey for the diffusion of the faith.

Let me tell you that the fame of us Latins is more

highly thought of among the people of India than among us Latins ourselves. Nay, they are in continual expectation of the arrival of the Latins here, which they say is clearly predicted in their books[1]. And, moreover, they are continually praying the Lord, after their manner, to hasten this wished-for arrival of the Latins. If our lord the Pope would but establish a couple of galleys on this sea, what a gain it would be! And what damage and destruction to the Soldan of Alexandria! O, who will tell this to his holiness the Pope[2]? For me, wayfarer that I am, 'tis out of the question. But I commit all to you, holy fathers. Fare ye well, then, holy fathers, and remember the pilgrim in your prayers. Pray for the pilgrim of Christ, all of you, that the Indian converts, black as they are, may all be made white in soul before the good Jesus, through his pitiful grace. I end my words with many a sigh, most heartily recommending myself to the prayers of all.

Dated in THANA of India, the city where my holy comrades were martyred, in the year of the Lord 1323, in the month of January, and on the feast of the holy martyrs Fabian and Sebastian[3].

[1] These prophecies are also mentioned by Jordanus in his *Mirabilia* (p. 23). Nieuhof says the Chinese also had an old prophecy that a nation of white men from afar should one day conquer their country. The like tales of the Mexicans will be remembered; and such also were said to be current among the Karens of Burma.

[2] Marino Sanuto also looked forward to the Pope having a fleet in the Indian Ocean, but he was first to get Egypt under his thumb. (*Secreta Fidel. Crucis*, etc., p. 94.)

[3] 20th January. The date (January 1323) must mean, I think, our January 1324. For he has been *two and a half years* alone since the martyrdom, whereas if 1323 were meant the time would really be considerably under two years. [See French edition of Odoric, pp. 89–91.]

No. VII. LETTER FROM PASCAL OF VITTORIA, A MISSIONARY FRANCISCAN IN TARTARY, TO HIS BRETHREN OF THE CONVENT OF VITTORIA, 1338[1]

Dearly beloved fathers, your sanctities are aware that when I quitted you I proceeded to Avignon in company with the dear father Friar Gonsalvo Transtorna. Thence we went, with the blessing of the reverend the general, to get the benefit of the Indulgence at Assisi; and after that we embarked at Venice on board a certain carrack, and sailed down the Adriatic sea. We next sailed through the sea of Pontus[2], leaving Sclavonia to the left and Turkey to the right, and landed in Greece at Galata near Constantinople, where we found the father Vicar of Cathay in the Vicariat of the East. Then, embarking on another vessel, we sailed across the Black Sea[3], whose depth is unfathomable, to Gazaria[4] in the Vicariat of the North, and in the empire of the Tartars. Then traversing another sea which has no bottom[5], we landed at TANA.

[1] [No. LXXXXII. Ex L. Waddingo T. vii, pp. 256 *s.*: Reuerendis in CHRISTO et dilectis, Guardiano, et Fratribus, Conuentus Victoriensis, cum totius Custodiae Patribus, et dulcissimis Fratribus, frater PASCHALIS Ordinis Minorum salutem cum omni benedictione, non etiam immemor aliis nostris parentibus, ac notis, et amicis reuerentiam filialem.

Nouerit vestra Sanctitas, Patres dilectissimi, quod cum a vobis recessissemus cum caro Patre fratre Gonsalvo Transtorna, profecti sumus, vsque ad Auenionem. Inde Generalis reuerendi benedictione, iuimus ad Indulgentiam Assisii; et post Venetiis ascendentes quamdam carracam, transivimus per mare Adriaticum, et post, per Mare Ponticum ad sinistram admittentes Sclauoniam, et ad dexteram Turquiam, applicuimus Graeciam, scilicet Galatas, iuxta Constantinopolim, et ibi inuenimus Patrem Vicarium de Catay, in Vicaria Orientis...Data in Armalech, in Festo Sancti LAVRENTII, Anno Domini MCCCXXXVIII. in Imperio Medorum. (Mosheim, pp. 193–6.)]

[2] The Propontis or Sea of Marmora, is what he calls Mare Ponticum. It is curious to find the cou... so near the capital of the empire called *Sclavonia*.

[3] "*Mare nigrum.*"

[4] The Gazaria of Rubruquis is precisely the Crimea, but I believe the term sometimes is extended towards the Don.

[5] A curiously erroneous notion of the Palus Mæotis. *Tana* is Azov.

And having got thither sooner than my comrade, I found my way with some Greeks by waggons as far as SARRAY[1]; whilst my comrade, with some other friars, was carried on further to URGANTH[2]. I was willing enough to go with him, but after taking counsel on the matter, I determined

[1] *Sarai*, the capital of the Khans of Kipchak, founded by Bátú, stood on the left bank of the Akhtuba or northern branch of the Volga. Pallas describes the remains of *two* cities on the river mentioned, one not far below its bifurcation from the main Volga on a salt and sterile plain called Zarefpod, about two hundred and forty miles from the Caspian, the other at Selitrennoi Gorodok, much further down. The latter position seems more consistent with Pegolotti's statement that you could go from Gittarchan to Sarai in one day (even supposing that Gittarchan or old Astrakhan was somewhat higher than the present city), and also with the statements of Arabian geographers that Sarai was only two days from the Caspian. There are modern Russian authorities on the site and ruins of Sarai referred to by Von Hammer and Reinaud, but these are not available to me. The name of the city merely means the *Palace* (Serai, Serail, Seraglio). Ibn Batuta says that starting at early morning to traverse the city he did not reach the opposite side till past noon. Sarai was twice taken by Timur, and was entirely destroyed by him (1395–6). (*Pallas, Voyages*, Paris, An. II, vii, 175, 388; *Hammer-Purgstall, Gesch. der Goldenen Horde*, pp. 9 and 431, etc.; *Reinaud's Abulfeda*, II.) [Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 5–6.]

[2] Urghanj [Urghandj] or Jorjaniah, formerly the chief city of Khwarezm, the country now known as Khiva. It stood on both banks of the [ancient channel of the] Oxus, with a bridge connecting them. It was the scene of awful devastation and massacre by the Mongols under Chinghiz in 1221, and a hundred thousand of the only class spared, the artisans, are said to have been transported to Mongolia. It must have recovered to some considerable extent in the next hundred years, from the notices in Pegolotti and Ibn Batuta; but the river deserted it and it fell into entire decay. It is the Urgence of Anthony Jenkinson, who describes it in 1558 as an ill-built mud town in a depressed state. New Urghanj, which is the present commercial capital of Khiva, is some sixty miles east of the site of the old city, near the present channel of the Oxus. The lists of Minorite convents in Kipchak, given by Wadding, contain a name which looks as if meant for Urghanj (*Organae*, *Orgune*), but it seems unlikely, considering the bigoted Islamism of the people, that this should have been the place.

[*Djordjanieh*, according to Ibn Haukal, was the Arabic name of *Urghandj*, the Mongol name according to d'Ohsson (i, 265). It was visited by Marignolli. In 1388 Urghandj was destroyed by Timur, but was subsequently rebuilt (*Zafernameh*, iii, 1). The capture of Urghandj by the Mongols is mentioned in the *Yuen shi*, and the name is spelt there *Yü-lung-ghie-ch'i*. The *Yuen chao pi shi* writes it *Urungechi*. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Res.*, ii, pp. 92–3.]

Col. James Abbott visited the ruins of Urghanj on his journey from Khiva, but mentions nothing of much interest. (*D'Ohsson*, i, 265–270; *Wadding*, under 1400; *Abbott's Journey*, i, 214.)

first to learn the language of the country. And by God's help I did learn the Chamanian language, and the Uigurian character[1]; which language and character are commonly used throughout all those kingdoms or empires of the Tartars, Persians, Chaldæans, Medes, and of Cathay. My comrade turned back from Urganth and went to you again. But I could not bear to return, like a dog to his vomit, and I was desirous to obtain the grace conceded by his holiness the Pope, so I would not turn back. For you must know that all of us friars who come into these parts have the same privileges as those who go with licence to Jerusalem; that is to say, the fullest indulgence both *a pœnâ* and *a culpâ*, and those who persevere unto the end, a crown of life.

Therefore, my fathers, from the time when I had acquired the language, by the grace of God I often preached without an interpreter both to the Saracens and to the schismatic and heretical Christians. I then received a mandate from my vicar to the effect that on receipt of his letter I should in salutary obedience to him, as in duty bound, proceed to finish the journey which I had commenced.

I had now been staying more than a year in the aforesaid Sarray, a city of the Saracens of the Tartar empire, in the Vicariat of the North, where three years before a certain friar of ours, Stephen by name, suffered honourable martyrdom at the hands of the Saracens[2]. Embarking on a certain vessel with some Armenians, I departed thence

[1] The Comanians were Turkish according to Klaproth, and Rubruquis says, "*Apud Iugures est fons et radix idiomatis Turci et Comanici.*" The name is supposed to be connected with the River Kuban. As to the character, see note above, p. 53.

[2] Pascal no doubt resided in one of the convents of his Order, of which there was one at Sarai, and a second, called St. John's, three miles from the city. The story of Friar Stephen of Peterwaradin, belonging to the latter convent, may be read in Wadding, and is very interesting. This young monk, in 1334, resenting some severe discipline, deserted and publicly professed Islam; but was afterwards seized with remorse, repented and as publicly recanted his apostasy. The

by the river called Tygris[1], and then along the shore of the sea which is called VATUK[2], till I came in twelve days'

enraged Mahomedans hacked him in pieces in sight of the fire that was to have burnt him. (*Wadding*, vii, 159 166.)

It may be noticed here that Wadding gives from old documents, under the year 1400, ix, 233, but apparently referring to a much earlier period in the fourteenth century, lists of convents of the Order in the empire of Uzbek. These amounted, according to his most complete list, to ten convents in the Custodia of Sarai, besides four in that of Gazaria or the Crimea. Those of the Custodia of Sarai are as follows :—

Thana . . .	*i.e.*	*Azov.*
Agitarcan . .	„	*Astrakhan.*
Sarai . . .	„	The capital.
Comuch or Coinuch	„	The province of *Kumuk* or Land of the *Kumuk* Tribe south of R. Terek (*Gumik* of Mas'udi, ii, 40).
Tarchis	„	*Terki* at the mouth of the Terek, previously *Samander*; now represented by Kisliar higher up. Distinct from modern *Tarkhu* (see *Laprimandaie*, p. 269; *Hammer*, *Gold. Hord.*, p. 8; *Prairies d'Or*, ii, 7; *V. du Chev. Gamba*, ii, 351).
Mamuvi or Manviti	„	Perhaps *Memak*, near Sarai (*Hammer*, p. 10; *Pétis de la Croix*, i, 294; ii, 101).
Mager	„	*Majar* on the Kuma; see Intr. to Ibn Batuta, *infra*.
Ugueth, Uguech .	„	*Ukek*, a city between Sarai and Bolgar on the Volga (*Pétis de la Croix*, ii, 355, 383), the Oukaka of Marco Polo, Utak of Ibn Batuta (ii, 414). Perhaps *Oweke* of Anth. Jenkinson, which he places in 51° 40.
Ac-Sarai . .	„	"White Building," perhaps *Al Baidha* (same signif.), which Edrisi couples with Samander, and possibly the *Akserai* (for Akserai?) of the Catalan Map, on coast below Terki.
Organæ, Orgune .	„	See note, page 82.

From another list given by Wadding under 1314, we may add *Beler*, probably Bolar or Bolgar on the Volga, and S. Joannes, the Monastery of Stephen above-named. The last may be identical with one of those already named. [This note, p. 233 of the first edition of *Cathay*, has been altered and corrected in some of the copies as we give it here; other copies have but an abbreviated note.]

[1] The Volga; but why does he call it Tigris? Polo also calls the Volga by this name, as Pauthier shows (p. 8); whilst Josafat Barbaro gives the same name to the Araxes (*Ram.*, ii, 98). These errors look as if they arose from some *double entendre*, but I cannot suggest what. *Tigris* is said to be derived from a word signifying *arrow*, connected, I suppose, with the Persian *Tir*.

[2] Vatuk, for Bacuk or Bákú; the Caspian, see note, p. 105.

travel to SARACHIK[1]. From that place I got on a cart drawn by camels (for to ride those animals is something terrible), and on the fiftieth day reached Urganth, which is a city at the extremity of the empire of the Tartars and the Persians. The city is otherwise called HUS. and the body of the blessed Job is there[2].

Thence I again mounted a camel-cart, and travelled with a party of accursed Hagarenes and followers of Mahomet, I being the only Christian among them, with a certain servant called Zinguo, until by God's grace we reached the empire of the Medes[3]. What my sufferings have been there, how many and how great, God himself

[1] Saraichik, "The Little Palace," on the river Jaic or Ural, at a day's journey from the Caspian, in a low bad situation, was the head-quarters of the Nogai Horde. Jenkinson mentions it as a place existing in 1558. Pallas found the fortifications still to be seen with a circuit of four or five versts (two and two-thirds to three and one-third miles). Ruins were traceable, with tiles of great size and many tombs.

[The Serachuk of Ibn Batuta, iii, 1.—According to Lerch ("Khiva," 23) quoted by Bretschneider (*Med. Res.*, ii, p. 57) the ruins of this place can still be seen near *Guriev*, at the mouth of the Ural.]

[2] So Ibn Batuta says that between Sarai and Urghanj is a journey of thirty or forty days, in which you do not travel with horses, for lack of forage, but in carts drawn by camels. Water is found at intervals of two or three days (ii, 451, and iii, 2-3). Pegolotti makes the distance twenty days in camel-waggon. Jenkinson's companion, Richard Johnson, allows fifteen days only, but all his times appear too short.

I can find nowhere else any story connecting Urghanj with Job or Hus. It looks like some misapprehension. There is a tomb of Job in Oudh!

[3] This title, given by the writer to the Tartar Khanate of Chagatai or Transoxiana, is a curious misnomer, originating no doubt in a blunder easily explained. This empire, lying as it did intermediate between Cathay and Persia, was called "The Middle Empire," *Imperium Medium*, as we actually find in a letter of Pope Benedict XII addressed to its sovereign (*Wadding*, vii, 212), and in John Marignolli. In Andrea Bianco's Map of the World in St. Mark's library it is called "*Imp. de Medio*, i.e., *seu Côbalek*" (for Armalek). But the Carta Catalana makes the same mistake as Pascal, calling it the empire of "*Medeia*," and the Portulano Mediceo also, in the Laurentian library, makes *Armaloc* capital of the "*Imp. Medorum*." Media seems always to have bothered mediæval travellers and geographers, who thought it their duty to find Medes extant as well as Persians. Hayton's Media embraces Kurdistan and Fars; Clavijo puts it between Persia proper and Khorasan.

kroweth, and it would be a long story to tell in a letter. However, the Emperor of the Tartars had been slain by his natural brother, and the caravan of Saracens with which I travelled was detained by the way in the cities of the Saracens, for fear of war and plunder.

Hence I was long tarrying among the Saracens, and I preached to them for several days openly and publicly the name of Jesus Christ and his gospel. I opened out and laid bare the cheats, falsehoods, and blunders of their false prophet; with a loud voice, and in public. I did confound their barkings; and trusting in our Lord Jesus Christ I was not much afraid of them, but received from the Holy Spirit comfort and light. They treated me civilly and set me in front of their mosque during their Easter[1]; at which mosque, on account of its being their Easter, there were assembled from divers quarters a number of their *Cadini*[2], *i.e.* of their bishops, and of their *Talisimani*[3], *i.e.* of their

[1] The *Bairam*, one of the great Mahomedan festivals entitled *'Id*, is (Herbelot says) "commonly called the Easter of the Turks." (See *Note* at p. 257.) The Christians applied this name to it, because of its following the fast of Ramazan, which was (more appropriately) termed the Mahomedan Lent. And the Mahomedans also conversely applied the term *Bairam* to the Easter of the Christians.

[2] *Kadhi* or *Kazi* is properly a judge, but from the quasi-identity of Mahomedan law and divinity, he deals with both. He is a Dr. Lushington rather than a bishop.

[3] I cannot make out what this word is. It is used (*Thalassimani*) in the same sense by Barbaro in Ramusio (ii, 107); and, as Mr. Badger tells me, also (*Talismans*) in Rycaut's *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (p. 204). *Talismani* are also repeatedly mentioned in the Turkish Annals translated by Leunclavius, and in his *Pandectæ* appended thereto he explains *Talismani* to occupy a certain degree among the learned in Mahomedan law. He borrows a passage, which compares the chief mufti to the pope, the chief cadis to archbishops, cadis to bishops, hoggias (khwajas?) to presbyters, talismans to deacons, and dervishes to monks. (*Corpus Byzant. Histor.*, xxiv, pp. 318, 414, etc.)

My friend Mr. Badger thinks that the title has probably been "derived from *Tailasán*, a kind of hood of goat's or camel's hair, '*quale philosophi et religiosi, imprimis apud Persas, usurpare velut pro insigni solent*,' just as *Cappuccino* comes from *Cappuccio*." If this is not the origin, may it be a Frank corruption of *talámiz*, scholars, students? [Cf. Ducange, *s. v.* "*Talismanus.* Ita Sacerdotes suos vocant Turcae." He refers to Wadding, ann. 1342, No. 10.]

priests. And guided by the teaching of the Holy Ghost I disputed with them in that same place before the mosque, on theology, and regarding their false Alchoran and its doctrine, for five-and-twenty days; and in fact I was barely able once a-day to snatch a meal of bread and water.

But by the grace of God the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was disclosed and preached to them, and at last even they, in spite of their reluctance, had to admit its truth; and, thanks be unto the Almighty God, I carried off the victory on all points, to the praise and honour of Jesus Christ and of Holy Mother Church. And then these children of the devil tried to tempt and pervert me with bribes, promising me wives and hand-maidens, gold and silver and lands, horses and cattle, and other delights of this world. But when in every way I rejected all their promises with scorn, then for two days together they pelted me with stones, besides putting fire to my face and my feet, plucking out my beard, and heaping upon me for a length of time all kinds of insult and abuse. The Blessed God, through whom poor I am able to rejoice and exult in the Lord Jesus Christ, knoweth that 'tis by his marvellous compassion alone I have been judged worthy to bear such things for his name.

And now I have been graciously brought to ARMALEC[1], a city in the midst of the land of the Medes, in the Vicariat of Cathay. And thus, beginning at Urganth, which is the

[1] Armalec, the *Almálik* of the Mahomedan writers, which again is the corruption of a Turkish name, and called by the Chinese *Alimali*, was the capital of the Khans of the family of Chagatai. It had been, however, the seat of a Turkish principality before the rise of the Mongols. (*D'Ohsson*, i, 111.) ["It seems the Persian historians first mention Almalik *s.a.* 1211, in which year Ozar, prince of Almalik, is stated to have acknowledged the supremacy of Chinghiz. This prince was subsequently slain by Guchluk, gurkhan of Karak'itai." (Bretschneider, ii, p. 33.)] It stood on or near the Ili River; Klaproth says, "in the vicinity of the Kurgos of our day on the banks of the Alimatu, a tributary of the Ili from the north." It is, perhaps, however *Old Kulja* (some twenty-six or twenty-eight miles above the modern Chinese frontier city of that name on the Ili), which is mentioned in

last city of the Persians and Tartars, all the way to Armalec, I was constantly alone among the Saracens, but by word and act and dress, publicly bore the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. And by those Saracens I have often been offered poison; I have been cast into the water; I have suffered blows and other injuries more than I can tell in a letter. But I give thanks to God under all that I expect to suffer still greater things for his name, in order to the forgiveness of my sins, and that I may safely reach the kingdom of Heaven through His mercy. *Amen!*

Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ, and pray for me, and for those who are engaged, or intend to be engaged, on missionary pilgrimages; for by God's help such pilgrimages are very profitable, and bring in a harvest of many souls. Care not then to see me again, unless it be in these regions, or in that Paradise wherein is our Rest and Comfort and Refreshment and Heritage, even the Lord Jesus Christ.

And for that He hath said that when the Gospel shall have been preached throughout the whole world, then shall the end come, it is for me to preach among divers nations, to show sinners their guilt, and to declare the way of salvation, but it is for God Almighty to pour into their souls the grace of conversion.

Dated at Armalec, on the feast of St. Laurence, A.D. 1338, in the Empire of the Medes[1].

recent Russian surveys. If this was Almalik it stood in about 80° 58½' east longitude, and 43° 55' north latitude. We shall find it spoken of again by Pegolotti and Marignolli. ["The name of Almalegh appears in the Zafernameh, book iii, 9, in the relation of Timur's expedition against the Jetes in Moghulistan in the year 1390." (Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, ii, p. 38.)] According to the translators of Baber the name of the city signifies in Túrki "a grove of apple-trees" (p. 1). The Russian Captain Valikhanof says that Almálik is now "a Turkestan village," and that he obtained gold coins and ornaments dug up on its site, but unfortunately he neglects to indicate that essential point. (*The Russians in Central Asia.* etc., London, 1865, pp. 62, 63.)

[1] If souls transmigrate, that of Henry Martyn was in Friar Pascal!

No. VIII. THE BOOK OF THE ESTATE OF THE GREAT CAAN, SET FORTH BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF SOLTANIA, CIRCA 1330.

(*Supposed to be the Dominican John de Cora.*)

Here beginneth the Book of the Estate and Governance of the Great Caan of Cathay, the Emperor Suzerain of the Tartars, and concerning the administration of his empire, and that of the others his princes, as these are set forth by a certain archbishop, called the Archbishop of Soltaniah, by command of Pope John the XXIInd of that name; translated from Latin into French by Friar John the Long, of Ypres, monk of the monastery of St Bertin at St Omer[1].

1. The Great Caan of Cathay is one of the most puissant of all the kings in the world, and all the great lords of that country be his lieges and do him homage; and in chief three great emperors; to wit, the Emperor of Armalech[2], the Emperor Boussay[3], and the Emperor Usbech[4]. These three emperors send year by year live libbards, camels, and gerfalcons, and great store of precious jewels besides, to the said Caan their lord. For they acknowledge him to be their lord and suzerain. And great

[1] [*Begins* fol. 136 verso of French MS. 2810 fr., of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: "Cy commence le Liure de lestat du grant Caan. Cy commence de lestat et de la gouuernance du grant kaan de cathay souuerain empereur des tartares. et de la disposicion de son empire. et de ses autres princes. Interprété par vn arceuesque que on dist larceuesque Saltensis, au commant du pappe ichan. xxij^{e} de ce nom. Translate de latin en francois p frere iehā le lōc dyppre moisne de s^{t}. b'tī en s^{t}. aumer."]

[2] This is *Cambaleck* in the text, but it is obviously an error of transcription; Cambalech being correctly mentioned afterwards as the chief city of Cathay itself.

[3] The Ilkhan of Persia, Abu Said Bahádur, 1317–35 [Died 13 Rebi aul akhir 736].

[4] Khan of Kipchak, 1313–41.

power and renown have these three emperors as it appeareth. For when the Emperor Usbech had war with the Emperor Boussaye and went forth to fight him, he brought upon the field 707,000 horsemen, without pressing hard on his empire[1]. What like then and how great must needs be the power of the Great Caan who hath such and so puissant barons for his lieges under him?

His empire is called Cathan or Cathay[2]. It beginneth at the extremity of the east, and runneth down even unto Ynde the Greater; and stretcheth in a right line westward as far as one may travel in six months.

In this empire there be two great cities, Cambalec and Cassay. And all that are of the Caan's realm, great and small, be his serfs and slaves. And the folk of the land have so great obedience and fear for their lord the Great Caan of Cathay that they dare not to oppose him in any matter or transgress his commandment. Insomuch that once when one of his great princes had misbehaved in battle so as to deserve death, the Grand Caan when he knew it sent him a message desiring that he would send him his head. And as soon as he had read the letter, straightway there in the midst of his people without the slightest opposition or resistance he bowed his head and patiently let them cut it off. The Caan maintaineth justice right well, and that as well for great as for small.

Once a year, on the first day of the new moon of March, which is the first day of their year, the said emperor shows himself to his people dressed out in purple and gold and

[1] This was probably in 1318 when there was war between Abu Said and Uzbeg, and the latter threatened the northern frontier of Persia with a great army of horsemen. "He advanced," says the historian Wassaf, "with a vast army; the horses were clad in mail; the swords of countless horsemen flashed in the sun; every rider had three led horses behind him; like a roaring flood and a raging lion this host devastated the country round Darband." (V. Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. der Ilchane*, pp. 272, 372.)

[2] *Khitan*, and *Khitai*.

silver and precious stones. Then all the folk drop on their knees before him, and adore him, and say, "Lo this is our God upon earth, who giveth us in lieu of scarcity plenty and great riches, who giveth us peace and maintaineth justice!"

Then the emperor refuseth justice to no man, but thanks be to God Almighty, he delivereth the prisoners, and bestoweth his mercies and acts of compassion on all manner of people, who have need thereof, and require a favour at his hand. Only there be three manner of folk to whom he rendereth never mercy: to wit, such an one as hath laid violent and reprobate hands upon his father or his mother; such as hath forged the king's money, which is of paper; and such as hath done any one to death by giving him poison to drink. To these three rendereth he never mercy.

On this day also he bestoweth many gifts, and great plenty of gold and silver and precious stones. And the smallest of the gifts that he bestoweth is worth at the least a *balisme*[1] of gold, whilst they are often worth...[2] balismes. And one balisme is worth a thousand golden florins.

And the said emperor is pitiful and very compassionate. He provideth always for himself and for his lieges stores of wheat and of rice and of all manner of corn; and for this he hath barns and garners uncountable; and so when there is dearth in the land he openeth his garners, and giveth forth of his wheat and his rice for a half what others are selling it at. And thus he maketh great abundance to arise in the time of greatest dearth[3]. Likewise he maketh great alms to the poor for the love of God.

[1] See note to Odoric, p. 196.

[2] Wanting in the original.

[3] On these magazines for public relief, see *Marco Polo*, i, 29.

and when any one is so infirm of body that he cannot win his bread, or so reduced to poverty that he hath no wherewithal to live, nor hath friends to do him good, then the emperor causeth provision to be made for all his needs[1]. And thus doth he throughout all his kingdom, nor doth he oppress any man throughout all his realm by extraordinary and strange exactions. And know ye for sure that he hath such riches from his revenues, and from the produce of his taxes and customs[2], that his wealth and power are past telling. And he hath treasuries and great houses all full of gold and silver, and gems, and of other kinds of wealth and precious things, and especially in his chief towns.

Also in all his realm from city to city hath he other houses wherein dwell couriers who are sped both on foot and on horseback. And these couriers and messengers have bells hung to their waists or to their whips. And so when one of these couriers cometh bringing the despatches of the emperor, and draweth near unto one of those houses aforesaid, he maketh his bells to jingle; and know that at this sound one of the other couriers in the house girdeth himself and taketh those despatches, and carrieth them off to another house; and so with the rest. And they stop not running, day nor night, until the letters be arrived whither they were to go. And thus the Emperor shall have in XV days news of a country that shall be as far off as three months' journey[3]. He receiveth also right courteously envoys and ambassadors from any foreign country or lordship, and furnisheth them with all that they require in coming and in going, throughout the extent of his realm[4].

[1] See *Jordanus*, p. 46, and *Marco Polo* as above.

[2] "*Gables de truuaiges et de malestoultes.*"

[3] See *Odoric*, p. 233.

[4] See the narrative of Marignolli, and that of Shah Rukh's ambassadors in *Notices et Extraits*, tom. xiv. The rules for the provision

2. *Concerning the Sovereign Bishop, who is the Pope of the Empire of Cathay.*

This realm of Cathay hath a sovereign bishop, such as the Pope is with us. Those of the country and of his religion call him the *Grand Trutius*[1]. He is liegeman of the aforesaid Emperor the Great Caan, and obeyeth him as his sovereign lord. But the Emperor honoureth him above all other men. And when the Emperor rideth in his company he maketh him ride close by his side. And the Emperor withholdeth from him no favour that he seeketh. This *Grand Trucins* hath always the head and the beard shaven, and weareth on his head a red hat, and is always clothed in red[2]. He hath the lordship and supremacy over

of accommodation, etc., to ambassadors, may be seen in Pauthier's *Chine Moderne*, p. 212.

[1] Afterwards written the Grand *Trucins*. I cannot track the word, or say which is right. I suspect it is a mistranscription for *Tyuinus*. *Tuin* was a name used among the Tartars (among the Uighúrs properly, according to Quatremère) for a Buddhist priest. See Rubruquis, pp. 352, 355; Quatremère's *Rashideddin*, p. 198; Hammer, *Gesch. der Goldenen Horde*, p. 217; King Hethum's Narrative in *Jour. As.*, s. ii, tom. xii, p. 289; and *Odoric*, *ante*, p. 144. Yule added in his notes: *Trucins* is perhaps after all a correct reading. For Mendoza says the Generals of the Chinese orders of Monks were called in their language *Tricon*. I cannot find an elucidation of this word unless it be a corruption of *Ta Ho-shang*, which is given as an appellation of the Superiors of the Bonzes. (Mendoza, Hak. Soc., i, 56; *Astley*, iv, 209.)

[I do not find any title resembling *Trutius* or *Trucins* in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of China. Confucius' heir is the *Yen-sheng-kong*; a doctor is a *Po-she*; the Head of the bonzes of Pe-king is the *Seng-lu-sze*; of the Taoists at Pe-king the *Tao-lu-sze*; but Rockhill, *Rubruck*, p. 159 *n.* explains it: "The word *Tuin* would seem to be an Uigur term. Quatremère (p. 198) says, that in a certain Uigur-Chinese Vocabulary of the Paris National Library (title and number not given) this word is explained by the Chinese *shih*, 'scholar'; and that in a Persian-Chinese vocabulary it is rendered by *sêng* 'a Buddhist priest.' The term *Tuin* is used by King Heythum. He says of them that they shaved their heads and beards, wore yellow cloaks, married at twenty, and lived with their wives to the age of fifty. In using the term, our traveller generally applies it to Buddhists, though here at least it would seem to include Uigur priests also." See Odoric, *supra*, p. 144 *n.*]

[2] See *Jordanus*, p. 46 and note.

all the clergy and all the monks of his law throughout all the said realm. And to him it belongeth to correct them in doctrine and in discipline; nor do the Emperors meddle with him or his orders. And among those clerks and monks of theirs be great prelates, bishops, and abbots, but all be subject to the Grand Trucins.

In every city of the said empire there be abbeys of men under vows, and also of women, who dwell in them according to the religion of that country, subject to the obedience and discipline of the Grand Trucins; so that there shall hardly be one city or town in the said empire wherein you shall not find an abbey, whilst in some there be eight or ten or more. And every abbey shall have at the least two hundred inmates. They be passing rich, and with that great wealth of theirs they do much alms before God. They live in great order, and keep their hours of service seven times a-day, and they get up early to matins. They have bells made of metal in the shape of a pent-roof on which they strike their hours. They keep chastity, and none of their clerks and monks do marry. They be idolaters and worship divers idols. And over these idols they say that there be four gods; and these four gods they carve in gold and silver, so as to stand out entire before and behind. And above these four gods they say that there is a greater God who is over all the gods, great and small[1].

[1] The four gods may be the four past terrestrial Buddhas who are found in Burma occupying the four sides of some temples, and the greater God over all may be the Adi Buddha of the Theistic Buddhists, who, according to Huc and Gabet, seems to be recognized in Mongolia and China, though unknown to the Buddhists of Ceylon and the Indo-Chinese countries.

3. *Concerning the state and condition of the realm of Cathay.*

The realm of Cathay is peopled passing well; and it hath no few cities that be greater than Paris or Florence; and a great multitude of places full of inhabitants, and smaller cities past counting. It hath likewise store of fine meadows and pastures, and of sweet-smelling herbs. And there be many great rivers, and great sheets of water throughout the empire; insomuch that a good half of the realm and its territory is water. And on these waters dwell great multitudes of people because of the vast population that there is in the said realm. They build wooden houses upon boats, and so their houses go up and down upon the waters; and the people go trafficking in their houses from one province to another, whilst they dwell in these houses with all their families, with their wives and children, and all their household utensils and necessaries. And so they live upon the waters all the days of their life[1]. And there the women be brought to bed, and do everything else just as people do who dwell upon dry land. And if you ask of those folk where they were born? they can reply nought else than that they were born upon the waters, as I have told you. And seeing that there be these great multitudes dwelling thus both on water and on land, the folk are in such great numbers that the cattle of the country suffice not for them, wherefore they have to bring them from other countries and for that reason flesh-meat is dear there. . But in this country there is great store of wheat, rice, barley, and other kinds of corn. And so the Great Caan year by year collecteth of this great plenty, and storeth it in his garners, as hath been

[1] See John Marignolli, *infra*.

told above. And they have a rice harvest twice in the year.

There groweth not any oil olive in that country, nor wine of the vine, and they have none except what is brought from abroad, and for that reason the price thereof is high. But they make oil and wine from rice[1]; and all fruits grow there in very great abundance, excepting filberts[2] which they have not. Sugar, however, they have in very great quantities, and therefore it is very cheap there.

The country is mighty peaceable, nor dare anyone carry arms or stir war therein, except those only who are appointed by the emperor to guard him or any city of his[3].

In the empire of Boussaye aforesaid groweth a certain manner of trees which from their sap are of great help to the folk of the country. For there be some of them which from their bark give forth a white liquor like milk, sweet, savoury, and abundant, and the people of the country make drink and food of it as if it were goat's-milk, and that right gladly. And when they cut those trees anywhere, whether it be in the branches or elsewhere, they give forth where they were cut a manner of juice in great plenty, which juice hath the colour and savour of wine. And other trees there be which bear a manner of fruit as big as filberts, or as nuts of St. Gratian; and when this fruit is ripe the folk of the country gather it, and open it, and find inside grains like wheat, of which they make bread and maccaroni[4] and other food which they are very glad to eat[5].

[1] "Wine from rice and oil and from other seeds," he should have said.

[2] [guellanes].

[3] See Andrew of Perugia's letter, *ante*, p. 72, and Ibn Batuta, *infra*.

[4] "*Paste*."

[5] I cannot explain these statements; nor tell what is called a *nut of St. Gratian*; (St. Gratian's day is December 18th.)

["Parmi les variétés de noisettes, on donne le premier rang aux

4. *On the ordering of the two cities of Cambalec and Cassay.*

These two cities are very great, and right famous. Each one of them hath good thirty miles of compass round the walls thereof. And so vast is the number of people that the soldiers alone who are posted to keep ward in the city of Cambalec are forty thousand men, by sure tale. And in the city of Cassay[1] there be yet more, for its people is greater in number, seeing that it is a city of very great trade. And to this city all the traders of the country come to trade, and greatly it aboundeth in all manner of merchandize. And the Sarácens[2] aforesaid do very diligently guard the said cities by night and by day.

5. *Concerning the money which is current in the said realm.*

The Grand Caan there maketh money of paper. And this hath a red token right in the middle, and round about there be letters in black. And this money is of greater or of less value according to the token that is thereon;

noisettes de Saint-Gratien ou *avelines* ainsi appelées parce que les arbres qui les produisent sont originaires d'Avellino, ville du royaume de Naples." (Charles Saint-Laurent, *Dict. encyclop. usuel*, Paris, 1841, p. 959.) This Saint-Gratien is a village of the Department of the Somme, Amiens arrondissement, Villers-Bocage Canton. Vivien de Saint Martin's *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie* has *s.v.*: "Noisettes renommées."

F. Godefroy, *Dict. de l'ancienne langue française*, v, has: "*Nois de Saint Gratien*, subst. composé, coing: Coctanus, arbre de pepin, *nois de saint Gratien.* (*Olla patella*, p. 27, Scheler.)

Coactanus, arbre de pepin, et fructus ejus est *nois* de saint Grascien. (*Gloss. rom. Lat. du XVe s.*, p. 38, Scheler.)

Dans La Haute-Normandie, vallée d'Yères, on appelle *nois de saint Gratien* les grosses nois franches."]

[1] The Cansay of Odoric, etc., *q.v.* Pegolotti also calls it Cassay.

[2] There are no Saracens mentioned before. But the word translated *soldiers* is "*servans*," which perhaps was "*Sarazins*." Or *vice versâ*, the *Sarazins* in the second passage should be *servans*.

one is worth a groat[1] and another is worth a denier; and so some are worth more and some less. And they fix the value of their money of gold and silver with reference to their paper money[2].

You find in this country a greater variety of merchandize than in the territories of Rome or of Paris. They have great store of gold and silver and of precious stones. For when any merchants from foreign parts come thither to trade, they leave there their gold and silver and precious atones, and they carry away the products of the country; spices, silk, cloths of silk and cloths of gold, of which they find great quantities for sale here.

The emperor above mentioned hath very great treasuries; indeed it is a marvel to see them; and these are for this paper money. And when the said paper money is too old and worn, so that it cannot be well handled, it is carried to the king's chamber, where there be moneyers appointed to this duty. And if the token or the king's name is at all to be discerned thereon, then the moneyer giveth new paper for the old, deducting three in every hundred for this renewal. All their royal grants are also made on paper.

6. *Concerning the manner of life of the people of this country.*

The emperor's people are very worthily arrayed, and live in a rich and liberal manner. And though silk and gold and silver are in great plenty, they have very little linen, wherefore all have shirts of silk; and their clothes

[1] "*Maille.*"

[2] The phrase is *avaluent leur monnoie dor et dargent à leur monnoie de pappier*, which Jacquet explains as in the text. The explanation does not seem very satisfactory, and the statement certainly is not true.

are of Tartary cloth[1], and damask silk[2], and other rich stuffs, oft-times adorned with gold and silver and precious stones. They wear long sleeves, coming down over their finger nails. They have sundry kinds of dishes made of canes, which are there very great and thick[3]. They eat meat of all kinds of beasts, and when they will make a great feast they kill camels, and make fine dishes of the flesh after their own fashion. They have fish in great abundance, and other things; and on these they live after their manner, as other people do after theirs.

7. *Of the manner in which they do bury their dead.*

When a child is born they take good heed to register the day of his birth, and when he dies his friends and kinsfolk put the body on a bier of paper adorned with gold and with silver; and on this bier they place myrrh and incense with the body. And then they put the bier upon a car, and this car is drawn by all of the dead man's kin to the place appointed specially; and there they burn the dead, with bier and car and all. And they give a reason for this, for they say that it is thus with fire that gold is purged, and so must the human body also be purged by fire, in order that it may rise again in all purity. When they have thus burned their dead they

[1] *Tartary cloth* is mentioned by Mandeville and other medieval writers. No doubt it was some rich Chinese stuff, for the Tartars proper could scarcely have been entitled to a reputation for fine textures: Dante alludes to it—

"Con più color sommesse e sopraposti
Non fer mai in drappo Tartari ne Turchi
Ne fur tai tele per Aracne imposta";

and his expressions seem to imply that it was of variegated colours; shawl-work or embroidery perhaps. I find that Dozy says *Tatariyát* were robes of satin garnished with borders of gold stuff. (*Dict. des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, p. 94.)

[2] *Tamotas* (for *Camocas*, regarding which see a note upon Pegolotti, *infra*).

[3] See Ibn Batuta, *infra*, and note.

return to their houses, and in memory of the dead they cause an image to be made in his likeness. And this image they set in a certain place, and every year on his birthday they burn before this image lignaloes and other manner of fragrant spices; and so they keep the dead man's birthday in remembrance[1].

8. *Concerning the Minor Friars who sojourn in that country.*

In the said city of Cambalec there was an archbishop, whose name was Friar John of Montecorvino, of the Order of Minor Friars, and he was legate sent thither by Pope Clement. The archbishop did establish in the said city three houses of Minor Friars, and these are a good two leagues apart one from another[2]. He made also two others in the city of Zaitún[3], which is distant from Cambalec a three months' journey, and standeth upon the seashore. In those two houses were two Minor Friars as bishops. The one was by name Friar Andrew of Perugia, and the other was by name Friar Peter of Florence[4]. That Friar John the archbishop converted a multitude of people to the faith of Jesus Christ. He was a man of very upright life, pleasing to God and men, and stood in high grace with the emperor. The emperor at all times caused him and all his people to be furnished with all that they required; and much was he beloved by all, pagans as well as Christians. And certes he would

[1] Though burial of the dead appears to be the universal custom in China now, it is seen from many passages of Marco Polo that cremation was a usual practice in his day. [*Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 133–135 *n.*] See also Ibn Batuta, *infra*.

[2] We have seen the history of two of the churches in the archbishop's letters. The third must have been built at a later date.

[3] See Odoric, p. 183, and Ibn Batuta and Marignolli, *infra*. The latter about 1346 found three churches at Zaitún also.

[4] One of the second batch of bishops, sent to the East in 1312.

have converted that whole country to the Christian Catholic faith, if the Nestorians, those false Christians and real miscreants, had not hindered him and done him hurt.

The said archbishop was at great pains with those Nestorians to bring them under the obedience of our mother the holy Church of Rome; for without this obedience, he told them, they could not be saved. And for this cause those Nestorian schismatics held him in great hate.

This archbishop, as it hath pleased God, is lately passed from this world. To his obsequies and burial there came a very great multitude of people, both Christians and pagans. And those pagans rent their mourning garments as their manner is; and both Christians and pagans devoutly laid hold of the clothes of the archbishop, and carried them off as reliques with great reverence.

So there he was buried with great honour, after the manner of faithful Christians. And they still visit the place of his interment with very great devotion.

9. *Concerning the Schismatics or Nestorian Christians who dwell in that country.*

In the said city of Cambalec there is a manner of schismatic Christians whom they call Nestorians. They follow the manner and fashion of the Greeks, and are not obedient to the holy Church of Rome, but follow another sect, and bear great hate to all the Catholic Christians there who do loyally obey the holy Church aforesaid. And when that archbishop of whom we have been speaking was building those abbeys of the Minor Friars aforesaid, these Nestorians by night went to destroy them, and did all the hurt that they were able. But they dared not do any evil to the said archbishop, nor to his friars, nor to other faithful Christians in public or openly, for that the

emperor did love these and showed them tokens of his regard.

These Nestorians are more than thirty thousand, dwelling in the said empire of Cathay, and are passing rich people, but stand in great fear and awe of the Christians. They have very handsome and devoutly ordered churches, with crosses and images in honour of God and the saints. They hold sundry offices under the said emperor, and have great privileges from him; so that it is believed that if they would agree and be at one with the Minor Friars, and with the other good Christians who dwell in that country, they would convert the whole country and the emperor likewise to the true faith.

10. *Concerning the great favour which the Grand Caan beareth towards the Christians before mentioned.*

The Grand Caan supporteth the Christians in the said kingdom who are obedient to the holy Church of Rome, and causeth provision to be made for all their necessities; for he hath very great devotion towards them, and sheweth them great affection. And when they require or ask anything from him, in order to furnish their churches their crosses or their sanctuaries to the honour of Jesus Christ, he doth most willingly bestow it. But he desireth that they should pray God for him and for his health, and especially in their sermons. And most willingly doth he suffer and encourage the friars to preach the faith of God in the churches of the pagans which are called *vritranes*[1]. And as willingly doth he permit the pagans to go to hear the preachment of the friars; so that the pagans go very willingly, and often behave with great devoutness, and bestow upon the friars great alms. And so, also, this

[1] I have not been able to trace this term, but it probably contains the Sanscrit *Vihára*, a Buddhist monastery; perhaps *Vihárasthána*, if there be such a compound.

emperor most readily sendeth his people to lend aid and succour to the Christians when they have any need, and ask it of the emperor.

Here endeth the discourse concerning the governance of the state of the Grand Caan, sovereign Emperor of the Tartars[1].

[1] [*Ends* fol. 140 verso of French MS. 2810 fr., of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: "Explicit de la gouuernance et de lestat du grant kaan souuerain empereur des Tartars."]

III

CATHAY UNDER THE MONGOLS

III

CATHAY UNDER THE MONGOLS. EXTRACTED FROM RASHÍDUDDÍN

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

It has appeared desirable to present these extracts here, both as an appropriate variety, and as in some measure at least a sample of the literature which flourished under one of the Mongol dynasties to which we have so often occasion to refer.

The translation is borrowed from the French, chiefly from that published by Klaproth in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1833 (sér. ii, tom. xi, pp. 335–358, and 447–470). This was put forth in correction of a previous version by Von Hammer Purgstall, with which Klaproth found much fault, especially in the defective decipherment of proper names, of outlandish expressions, and sometimes even of simple Persian words; but in some of these respects he would himself also seem occasionally to have missed the mark. There is another translation, with considerable omissions and some additional matter, by D'Ohsson, in the Appendix to the second volume of his history of the Mongols, and I have followed that wherever it appeared to give better sense than Klaproth's version. An elaborate introduction to a paper of so little pretension as a translation thus prepared would be quite out of place, and a few paragraphs of explanation as to the author and his works are all that need be given.

FAZL-ULLAH RASHID, otherwise Rashíd-ud-dín, son of 'Imád-ud-daulah Abu'l Khair, was born at Hamadan about A.D. 1247. His enemies, in the latter part of his life, called him a Jew both by birth and religion[1]. The latter part of the assertion is disproved, both as to himself and his immediate predecessor, but Quatremère is inclined to think that he was possibly of Jewish descent, as he shows an acquaintance with Jewish rites and customs singular for a Mahomedan statesman.

He was a physician by profession, and, in that capacity apparently, passed a considerable part of his life at the court of Abaka Khan and his immediate successors. All treated him with distinction, but he came into no great prominence before the accession of Ghazan Khan in 1295. The Wazir, Sadr-ud-dín, was an old friend of Rashíd's, but mischief-making embittered the minister against the latter, and eventually (1298) the Khan taking Rashíd's part violently, caused Sadr-ud-dín to be executed. Rashíd himself was then named Wazir of the Persian empire in conjunction with Saad-ud-dín. Oljaïtu, the brother and successor of Ghazan, maintained both ministers in office, but they disagreed, and a succession of quarrels between them ended in Rashíd's denouncing his colleague, and causing him to be put to death. This recurring fatality to Rashíd's rivals and colleagues tends to raise serious doubts as to the high character claimed for him, and to abate our pity for his own catastrophe. He did not get on better with Saad's successor, one Ali Shah Jabalán, though selected by himself. Rashíd kept his ground till the death of Oljaïtu, but on the succession of Abu Said (1317) his enemy succeeded in prejudicing the king against him, and

[1] Ibn Batuta (ii, 116), who saw Rashíd's son attending as Wazir on Abu Said Khan at Baghdad, says that "the father Khwaja Rashíd had been an emigrant Jew." Saiduddaulat, the chief minister and favourite of Arghún the father of Oljaïtu, was a Jew. (*Mod. Univ. History* in Fr. trans., iii, 646).

he was displaced. Such confusion ensued that the old statesman had soon to be recalled, but he speedily fell again. He was now accused of having caused the death of Oljaïtu by a potion administered by the hands of his own son Ibrahim, who had been the Khan's chief butler. A doctor's quarrel (*spreti injuria dicti*) aided the conspirators. For one of the chief physicians declared that Oljaïtu's death was attributable to a purgative urged upon him by Rashíd strongly against the legitimate opinion of the physician. He and his son, a noble youth of sixteen, were condemned. Ibrahim was killed before his father's eyes, and then the old man was hewn in two. His head was borne through the streets of Tabriz, and proclaimed as that of a blaspheming Jew, the property of his family was confiscated, and the *Raba' Rashídí*, a quarter which he had built, was given up to pillage. This was in 1318. The colleague who had brought destruction on Rashíd survived in power for six years, and died in his bed. Abu Said then had to confess that affairs had never gone well since the removal of Rashíd, and that he had sorely erred in listening to the calumniators. As some amends to his memory the king raised Ghaiassuddín, the eldest son of Rashíd, to his father's former office. He was a man of noble, liberal and gentle character, but perished in the troubles which followed the death of Abu Said.

What is told of Rashíd's wealth, magnificence, acquirements, and labours, reads like a bit of French romance. In addition to the sciences connected with his original profession, he had studied agriculture, architecture, and metaphysics; he was an adept in Mussulman theology and controversy; and was acquainted with Persian, Arabic, Mongol, Turki, and Hebrew. In the space of eleven months, whilst administering a great kingdom, he declares himself to have composed three important works, besides numerous minor treatises on a variety of intricate subjects

The *Raba' Rashídí* was a magnificent suburb, the buildings of which were laid out with great regularity and elegance; it was built entirely at his expense, as well as supplied with water by a canal which he caused to be cut through the rock. When Oljaïtu founded Soltania, his minister built there also a quarter consisting of one thousand houses, with a mosque, a college, a hospital, and a monastery, and all these he furnished with considerable endowments. In the transcription and binding of copies of his own works he is said to have laid out 60,000 dinars, equal, according to Quatremère, to about £36,000.

Rashíd stoutly declares the integrity and justice of his own administration, and in this he is corroborated, not merely by contemporaries, but also by the authors of the next generation.

His greatest work was called by the author the *Jamí'-ut-Tawárikh*, "Collection of Histories" or Historical Cyclopædia, which in fact it is. It contained histories of the Tartar and Turkish tribes, of Chinghiz and his race, and of the Persian khans in particular, including his master Oljaïtu; of various dynasties of Western Asia, of Mahomed and his companions, of the prophets of Israel, the Cæsars and other Christian princes; of China and of India. It concluded, or was intended to conclude, with a universal geography, but it is doubtful if this was ever written, though the existing portions of the work contain many geographical notices.

A general judgment cannot be formed of the worth of these copious writings by the unlearned, for only portions and fragments have been translated. D'Ohsson, who makes much use of Rashíd's *History of the Mongols*, says that though in some parts he copies from those who had gone before him, his history is altogether the most complete, and the most eminent for orderly arrangement and noble simplicity of style Many of his facts are to be found in

no other history; it is the only one which gives information as to the ancient nations of Tartary, and the ancestry of Chinghiz. He was aided with information by Púlad Chingsang, a great Mongol prince, who was the Great Khan's envoy at Tabriz, and who was said to have better knowledge of such subjects than any man living. To him, probably, h owed much of the information in the chapters here translated.

Even from such fragments as this, and those which Sir Henry Elliot has introduced in his *Biographical Index to Historians of India*, it may be gathered that Rashíd had far more correct ideas of geography than any of his contemporaries with whom we have to do in this book. This indeed might have been expected from a man so accomplished, and occupying a position which was not merely that of first minister of Persia, but that of a statesman in one great branch of an empire whose relations embraced nearly all Asia with a closeness and frequency of intercourse to which there has never been an approach in later days.

In 1836 Quatremère commenced the publication of a text and translation of the *Mongol History* of Rashíd, at the expense of the French government, and on a most costly and cumbrous scale. It went no further than the first volume, containing a life of Rashíd and an account of his works, the author's own preface, and the history of Húlakú.

The late Mr. Morley was engaged on an English translation of the whole of the *Jamí'-ut-Tawárikh*, as may be seen from his letters in vols. vi and vii of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. But it never was published, and I am not aware what progress had been made[1].

[1] This sketch has been derived from Quatremère, from D'Ohsson's Preface, from Mr. Morley's letters just mentioned, and from Sir H.

Elliot's Index. But the last seems to draw his material from Quatremère and Morley.

[M. E. Blochet, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is editing for "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series the text of the *Jami'-ut-Tawárikh*; the work will include: Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din, 1910; I: Histoire des tribus turques et mongoles, des ancêtres de Tchinkkiz-Khan depuis Along Goa, et de Tchinkkiz-Khan; II: Histoire des successeurs de Tchinkkiz-Khan, d'Ougédei à Temour Kaan, des fils apanagés de Tchinkkiz-Khan, et des gouverneurs mongols de Perse d'Houlagou à Ghazan; III: Histoire de Ghazan, d'Oldjaïtou, et de Abou-Saïd. The Introduction and the first volume were published in 1910 and 1911.]

CONTEMPORARY NOTICES OF CATHAY UNDER THE MONGOLS

EXTRACTED FROM THE HISTORICAL CYCLOPÆDIA OF RASHÍDUDDÍN

CATHAY is a country of vast extent and cultivated in the highest degree. Indeed the most credible authors assert that there is no country in the world to compare with it in culture and population. A gulf of the ocean, of no very great width, washes its south-eastern shores and extends along the coast between MANZI and KOLI[1], running into Cathay so as to reach within (twenty)-four parasangs of Khanbaliq[2], and ships come to that point. The vicinity of the sea causes frequent rain. In one part of the country the climate is a hot one, whilst in others it is cold. In his time Chinghiz Kaan had conquered the greater part of the provinces of Cathay, whilst under the reign of Okkodaï Kaan the conquest of the whole was completed. Chinghiz Kaan and his sons, however, as we have said in relating their history, never took up their residence in Cathay; but after Mangu Khan had transmitted the empire to Kúblái Kaan[3], the latter thought it not well to remain at such

[1] On Manzi, see note *supra*, II, p. 177. Koli is the Chinese Kao li, *i.e.* Corea, and the Gulf is of course the Yellow Sea.

[2] The reading is *four* both with Klaproth and D'Ohsson. But as the real distance is *twenty-four*, the former supposes it originally stood so.

[3] [Mangu died during the seventh month of 1259, while besieging Ho chau, in the Sze chu'an province, north of Ch'ung K'ing, and he was replaced by his brother Kúblái, who was proclaimed as Emperor at K'ai-p'ing in the third month of 1260.]

a distance from a country so populous, and which was reckoned to surpass all other kingdoms and countries in the world. So he fixed his residence in Cathay, and established his winter quarters in the city of Ḳhanbaliq, which was called in the Cathayan tongue CHUNG-TU[1].

This city had been the residence of the former kings. It was built in ancient times according to the indications of the most learned astrologers, and under the most fortunate constellations, which have always continued propitious to it. But as it had been destroyed by Chinghiz Kaan, Kúblái Kaan desired to spread his own fame by restoring it. The city which he built was close to the former capital and was called DAÏDU[2].

The wall of this city is flanked by seventeen towers, with intervals of a parasang between every two. The population of Daïdu is so great that even outside of the fortifications there are great streets and numerous houses. And there are extensive gardens, planted with various kinds of fruit trees brought together from every quarter. In the middle of this city Kúblái Kaan established his *Ordu*, in a palace of great extent which they call the *Karsi*[3].

The pavements and columns of this palace are all of marble or of the finest cut stone. Four walls enclose and defend it, and there is an interval of a bow-shot from one wall to the next.

The outer court is assigned to the palace-guards; the next to the nobles, who assemble there every morning; the third is occupied by the great officers of the army; and the fourth by the sovereign's most intimate associates. The picture of the palace which follows is reduced from one which was painted for his majesty Ghazan Kaan.

[*Here the original MS. seems to have had an illustration.*]

[1] *Supra*, II, p. 216. [2] *Supra*, II, pp. 216—217.

[3] *Karsi* is a Mongol word signifying the hall in which the Emperor sits on state occasions. (*Klapr.*)

Two important rivers pass by Khanbaliq and Daïdu. After coming from the direction of the kaan's summer residence in the north, and flowing near Jamjál, they unite to form another river. A very large basin, like a lake in fact, has been dug near the city and furnished with a slip for launching pleasure boats[1]. The river had formerly another channel, and discharged itself into the gulf of the ocean, which penetrated within a short distance of Khanbaliq. But in the course of time this channel had become so shallow as not to admit the entrance of shipping, so that they had to discharge their cargoes and send them up to Khanbaliq on pack-cattle. And the Chinese engineers and men of science having reported that the vessels from the provinces of Cathay, from the capital of MÁCHIN[2], and from the cities of KHINGSAÏ and ZAITÚN no longer could reach the metropolis, the Khan gave them orders to dig a great canal, into which the waters of the said river and of several others should be introduced. This canal extends for a distance of forty days' navigation from Khanbaliq to Khingsaï and Zaitún, the ports frequented by the ships that come from India and from the capital of Máchin[2]. The canal is provided with many sluices intended to distribute the water over the country; and when vessels arrive at these sluices they are hoisted up by means of machinery, whatever be their size, and let down on the other side into the water. The canal has a width of more than 30 ells. Kúblái caused the sides of the embankments to be revetted with stone in order to prevent the earth

[1] The two rivers are the Sha-ho and Pei-ho, which unite below Pe king, afterwards bearing the latter name. The lake is that called *Thaï-i-tchi* or *Si-haï-tsu*, to the east (*west*) of the imperial palace. (*K.*)

[2] Here we find the "capital of Machin" distinct from King sze. It is probably Chinkalan or Canton that is meant. See *supra*, II, p. 179. The author refers here to the extension of the Great Canal towards Pe king by Kúblái. [Hwang ho to Pe king, 1289–1292. Cf. Gandar, *Canal Impérial*, p. 21.]

giving way[1]. Along the side of the canal runs the high road to Máchin, extending for a space of forty days' journey, and this has been pavod throughout, so that travellers and their animals may get along during the rainy season without sticking in the mud. The two sides of the road are planted with willows and other shady trees, and no one is allowed, whether soldier or otherwise, to break branches off those trees or to let cattle feed on the leaves. Shops, taverns, and villages line the road on both sides, so that dwelling succeeds dwelling without intermission throughout the whole space of forty days' journey.

The ramparts of the city of Daïdu are formed of earth. The custom of the country in making such ramparts is first to set up planks, and then to fill in moist earth between them, ramming it hard with great wooden rammers; they then remove the planks, and the earth remains forming a solid wall. The Kaan, in his later years, ordered stone to be brought in order to face the walls, but death intervened, and the execution of his project remains, if God permit, for Timur Kaan.

The Kaan's intention was to build a palace like that of Daïdu at KAIMINFU, which is at a distance of fifty parasangs, and to reside there[2]. There are three roads to that place from the winter-residence. The first, reserved for hunting matches, is allowed to be used only by ambassadors[3]. The

[1] "The earthen embankments in this part of the canal were supported by retaining walls of coarse grey marble cut into large blocks, and cemented together with a kind of mortar. Those walls were about twelve feet in thickness, and the large stones on the top were bound together with clamps of iron." (*Staunton*, ii, 392.)

[2] K'aimingfu, the K'ai-p'ing fu of the Chinese and the Clemenfu (probably miswritten for Chemenfu) of M. Polo, is at the place thirty-six leagues beyond the Great Wall, where Kúblái, as here related, established his summer residence, changing the name of the town to Shang tu (*supra*, p. 227).

[3] Lord Macartney, on his way from Jehol, found a road reserved only for the emperor. Another, parallel to it, was for the attendants of the emperor, and on this the ambassador was allowed to travel. All other travellers were excluded, and had to find a track where they could. (*Staunton*, ii, 279.)

second road passes by the city of CHÛ-CHÛ[1], following the banks of the Sanghín river, where you see great plenty of grapes and other kinds of fruit[2]. Near the city just named there is another called SEMALI, most of the inhabitants of which are natives of Samarkand, and have planted a number of gardens in the Samarkand style. The third road takes the direction of the Pass of Siking[3], and after traversing this you find only prairies and plains abounding in game until you reach the city of Kaiminfu, where the summer palace is. Formerly the court used to pass the summer in the vicinity of the city of Chúchú, but afterwards the neighbourhood of Kaiminfu was preferred, and on the eastern side of that city a *karsi* or palace was built called LANGTIN, after a plan which the Kaan had seen in a dream. and retained in his memory[4].

[1] Cho chau is a town a short distance to the south-west of Peking, on the other side of the river, named the Jújú of Polo.

["When you leave the Bridge (*Pul-i-Sangín*), and ride towards the west, finding all the way excellent hostelries for travellers, with fine vineyards, fields and gardens, and springs of water, you come after 30 miles to a fine large city called Jújú, where there are many abbeys of idolaters, and the people live by trade and manufactures." *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 10.]

[2] The Sanghín river is that otherwise called Lu-kou and Yung ting, a few miles to the west of Peking, over which stood the bridge which Marco Polo describes (ii, pp. 4–8). The Venetian calls the river Pulisanghin, which is the Persian *Pul-i-sangín* or Stone bridge, as Marsden suggested.

["By *Sanghin*, Polo renders the Chinese *Sang-Kan*, by which name the River Hun-ho is already mentioned, in the 6th century of our era. *Hun-ho* is also an ancient name; and the same river in ancient books is often called *Lu-Kou* River also. All these names are in use up to the present time; but on modern Chinese Maps, only the upper part of the River is termed *Sang Kan-ho*, whilst south of the inner Great Wall, and in the plain, the name of *Hun-ho* is applied to it. *Hun-ho* means 'Muddy River,' and the term is quite suitable. In the last century, the Emperor K'ien lung ordered the Hun-ho to be named *Yung-ting ho*, a name found on modern maps, but the people always call it *Hun-ho*." Bretschneider, *Peking*, p. 54.]

[3] Siking, Sengling, or Sengking. The hills from which the Sang-kan-ho emerges are called in Klaproth's map *Shy-king*-shan. This is perhaps the name in the text.

[4] D'Ohsson has read this passage differently: "Kúblái caused a palace to be built for him east of Kaipingfu, called Lengten; but he abandoned it in consequence of a dream."

The philosophers and architects being consulted gave their advice as to the building of this other palace. They all agreed that the best site for it was a certain lake encompassed with meadows near the city of Kaiminfu, but for this it was necessary to provide a dry foundation. Now there is a kind of stone found in that country which is used instead of fire-wood; so they collected a great quantity of that stone and likewise of wood[1], and filled up the lake and its springs with a mass of bricks and lime well shaken up together, running over the whole a quantity of melted tin and lead. The platform so formed was as high as a man. The water that was thus imprisoned in the bowels of the earth in the course of time forced outlets in sundry places, and thus fountains were produced. On the foundation formed as has been described a palace in the Chinese taste was erected, and enclosed by a marble wall. From this wall starts an outer fence of wood which surrounds the park, to prevent any one from entering, and to preserve the game. Inside the city itself a second palace was built, about a bowshot from the first; but the Kaan generally takes up his residence in the palace outside the town.

In this empire of Cathay there are many considerable cities; each has its appropriate title marking a particular rank in the scale. The relative precedence of governors is indicated by that of the cities which they administer, so that there is no need to specify their dignities in the diploma of appointment, or to enter into curious questions of precedence. You know at once [by the rank of the cities to which they are attached] which ought to make way for another or to bow the knee before him. These ranks or titles are as follows: 1. *King*; 2. *Du*; 3. *Fu*; 4. *Chu*; 5. ...; 6. *Kiun*; 7. *Hien*; 8. *Chin*; 9. *Sún*[2].

[1] *I.e.* to burn bricks and lime.

[2] 1. *King*, imperial capital, as in Pe king, Nan king; 2. *Tu*, court or imperial residence, as Tai tu, Shang tu; 3. *Fu*, a city of the 6-

The first of these titles designates a vast tract of country, say like *Rúm*, Persia, or Baghdad. The second is applied to a province, which is the seat of an imperial residence. The others diminish in importance in like proportion; thus the seventh indicates small cities, the eighth towns, the ninth villages and hamlets. Ports and landing places are called *Batu*[1].

A similar classification of governors according to the rank of their cities does not exist anywhere else, but the empire of Cathay is quite remarkable for the system with which it is organised.

NOTICE OF THE PRINCES, MINISTERS, AND SECRETARIES OF CATHAY, OF THEIR GRADATIONS IN RANK, OF THE RULES AND CUSTOMS AFFECTING THEM, AND OF THE NAMES THEY BEAR IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE COUNTRY.

The great princes who have the rank of Wazírs among those people have the title of *Chingsang*[2]; commanders in

class, or rather the department of which it is the head; 4. *Chau*, a city of the second class, or the district of which it is the head; 5. This is blank in Klaproth's original; Von Ham. read it *Gur*; perhaps it was *Lu*, which was a special subdivision in China under the Mongols, rendered by Pauthier *circuit* [or *tao*, a circuit]; I do not understand its relation to the others, but Duhalde says it was somewhat less than a *Fu*; 6. *Kiun*, a chief military garrison; 7. *Hien*, a city of the third order, or sub-district, of which it is the head; 8. *Chin*, a small town; 9. *Tsun*, a village. The custom of naming the dignitary by the title belonging to the class of district under him still prevails in China; "as if," says Pauthier, "we were to call our Prefects *Departments* and our Sub-Prefects *Arrondissements*" (*M.P.*, p. xcvii).

[1] Mongol pronunciation of *Matheu*, a jetty, and hence a port. See *supra*, p. 214.

[2] This title *Chingsang* represents the Chinese *Ching-siang*, a minister of state. The name of Pulad *Chingsang*, the Great Khan's ambassador to the court of the Persian Khan, occurs frequently in D'Ohsson, who also mentions that the title of *Chingsang* was conferred on Bucai, the minister of the Persian Khan Arghún, by Kúblái (iv, 13). It is also the title which Marco Polo applies to Kúblái's great general Bayam (or Baian) *Cinqsan*, though he strangely alleges this to mean Bayam with the Hundred Eyes (i, 62). Full particulars regarding the imperial cabinet in the time of the Mongols will be

chief of the army have that of *Thaifu*; and chiefs of ten thousand soldiers are called *Wanshi*[1].

Those Princes Wazírs and chief officers of the council who are either Tájiks[2], native Cathayans, or Ighúrs, have the title of *Fanchán*[3]. Strictly speaking the council of state is composed of four *Chingsang* or great officers, and of four *Fanchán* [*P'ing-chang*], taken from the nations of the Tájiks, Cathayans, Ighúrs, and Arkáun[4]. These latter act as inspectors on behalf of the council.

found in Pauthier's *Marc Pol*, pp. 329 *seq.* The number of the Chingsiang or chief ministers varied from two to four, and on one occasion there was but one. [See p. 265.]

[1] *Wanshi*, from *Wan*, ten thousand. The termination is Mongol according to Klaproth. *Thaifu* looks like a genuine Chinese title, though I do not find it in the books on China. It is mentioned by the merchant Suleiman (*Daifú*) as the title of the governor of a first-rate city (*Relation des Voyages*, i, 37). In the late wars against the T'aï p'ing I have seen the title *Fu-t'ai* applied to the Imperial commander [Li Hung-chang who was *fu-t'ai* (governor) of the Kiang Su province].

[2] Of Persian race.

[3] This word is read by Klaproth *Kabján*, and by Von Hammer *Tenján*. Pauthier says it should be read *Minján*, as the Mongol pronunciation of the Chinese original *P'ing-chang*. But this is arbitrary, and we find in D'Ohsson the real form of the word as used by Rashíd, viz. *Fanchán*, which differs only by dots from Klaproth's *Kabjan*. It is also written *Panchán* by Wassaf, and by Ssanang Setzen the Mongol historian, not Minján but *Bingjing*. (See *D'Ohsson*, ii, 530, 636–7.)

According to Pauthier's statement the normal composition of the Council of State was of two Chingsiang or chief ministers; four Ping-chang, ministers of the second degree; four minister assessors called *Yeu-ching* and *Tso-ching*; and two reporting councillors called *Thsang-cuing*, the whole number making up the twelve barons of Marco Polo.

[A Samarkand man, Seyyid Tadj Eddín Hassan, ben el Khallal, quoted in the *Masálak el Absár*, says: "Near the Khan are two amírs who are his ministers; they are called *Djing san* (Ch'ing-siang). After them come the two *Bidjan* (P'ing Chang), then the two *Zoudjin* (Tso Chen), then the two *Yudjin* (Yu Chen), and at last the *Landjun* (Lang Chang), head of the scribes, and secretary of the sovereign. The Khan holds a sitting every day in the middle of a large building called *Chen* (Sheng), which is very like our Palace of Justice." (C. Schefer, *Cent. École Langues Orient.*, pp. 18–19. See *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 431–432.)]

[4] This is a word by which the Mongols designated the Nestorian Christians with whom they had relations. Its origin is very obscure, but from what Marco Polo says of the term (*Argon*) as elucidated in

The whole gradation of dignitaries and officers of state is as follows:—

1 The *Chingsáng* or Wazírs.

2 The great officers of the army, who make their reports to the *Chingsáng*, however exalted their rank may be.

3. The *Fanchán* or associated members of the Council of State, taken from the different nations specified.

4. *Yer Jing* or first class *Jing*.

5. *Ur Jing* or second class *Jing*.

6. *Sam Jing* or third class *Jing*[1].

7. Semi (?).

8. *Sisan Baljún*. These are book-keepers and of inferior consideration.

9. . . . .

In the time of Kúblái Kaán the Chingsáng chosen from among the princes were Haitun Noyán, Uchaar, Oljai Tarkhan, and Dáshiman. Haitun Noyán is now no more, but the others remain in office as the Chingsáng of Timúr Kaán.

Formerly the office of Fanchán was only bestowed on Cathâyans, but it is now held also by Mongols, Tájiks, and Ighúrs.

The chief Fanchan is called Su Fanchán, or the Select Fanchán. In our day under the reign of Timúr Kaán the chief of the whole number is Báyán Fanchán[2], the son of

a learned and interesting note by Pauthier, it would seem to have meant properly a *half-breed*.

[Capt. Wellby writes (*Unknown Tibet*, p. 32): "We impressed into our service six other muleteers, four of them being Argoons, who are really half-castes, arising from the merchants of Turkestan making short marriages with the Ladakhi women." The Christians were called by the Mongols *Erkeun* (*Ye-li-ke-un*). Cf. *Marco Polo*, i. p. 289, Note 4.]

[1] These three ranks correspond to the Yeu-ching, Tso-ching, and T'sang-ching of the Chinese records (*Pauthier*).

[2] [The Seyyid Edjell Shams ud-Dín, also called Omar, and in Chinese *Sai tien ch'e Shan se ting*, eldest son of Ma Ha Mu, of a family coming from Bokhara, was Minister to Kúblái, and stood

the Seyid Nasr ud-Dín, who was the son of Seyid Edjell, and who bears the same title. The second, Omar Fanchán, is also a Mongol. The third, Iké Fanchán, is an Ighúr. Before him the office was filled by Lájan Fanchán, brother of his Excellency the Su Fanchán; his son is called Karmánah. The fourth Paighamísh Fanchán, whose place was formerly occupied by Timúr Fanchán, is an Ighúr.

As the Kaan generally resides at the capital he has erected a place for the sittings of the Great Council, called *Sing*. According to established custom a lieutenant is appointed to the inspection and charge of the doors, and examines all the drafts of memorials[1] that are presented.

The name of the first tribunal is *In*. All the proceedings are copied and sent with the memorials to the tribunal called *Lúsah*, which is of higher rank than the other. Thence all is carried to the tribunal called *Khalyún*, and thence to the fourth, called *Kuijún*. This is the board which has charge of all that relates to the posts and despatches. The three first mentioned tribunals are under

high in his favour; he was made a prince of Hien Yang and Governor of Tien (Yun-nan); he died in 1279, being sixty-nine years of age. His eldest son Nasr ud-Dín (*Na su la ting*), prince of Yen ngan, succeeded his father as governor of Yun nan (Karajang, *infra*, pp. 127, 131), where he died in 1292. The grandson (of Seyyid Edjell and one of the twelve sons of Nasr ud-Dín) here spoken of, Abúbakr, surnamed Báyán Fanchán, bore also the title of Seyyid Edjell which was highly respected by the Mongols (*D'Ohsson*, ii, 467, 507–8), and replaced as governor of Yun nan his uncle Hosein, brother and successor of Nasr ud-Dín. Báyán (Poyen) was also prince of Hien Yang and of Wei ngan. (Cf. A. Vissière, in *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois* by Comᵗ. d'Ollone, Paris, 1911.)] At least two other Báyáns are notable in the history of Kúblái's dynasty. The name *Baian* already appears as that of an Avar chief in the time of the Emperor Justin.

[Cf. Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i, p. 271. Vissière, *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Feb. 1908 and July–Aug. 1909.] *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 104 note.]

[1] The original word is here *Balarghúi*, which puzzled Klaproth. It is explained by Pauthier (*Marc Pol*, 331) from Schmidt's Mongol Dictionary, "*Ecrit, Mémoire peu net, avec des ratures ou phrases retranchées.*". He adds that still in China all memorials, etc., for presentation to the emperor or his council, are submitted to particular officers who correct their style.

the orders of the last; and from it business is transferred to the fifth, which bears the name of *Rusnáyi*, and which has everything that concerns the army under its charge. Lastly the business arrives at the sixth board, which is called *Sinshtah*[1]. All ambassadors and foreign merchants when arriving and departing have to present themselves at this office, which is the one which issues orders in council and passports. In our days this office is entirely under the management of the Amír Dáshiman.

When matters have passed these six boards, they are remitted to the Council of State, or *Sing*, where they are discussed, and the decision is issued after being verified by the *Khat Angusht* or "finger-signature" of all who have a right to a voice in the council. This "finger-signature" indicates that the act, to which it is attached in attestation, has been discussed and definitively approved by those whose mark has thus been put upon it.

It is usual in Cathay, when any contract is entered into, for the outline of the fingers of the parties to be traced upon the document. For experience shows that no two individuals have fingers precisely alike. The hand of the contracting party is set upon the back of the paper containing the deed, and lines are then traced round his fingers up to the knuckles, in order that if ever one of them should deny his obligation this tracing may be compared with his fingers and he may thus be convicted[2].

[1] These are the six boards of administration which still exist in China, under the names of *Kung-Pu*, *Hing-Pu*, etc. The titles given by Rashíd do not seem to attempt any imitation of the Chinese names, and are probably those in use among the Mahomedans. The third board from the top, called *P'ing pu* by the Chinese, has still authority over military affairs.

[2] [With regard to the finger print system in the Far East we shall make the following remarks: In *Nature*, Oct. 28, 1880, p. 605 Mr. Henry Faulds writing from Tokyo drew the attention to the use made by Japanese of finger prints and came to the conclusion "that the Chinese criminals from early times have been made to give the impressions of their fingers, just as we make ours yield their photo-

After the matter has thus passed through all the boards, and has been decided on by the supreme authority, it is sent back to the tribunal before which it first came.

The dignitaries mentioned above are expected to attend daily at the Sing, and to make themselves acquainted with all that passes there. And as the business to be transacted is very extensive, the Chingsang take their part in the writing that has to be done as well as the other members of the Council whose positions we have detailed. Each takes his place, according to his degree, with a kind of table and writing materials before him. Every great officer has his seal and distinctive bearings. It is the duty of certain of the clerks to write down the names of all who attend daily, in order that a deduction may be made from the allowances of those who are absent. If any one is habitually absent from the Council without valid excuse, he is dismissed.

graphs." In the same periodical (Nov. 22, 1894, p. 77), Sir W. J. Herschel claimed to have been the first to exhibit the system of finger prints on board the P. and O. S.S. *Mongolian* in Feb. 1877; this system he had found in 1858 and communicated to Mr. Galton who made use of it in his *Finger Prints*, 1892; hence the discovery of the system was ascribed to Sir W. Herschel in a Parliamentary "Blue Book." Sir W. Herschel added in his letter that, to the best of his knowledge, the assertion that the use of finger marks in this way was originally invented by the Chinese was wholly unproved. Sir W. Herschel was entirely wrong; Mr. Faulds (*Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1894, p. 548) protested against the claim of Sir W. Herschel, and finally a Japanese gentleman Kumagusu Minakata (*Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1894, p. 199) proved the case for the Japanese and the Chinese. None of these writers quoted the passage of Rashíd-ud-dín which is a peremptory proof of the antiquity of the use of finger prints by the Chinese. In a note (*T'oung pao*, 1895, p. 147), G. Schlegel refers to his *Nederlandsch-Chineesch Woordenboek*, s.v. *Echtscheidingsbrief* (Letter of Divorce), which letters are authenticated by a print of the hand of the husband, and *Bezegelen*, "to confirm by the blackened palm of the hand." As we go to press we learn that Mr. B. Laufer of Chicago has just brought out a *History of the Finger Print System*, Washington, 1913, 8vo. Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung pao*, Oct. 1913, pp. 490–491, who gives additional proofs of the high antiquity of the finger print system in China. Three documents of the T'ang dynasty dated 782 and 786 bear finger prints with a formula to state "that prints of the fingers have been put on as a distinctive mark."]

It is the order of the Kaan that the four Chingsáng make all reports to him.

The Sing of Khanbaliq is the most eminent, and the building is very large. All the acts and registers and records of proceedings of several thousands of years are there preserved. The officials employed in it amount to some two thousand.

Sing do not exist in all the cities, but only in the capitals of great provinces, which, in fact, form kingdoms ranking with Baghdad, Shiraz, Iconium, and Rum.

In the whole empire of the Kaan there are twelve of these Sing; but that of Khanbaliq is the only one which has Chingsang among its members. The others have only dignitaries bearing the title of *Shijangí* to preside over them, aided by four Fanchán, and other members of council who have titles corresponding to their dignities.

The places where the Twelve Sing are established are, according to their respective precedence, the following:

1st Sing; that of KHANBALIQ or Daidu. *2nd.* That of the country of the CHURCHE[1] and the SOLANGKA which is established in the city of Múnchú, the greatest town of Solángka country. Ala-uddín, the son of Husamuddín of Almáliq, and Hassan Juják are in authority there. *3rd.* That of KOLI[2] and UKOLI, a separate kingdom, the chief of which has the title of *Wang* (or king). Kúblái gave his daughter in marriage to this prince. *4th.* NAMKING. This is a great city belonging to the province of Cathay, situated on the banks of the Karamuran. It was

[1] The *Churché* are the Yu-ché or Niuchen of the Chinese, the ancestors of the modern Manchus. *Solángka* is the Mongol name of the northern part of Corea, and the country through which flows the Ghirinsula or upper part of the Sungari river. (*Klap.*) The Solangas are mentioned by Rubruquis, who saw their envoys at the court of Kara Korum. The "city of Múnchú" is probably connected with the name of the *Manchu* tribes.

[2] *Kaoli* is the Chinese name of Corea. Koli and Akoli is not explained; it is probably one of those double jingles which Orientals are fond of inventing, like *Chin* and *Machin*.

once the residence of the (old) kings of Cathay[1]. *5th.* SUKCHÚ, a city situated on the frontier of Cathay towards the Turks[2]. *6th.* The city of KHINGSAI, formerly the capital of the kingdom of Manzi. Ala-uddín Fanchán, his son Saifuddín, and Taghájar Noyan Batu Kerkháhi, are its three chiefs. Omar Khwaja son of Saï, and Bik Khwaja Thusi are the Fanchán's[3]. *7th.* FÚCHÚ[4]. This is a city of Manzi. The Sing was formerly located at Zaitún, but afterwards established here, where it still remains. The chiefs there are Ran, the brother of Dáshiman, and Hhálá the brother of Báyán Fanchán. Zaitún is a great shipping-port, and the commandant there is Boha-addín Kandári. *8th.* LUKINFU, a city of Manzi, on the frontier of Tangkut[5]. *9th.* LÚMKALÍ, called by the merchants CHINKALÁN. This is a city of immense size on the sea-coast to the south of Zaitún, and has a great haven. Tukai Nám and Ruknaddín Abishári Fanchán are the chief officers there[6]. *10th.* KARÁJÁNG. This used to be an independent kingdom, and the Sing is established at the great city of Yachi. All the inhabitants are Mahomedans. The chiefs

[1] *Namking* is not our modern Nanking (which is not on the Caramuran or Hwang-ho), but K'ai fung fu in Ho nan, which was the Nanghin of Polo, the *Nan-king* or "Southern Capital" of the Kin dynasty of Cathay or Northern China. (*Klap.*)

[2] *Sukchú* is Su chau in Kan suh province, towards the Great Desert. We find it called Sukchu by Shah Rukh's ambassadors, and *Sowchick* by Anthony Jenkinson. [The first character of *Su chau* was pronounced *Suk* at the time of the T'ang; we find a *Sughčiu* in von Le Coq's MSS. from Turkestan and *Sughču* in the runnic text of W. Thomsen; cf. Pelliot, *J. As.*, Mai-Juin 1912, p. 591; the pronunciation *Suk*-chau was still used by travellers coming from Central Asia, for instance by the envoys of Shah Rukh.]

[3] Of Khingsai (Quinsai, Cansa) we have already heard and shall hear more. Note how many of these provincial governors are Mahomedans.

[4] Of Fu chau and Zaitún we have also heard in Odoric.

[5] One expects here the province of Sze-ch'wan, which is on the borders of Tangut. But the capital was *Ch'eng tu fu* (see *infra*, p. 130).

[6] On Chinkalán (Canton) also see *Odoric*, p. 179. The other name *Lumkalí* is doubtful as to reading. Von Hammer read it *Kunki.*

are Noyán Takín and Yakúb Beg, son of Ali Beg the Balúch[1]. *11th.* KENJANGFU, one of the cities of Tangkút. Ananda the son of Númúghán, resides in this country, at the place called Fanchán Náur, where he has built a palace[2]. *12th.* Machú or Kamkhu? is also a city of Tangkút, to which immense territories are attached. Akhtaki (or

[1] Kara-jáng is Yun-nan. In Marco Polo the modern Yun-nan is divided into two provinces, the capital of one of which is Jaci (Yach'i) as here, and the capital of the other called by the same name as the province. In Murray's edition the former province is called *Caraian*, and the latter *Karazan*, whilst in Pauthier's publication from old French MSS. *both* provinces are called *Caraian*, and the name of Karazan does not occur. But as we see that *Karajáng* was the real name of the province among the Mahomedans, it is more likely that Caraian was miswritten for Karazan than *vice versâ*. Klaproth indeed says that Yun-nan is still called *Karaian* by the people of central Asia, but gives no authority. The connection of this name with the *Karens* of Burma is, I suspect, as unfounded as M. Pauthier's derivation of the *Talaings* of Pegu from Tali-fu. According to Pauthier Yachi is Li-Kiang fu in the north-west of Yun-nan, and the other capital (Karaian or Karazan) is Tali-fu. But this makes Marco's *ponent* bear the interpretation of *south*, that being nearly the direction from one city to the other. In another passage of his great work (quoted by *Quatremère*, p. xc–xcv) Rashíd describes Karajáng as a country of vast extent, situated between Tibet, Tangut, the mountains of India, Mongolia, Cathay, and the country of the Zar dandán or Gilt-Teeth, of whom Polo also speaks. "The Chinese called it *Dai-lui* (Tali?), the Hindus *Kandar*, and the Persians *Kandahár*." [See *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 72–73.]

[The actual Yun-nan fu was built in 1382 under the reign of Hung Wu, the first Ming Emperor; south-east of it was Shan Shan, capital of the Mong Dynasty (Nan Chao Kingdom), which was also the name of the capital of the Yun-nan province when it was called Chung K'ing in 1276 by the Mongols.]

[2] This is *King-chao*, now *Si-ngan fu* in Shensi, the Quengian and Kenjang of Polo and Kansan of Odoric (*supra*, II, p. 246). [*Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 27–29.] [Kenjang seems to be an alteration of King chao; when the Chinese knew Kenjang as the Mahomedan name of Si-ngan, they rewrote it Kin chang. Cf. Pelliot, *J. As.*, Mai–Juin 1912, p. 594.] According to Klaproth it was not Numughan, the fourth son of Kúblái, but Mangala, his third son, who ruled in Kenchangfu, and Ananda was the son of the latter. He succeeded his father Mangala in 1280, and was put to death in 1308, having claimed the throne on the death of Timúr Khan. Marco himself mentions Mangala as ruling in Kenchangfu as king. This is strictly correct, for he had the Chinese title of *Wang* or king.

[Mangala was invested in 1272 with the title of King of Ngan-si, a territory which included King chao fu (modern Si-ngan-fu). See *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 31, n. 4.]

Achiki) dwells there. The Amír Khwaja called Yasam is chief there[1].

[1] I suspect the true reading here should be *Kamchú*, the city of Kan chau in the province of Kan suh, which Marco describes under the name of Canpicion, "chief and capital of the whole province of Tangut."

The correct division of the empire into the Twelve Sing is thus given by Pauthier and Klaproth from the Annals of the Yuen dynasty:

I. The Central Province, embracing the modern Shan tung, Shan si, Pe Chihli, Ho nan north of the Hwang Ho, and part of Mongolia; capital TATU or Peking. II. Province of the Northern Mountains; cap. Ho lin or KARAKORUM. III. LIAO YANG, embracing the modern Liao tung, and a good deal more to the north. Cap. of the same name. IV. HO NAN, comprising the remainder of the modern province, with that part of Kiang nan which is north of the Kiang, and the greater part of Hu kwang north of the Kiang. Cap., P'ien liang, now K'AI FUNG FU. V. SHEN SI, comprising the modern province with the greater part of Kan suh to the right of the Hwang-ho, and part of the Ordo territory. The capital was King-chao, now SI NGAN FU. VI. SZE CH'WAN, embraced also parts of Hu kwang and Kwei chau. Cap., CH'ENG TU. VII. KAN SUH, cap., KAN CHAU. VIII. YUN NAN, the modern province with part of Kwei chau, and parts of Tibet and Burma. Cap., Ch'ung k'ing, *hod.*, YUN NAN FU. IX. KIANG CHE, embracing Che kiang, Kiang nan south of the Kiang, and the eastern part of Kiang si. Cap., HANG CHAU FU, called also KING-SZE, or Capital. X. KIANG SI, cap. Lung hing, now NAN CH'ANG FU. XI. HU KWANG, cap., WU CH'ANG (Klaproth says *Chang sha fu*). XII. CHENG-TUNG, which comprised the kingdom of Corea. A table will better show the discrepancies between Rashíd and the Chinese official statements.

THE XII SING OF THE YUEN EMPIRE.

From Pauthier.	*From Rashíd.*
1. Central Province (TATU)	1. Khanbaliq or Daïdu
2. Northern Mountains (Mongolia)	
3. Liao yang (including Manchuria)	2. Churché and Solánka, i.e. Manchuria
4. Ho nan	4. Nanking
5. Shen si	11. Kenjangfu
6. Sze ch'wan	8. Lukinfu?
7. Kan suh	12. Kamchu
8. Yun nan	10. Karajang
9. Kiang che	6. Khingsai
10. Kiang si (cap., Lung hing)	9. Chinkalan (Canton) or Lumkali
11. Hu kwang	
12. Cheng tung (Corea)	3. Kaoli (Corea)
	7. Fuchu
	5. Sukchu

[The twelve *Sheng* or provinces of China were then: Cheng Tung, Liao Yang, Chung Shu, Shen Si, Ling Pe (Karakorum), Kan Suh, Sze ch'wan, Ho Nan Kiang Pe, Kiang Ché, Kiang Si, Hu Kwang and Yun Nan. See long note in *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 432–433.]

Fu kien or Fu chau was, previous to 1285, and again at a later period, a separate province, which accounts for Rashíd's making it one of the

As all these cities are widely apart from one another, there is in each a prince of the blood or other prince of eminent rank, who commands the troops and governs the people, administers public affairs and maintains the laws and regulations. The Sing of each kingdom or province is established in the chief city, and every Sing is like a little town in itself, so numerous are the buildings for the use of the various public officers, and for the multitude of attendants and slaves attached to the establishment to do petty duties under the chiefs of the subordinate offices. It is the custom in that country to remove delinquents and criminals from their houses, families and property of every description, and to employ them in carrying loads, drawing carts, or moving stones for building, according to the sentence passed upon each.

The gentlemen attached to the princes and other persons of respectability, receive each the honours which are assigned to their respective ranks, and of the ranks there are several degrees.

As for the history of former emperors since time immemorial we propose to relate it specially in the Appendix to this work, for in this place we must be brief[1].

Towards the south-east everything is subject to the Kaan except an isle of the ocean called CHIPANGU[2], which is not far from the coast of Churché and Kaoli. The people of that country are of short stature, with great bellies and heads sunk between their shoulders. Straight eastward all

Twelve Sing. Kiang Si also comprised Canton prior to 1293. His making Su chau on the desert frontier a separate province is a mistake altogether; [it was included in Kan Suh].

[The Hu kwang province, with Wu ch'ang as a capital, comprised southern Hu Pe, the whole of Hu Nan and of Kwang si and western Kwang tung, including the island of Hai Nan.]

[1] All that follows is from D'Ohsson only.

[2] The *Chipangu*, *Cipangu*, *Zipangu* of Polo, JAPAN, from the Chinese name *Jih-pên-kwé* ("kingdom of the Rising Sun," *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 256 *n.*).

is subject to him that lies between the sea-coast and the frontier of the KIRGHÍZ[1].

To the south-west of Manzi, on the coast between the country of Kowelaki and Zaitún, there is a thick forest, where the son of the Emperor of Manzi has taken refuge, but he is without resources and lives in indigence[2].

To the west is the country of KAFCHÉ-KUÉ[3]. It is difficult of access, and is bounded by Karajang, by a part of India, and by the sea. It has a sovereign of its own, and includes in its territory the two cities of Lujak (?) and Jessam (?). Tugan, who commands at KWE LIN FU and is in occupation of Manzi, is also charged to watch the proceedings of these hostile people. He made an expedition into their country and got possession of the cities on the coast, but after his rule had lasted a week the forces began to come forth of a sudden, as it were from the sea, from the forests, from the mountains, and fell upon the soldiers of

[1] There seems to be here some indication of an idea of the coast of China and Eastern Asia as running *west and east* rather than north and south, and I think there are traces of the same both in Polo and Odoric. The latter always goes *versus Orientem* till he reaches Cambalec.

[2] I suspect *Kowelaki* here is the same name that was previously read *Lumkali* as a synonyme of the Sin-kalan or Canton province. The two last representatives of the Sung dynasty did take refuge on the shores of that province, and there the last survivor perished in 1279. This seems to show that Rashíd sometimes wrote from old information.

[3] D'Ohsson suggests that this should be read *Kanchekué*, and that it is the Caugigu of Marco. But the mention of the sea-coast seems fatal to this, as Polo says specifically that Caugigu was far from the sea. Indeed there can be no question that *Kafchekuo* is Lower Tung king, *Kiao-chi-kwo* of the Chinese. D'Ohsson's own History contains an account of *three* expeditions into Tung king by Tugan (a younger son of Kúblái), in 1285, 1287 and 1288. The last ended very disastrously, the king of Tung king following his retreat into *Kwang si* and beating him there. Tugan was disgraced and forbidden the court (ii, 445, 449). Kwe lin fu would therefore appear to be the present capital of Kwang si so-called, and is perhaps the proper reading for the *Lukinfu* of p. 126, though there incorrectly placed. [See *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 131 *n.*]

The two names of cities are read by Quatremère *Luchac* and *Hasam* (*Rashíd*, p. xcv); he takes them for Hainan (reading *Hainam*) and Lui chau in the peninsula opposite that island.

Tugan, who were engaged in plundering. Tugan made his escape, and he still resides at Kwe lin fu.

To the north-west is the frontier of TIBET and of the GOLDEN-TEETH[1]. Here there are no enemies excepting

[1] "*Zar-dandán*" (Pers.), the name used *literatim* by Polo for this people, and a translation of the term *Kin-chi* by which they were known to the Chinese. Polo [see long note, ii, pp. 84 seq.] places them five days *ponent* or west of the city of Caraian (or *Carazan* of some copies), which Pauthier identifies with Tali-fu. He ascribes to them the eccentric custom, found among various wild races ancient and modern, which sends the *husband* to keep his bed for a season when the wife has given birth to a child, and fixes their chief city at *Vociam* (Yung-ch'ang). [*Couvade*; cf. *Polo*, ii, p. 91.] Passages nearly but not quite identical with one another, which Quatremère has quoted from the history of *Benaketi* and from another part of the *Jamí'-ut-Tawárikh* of *Rashíd*, speak of this people. "To the south-west of Cathay," they say in substance, "lies *Kara-Jang*, an extensive country lying between Tibet, Tangut, the mountains of India, Mongolia, Cathay, and the *Country of the Gold Teeth*. The Indians call it *Kandar*, and we (Persians, etc.) *Kandahar*, the Chinese *Dailiu* (Tali?). The king is called *Mahara* or Great Prince; the capital *Yachi* (*Jaci* of Polo). Among its people part are black (whence *Kara-Jang* or Black Jang), part white, called *Chaghan-Jang* or White Jang"...It is not improbable that the Kara-Jang and Chaghan-Jang (compare with Karazan of Polo) represent Black *Sháns* and White *Sháns*, and that the colours refer not to complexion but to dress. We always knew the Shans at Amarapura by their coats of *black calico*. "North-west of China is the frontier of Tibet and of the *Gold-Teeth*, who lie between Tibet and Kara-Jang. These people cover their teeth with a gold case which they take off when they eat." There is another passage of Rashíd among Elliot's extracts in which this people is mentioned, a passage which would be most interesting if the names were not so mangled. Speaking of Maabar, the historian says that two ways to China diverge thence. The first is "by *Sarandíp* (Ceylon), *Lámúri*, the country of *Sumatra*, and *Darband Niás*, a dependency of Java, *Champa* and *Haitam* (qu. Hainan?), subject to the Kaan, and so to *Mahachin* (Canton), *Zaitún* and *Khinsá*. "With respect to the other road which leads from Maábar by way of Cathay, it commences at the city of *Cabal* (read *Kail*), then proceeds to the city of *Gosjú* and *Sabjú*, dependencies of Cabal, then to *Tamlifatan*, then *Karoramawár*, then to *Hawaráwún*, then to *Dakli*, then to *Bijalár*, which from of old is subject to Dehli; and at this time one of the cousins of the sultan of Dehli has conquered it and established himself, having revolted against the sultan. His army consists of Turks. Beyond that is the country of *Katbar*, then *Úman*, then ZARDANDAN, so called because the people have gold in their teeth. They puncture their hands and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards so that they have not a sign of hair on their faces. They are all subject to the Kaan. Thence you arrive at the borders of *Tibet*, where they eat raw meat and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives (see *Polo*, i, 44, 45). The air is so impure that if they ate their dinner after noon they would all die.

on a point occupied by Kutlugh Khwaja and his army. However, the enemy is shut off from the empire in this quarter by high mountains which he cannot penetrate. Nevertheless some troops have been posted to watch this frontier.

To the north-north-west a desert of forty days' extent divides the states of Kúblái from those of Kaidu and Dua[1]. This frontier extends thirty days from east to west. From point to point are posted bodies of troops under the orders of princes of the blood or other generals, and they often come to blows with the troops of Kaidu. Five of these corps are cantoned on the verge of the Desert; a sixth in the territory of Tangut, near *Chághán Naúr* (White Lake); a seventh in the vicinity of Karakhoja, a city of the Uighúrs[2],

They boil tea and eat winnowed barley." It is clear enough that the second part of this passage indicates a route to China from Coromandel by Bengal and the Indo-Chinese countries, but the names have been desperately corrupted. Tamlifatan looks very like a misreading of *Bimlifatan*, the port of *Bimlipatam*, on the coast of the N. Circars; and *Bijaldr* is certainly *Bengala*, quasi-independent under Nasir-uddín, son of the Emperor Balban, and his family. *Kalban* may just possibly have been a mispronunciation of *Habang*, i.e. Silhet (see Ibn Batuta, *infra*); whilst *Uman* is probably the Chinese *U-man* or *Ho-man*, the name applied to one of the wild tribes of the Upper Irawadi region. Gosju and Sabju look like Chinese names, so entirely out of place that I suspect interpolation by someone misunderstanding the route; the remaining names I have tried in vain to solve in any consistent manner.

Pauthier quotes passages from the Chinese Annals showing that the office of "Direction of Frontier Protection" and the like for the Gold-Teeth territory was established in Kúblái's reign, at or near Tali. But it seems to me that in his map he places this people too far to the south, and that it is pretty clear from all the passages just quoted, that they are to be placed at least as high as lat. 24°–25°, corresponding in position generally to the existing *Singphas*. (*Quatremère's Rashid*, pp. lxxxvi–xcvi; *Elliot*, p. 46; *Pauthier's Polo*, pp. 391–2, 397 *seq.*)

[1] See *ante*, p. 43. For a time at least there were two Mongol dynasties in Central Asia, between the frontier of the Great Khan and the Caspian. Kaidu, great grandson of Chinghiz through his second son and successor Okkodai, and who disputed the suzerainty with Kúblái through life, represented one of these, whilst that of Chagatai was the other. See a note appended to Ibn Batuta (*infra*) "On the History of the Khans of Chagatai."

[2] There are at least two lakes in Mongolia called by the name of Chaghan-Nor; one the *Cyagannor* or *Cianganor* of Polo where

which lies between the two states and maintains neutrality. This frontier ends at the mountains of Tibet. The great Desert cannot be crossed in summer, because of the want of water; in winter they have only snow-water to drink.

Kúblái had a palace, not far from Shang tu (*supra*, II, p. 227); the other lying north-east of Kamul, about lat. 45° 45′ and east long. 96°, which appears to be that here intended, as the first is far from Tangut. Karakhoja is still a town of Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, the position of which is indicated by Timkowski as south of Turfan, and one of the districts of that province (i, 386; see also *Ritter*, vii, 432, 435). It seems to have continued to be the frontier of the Chinese rule a century later under the Ming; for Shah Rukh's ambassadors, on their arrival at Karakhoja, or a short distance east of it, met the first Chinese officials, who took down a list of the party (*Not. et Extr.*, xiv, pt. 1, 389). In another passage of Rashíd, quoted by Quatremère, he says: "When you descend below the Chaghan Naur, you are near the city of Karakhoja in the Uighúr country, where they have good wine" (*Ib.* p. 235).

["The Chinese name of Karakhodjo in the Mongol period was *Huo chou* (Fire City). Sometimes the first sound is also represented by another homophonous character; sometimes the name is also written *Ho chou*. In the *Si yu ki* and also in the *Si yu lu*, Ho chou is stated to lie 500 *li* south of Bishbalik (beyond the T'ien shan), and is identified in the latter narrative with Kao ch'ang of the T'ang period. In the *Yuan shi* the same place is noticed several times under its different names. In the Annals, *s.a.* 1286, it is recorded that Kubilai ordered cattle and corn to be given to the people of *Ho-la-huo-djo* and *Ho-mi-li* (Hami), who suffered from dearth. Karakhodjo is further mentioned, chap. cxxviii, in the biography of *A-shu*, who was a grandson of the famous Subutai. A-shu had been sent in 1286 against a rebellious prince, and died in *Ha-la-ho-djou*. The city of Karakhodjo still exists, 40 versts south-east of Turfan, according to Regel, who visited this place in 1879. He writes the name *Karagudsha*." (Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, ii, p. 31.) Karakhodja, east of Turfan, was the anterior court of Kao ch'ang in the tenth century. Sir Aurel Stein writes: "I visited the remarkable ruins of the Turfan capital of Uigur times at Karakhodja, some seven miles to the west of Toyuk. Here a cluster of populous villages surrounds, and is partly built into, the massive clay walls which enclose nearly a square mile full of imposed ruined structures now scattered amidst cultivation...the ruined town had proved a very rich mine." (*Ruins of Desert Cathay*, ii, 1912, pp. 359–360.) During the winter of 1902–1903, Grünwedel explored the ruins of Idiqut Shahri, near Kara Khodja.—Karâ-Khoja was to the east of Turfan; it was the capital of the Uighúr kingdom of Kao ch'ang subjugated by the T'ang in 640; it was visited in 981 by the Chinese Ambassador Wang Yen-te; these Uighúrs are called by the Leao Uighúrs of Huo chau. The prince of the Uighúrs of Karâ-Khoja had the title of *Yi-tu-hu*; hence the title of *Ydyqut* and *Ydyqut Shahri* the "town of the Ydyqut" for the old Karâ Khoja; the present Karâ Khoja took the place of the old city in the 14th century —Pelliot, *Kao-tch'ang*, *J. As.*, Mai—Juin 1912.]

IV

PEGOLOTTI'S NOTICES OF THE LAND ROUTE TO CATHAY

IV

NOTICES OF THE LAND ROUTE TO CATHAY AND OF ASIATIC TRADE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

BY FRANCIS BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES

THE original of the curious work from which the extracts in the following pages are derived, was first published as an appendix to an anonymous book called "*A Treatise on the* Decima *and the various other burdens imposed on the community of Florence ; also on the currency and commerce of the Florentines up to the Sixteenth Century.* (In four vols., 4to.) Lisbon and Lucca, 1765–66." (*Della Decima*, etc.[1]) The imprint is fictitious, as the work was really published at Florence, and the author was Gian Francesco Pagnini del Ventura of Volterra[2].

[1] Della//Decima//e di varie gravezze//imposte dal Comune//di Firenze//Della Moneta//e//della Mercatura//de' Fiorentini//fino al Secolo XVI.//...//Lisbona, MDCCLXV.//&//Lucca, 4 vol. 4to, 1765–1766, pp. viii–268–xii, tables; vi–355; xxiv–380; xxxvj+1 f. n. ch. +pp. 284.

[2] *Canonico Moreni, Bibliografia Storico-Ragionata della Toscana*, ii, pp. 144–5. Pagnini was born at Volterra in 1715, and studied law at Rome. He filled a succession of considerable offices connected with Finance and Agriculture under the Tuscan Government [and among these offices that of *Cancellière della Decima*], and died in 1789. There is a monument and bust erected by his friends in the cloister of S. Annunziata and S. Pier Maggiore at Florence. Besides the work named above he published in cooperation with Angelo Tavanti (1751) a translation of Locke upon Interest and the Value of Money, with a dissertation of his own on the True Price of Things, on Money, and on the commerce of the Romans. He also published

The work of Pegolotti occupies the whole of the third volume. It was taken by Pagnini from a MS., apparently unique, in the Riccardian Library at Florence, called by the author (*Libro di Divisamenti di Paesi*, etc.[1]) "*The Book of the Descriptions of Countries*[2]," etc., though Pagnini gave it the more descriptive title of *Pratica della Mercatura*[3]. Baldelli Boni, writing some forty years ago, says that the manuscript could no longer be found in the Riccardiana. However it is to be found there now and I have examined it. It is a handsome paper folio, purporting to have been transcribed by the hand of Filippo di Nicolaio di Frescobaldi at Florence in the year 1471, and bears the No. 2441 in the collection.

Nothing is known of the author, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, except what is gathered from his own book. From it we learn that he was a factor in the service of the Company of the Bardi of Florence. In various incidental statements also he lets us know that he was at Antwerp in their service from 1315 (and probably earlier) to 1317, when he was transferred to London[4]; and that he was

letters on agricultural subjects, and was the editor of *Applausi Poetici per la gloriosa Esaltazione all' Augusto Trono Imperiale di Francesco III, Granduca di Toscana*, Firenze, 1745. (See *Scritt. Class. Ital. di Economia Politica, Pte. Moderna*, tom. II; and *Moreni*, u.s.)

[1] ["Questo Libro è chiamato Libro de divisamenti di paesi, e di misure di mercatanzie"... Pref.]

[2] I imagine this to be the proper translation of *Divisamenti* here, as Marco Polo's book is in some copies termed "*Divisement des Diversités*," etc. (*Pauthier*, p. 33.)

[3] [Della//Decima//e delle altre gravezze &c.//Tomo terzo//contenente la Pratica//della Mercatura//scritta da//Francesco Balducci Pegolotti//E copiata da un Codice manoscritto esistente in Firenze//nella Biblioteca Riccardiana.//— Lisbona, e Lucca//—MDCCLXVI.// E si vende da Giuseppe Bouchard Librajo Francese in Firenze.

On the last page 380, at foot: "Per mano di me Filippo di Niccolajo Frescobaldi in Firenze questo dì XVIIII. di Marzo MCCCCLXXI."

Count of Mas Latrie has shown the numerous mistakes of Pagnini in editing the manuscript, in his paper: "Le Manuscrit de la *Prattica della Mercatura* de B. Pegolotti," inserted at pp. 181–186 of *Notices et Documents publiés pour la Société de l'Hist. de France à l'occasion du Cinquantième Anniversaire de sa fondation*, 1884, 8vo.]

[4] *Pegolotti*, p. 257.

employed in Cyprus from May 1324 to August 1327, for at those and intermediate dates he made sundry applications to the King of Cyprus for the reduction of duties payable by his countrymen, who had previously been liable to heavier duties than the Pisans, and had consequently been obliged to employ their agency. Balducci, indignant at the conduct of the Pisans, who treated the Florentines, he says, "like Jews or slaves of theirs," made these successful efforts to get rid of this obligation[1].

In 1335 the author was still at Cyprus, or had returned thither, and obtained in that year from the King of Lesser Armenia a grant of privileges to the company which he served for their trade at Aiazzo or Aias, the port of that kingdom on the Gulf of Scanderoon[2].

[1] P. 71.

[2] P. 45. Aiazzo, or Aias, the ancient Ægæ, opposite Issus, is mentioned several times by Marco Polo as *Laias*. [See *Marco Polo*, i, p. 17 *n.* and plan, p. 41.] Whilst Persia was in the hands of the Mongols a great part of the Indian trade came by Baghdad to Tabriz, and thence by the route detailed in Pegolotti's chapter vi to Aiazzo [which was the chief port of Cilician Armenia, on the Gulf of Scanderoon] for shipment. The port was in the hands of the Christian princes called the Kings of Little Armenia, whose dynasty was founded in the mountains of Cilicia in the year 1080, by Rupen, a kinsman of the last King of Armenia Proper of the race of the Bagratidæ. Rupen's ninth successor, Leon II, got the title of king from Pope Celestine III and the Emperor Henry VI in the end of the twelfth century, and the line continued till 1342. The kingdom endured thirty-three years longer under kings of the house of Lusignan. In the time of Haiton or Hethum I [1224], when it was perhaps most flourishing, it embraced all Cilicia, with many cities of Syria, Cappadocia, and Isauria. The institutions of this country were a curious compound, uniting an Armenian church and nationality with Greek legislation and the feudal institutions and social gradations of the Franks. The capital was at *Sis* [or Sîsîyah], where there are still an Armenian population and an Armenian monastery and patriarch. (See papers by Dulaurier in *Jour. As.*, sér. v, tom. xvii and xviii; *Ib.*, v, 262; D'Ohsson, ii, 310; St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, vol. i.)

[Sis is on the site of the Roman city of Flaviopolis; the population includes 2500 Armenians, 700 Mohamedans, and 300 inhabitants belonging to various cults. Cf. Vital Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, Vilayet d'Adana, ii, p. 92; the monastery built on the ruins of the palace of the "Takavors" (kings) is to-day inhabited by the *Catholicos*, great Armenian Patriarch of Cilicia.]

The Bardi[1] failed in 1339, owing to their unprofitable dealings with the King of England (Edward III). They and the Company of the Peruzzi were the "king's merchants," or as we should now say, bankers and agents, receiving all his rents and incomings in wool and the like, whilst meeting all his demands for cash and stores. But these last so much exceeded the receipts on his account that there was a balance due from him of 180,000 marks sterling to the Bardi, and 135,000 marks to the Peruzzi, each mark being equal to four and a half gold florins, so that the bad debt amounted on the whole to 1,365,000 florins, "che valeano un reame," as the Florentine chronicler says. Much of the money advanced consisted of the deposits of citizens and foreigners (including English), and the stoppage of payment was a great blow to Florentine commerce and to credit generally. The Bardi however seem to have got on their legs again sufficiently to fail a second time in 1345, for the sum of 550,000 florins[2]. Whether they recovered from this second failure I do not know, but other circumstances referred to by the author of the *Decima* fix the date of Pegolotti's book to about 1340. It could not of course have been written earlier than the last year of residence in Cyprus to which he makes the reference quoted above, and it must have been written before the death of King Robert of Naples, of the house of Anjou, whom he speaks of in one passage as still reigning[3]. That event occurred in 1343.

Pegolotti's Handbook, for it is just such, is purely mercantile in its bearings, and even in those parts which

[1] This house gave a husband to Dante's Beatrice; and a heroine to George Eliot in *Romola*!

[2] *Della Decima*; Giov. Villani, *Istoria Fiorentina*, bk. xi, ch. 87. The English gold florin was coined in 1343 to weigh 2 Florentine florins, and to be worth 6*s*. (See Akermann's *Num. Manual*, p. 267.) Hence 4½ Fl. florins = 13*s*. 6*d*., or a little over a mark. But 13*s*. 6*d*. represented three times as much silver as now.

[3] "*Questo Re Uberto*," p. 186.

are not mere lists or figured statements is written in the dryest and most inartificial style, if style it can be called. Devoting successive chapters to the various ports and seats of traffic of his time, and proceeding from the Asiatic coasts of the Mediterranean westward, he details the nature of the exports and imports, the duties and exactions, the customs of business appropriate to each locality, as well as the value of the moneys, weights and measures of each country in relation to those of the places with which they chiefly had to deal. Rude essays on various practical matters are interspersed and appended.

The book might have slept as undisturbed under the unattractive title of Pagnini's quartos, as it had done for centuries in manuscript on the shelves of the Florentine libraries, had not the Germans Forster and Sprengel got scent of it and made it the subject of some comment in their geographical works[1].

Their comments refer to the first two chapters of Pegolotti, the most interesting of the whole, and which I shall give unabridged. I shall also give one or two chapters that follow, having more or less bearing on our subject, and a few additional extracts where the matter seems of sufficient interest.

The notices of Sprengel seem to have furnished the source from which nearly all the later writers who have touched on Pegolotti have derived their information, as is shown by their copying an error of the press which makes him in Sprengel's book *Pegoletti*. Even Humboldt, Rémusat, and Ritter do this, and the latter assumes besides that Pegolotti had himself made the journey to Cathay, which

[1] See Forster, *Hist. des Découvertes et des Voyages dans le Nord* (Fr. Trans.), Paris, 1788, pp. 242 *et seq.*; and *Geschichte der Wichtigsten Geog. Entdeckungen*, etc., von *M. C. Sprengel* (2nd ed.), Halle, 1792. I suppose that Sprengel's first edition preceded Forster, as the former says (p. 253) that no one had yet made use of Pegolotti in the history of the Chinese trade. The original of these two chapters is given in Appendix, p. 172.

he describes. For this assumption there is not the slightest ground[1]. It is evident indeed from the terms of the account that the road to Cathay was not unfrequently travelled by European merchants in his day, and from some of these Pegolotti had obtained the notes which he communicates, as he himself in one passage distinctly intimates[2].

The fourth volume also of Pagnini's work is occupied by a later book of character similar to that of Pegolotti's, written in 1440 by Giovanni di Antonio da Uzzano, under the name of *Libro di Gabelli e Pesi e Misure di più e diversi Luoghi*, etc.[3]. At that date direct intercourse with Eastern Asia had long been interrupted, and the book has nothing of interest to extract for this collection. It contains, however, among other matters, some curious lists of the duties on a vast variety of wares at the different Italian marts, and a treatise containing sailing directions for the Mediterranean.

[1] See *Erdkunde*, ii, 404, and posthumous *Lectures on the Hist. of Geography*, Berlin, 1861, p. 220. These errors are probably derived from Malte Brun (see *D'Avezac*, p. 423). Even the *Biographie Universelle* speaks positively of Pegolotti's having visited all the places mentioned by him on the route to Cathay, and adds: "Independent of the route which he followed in going to China, Pegolotti describes also that of the caravans which without doubt he followed in returning from the Indies to the Mediterranean." This is grievous inaccuracy. Pegolotti never was in China, and describes no such return route as is here indicated. The nearest approach to it is the list of tolls between Aiazzo and Tabriz in his chapter vi.

[2] "*Secondo che si conta per gli mercatanti che l' hanno usato*," is his expression with regard to the road in question.

[3] [Della//Decima//e delle altre gravezze &c.//Tomo quarto//contenente la Pratica//della Mercatura//scritta da//Giovanni di Antonio da Uzzano//Nel 1442.//—Lisbona, e Lucca//—MDCCI.XVI.//E si vende da Giuseppe Bouchard Librajo Francese in Firenze.

P. 1: "Comincia il Libro di Gabelle, e pesi, e misure di più, e diversi luoghi; e come pesi, e misure tornano di un luogo ad un' altro."

P. 284, at foot: "Finito per infino quì per me Giovanni di Bernardo d' Antonio da Uzzano nel 1440 a dì 8 di Novembre, che Iddio ci dia grazia farne qualche frutto, di che pel cattivo temporale ne dubito, e per più altri rispetti."]

Pegolotti's book begins as follows:

IN THE NAME OF THE LORD, AMEN!

THIS book is called the Book of Descriptions of Countries and of measures employed in business, and of other things needful to be known by merchants of different parts of the world, and by all who have to do with merchandize and exchanges; showing also what relation the merchandize of one country or of one city bears to that of others; and how one kind of goods is better than another kind; and where the various wares come from, and how they may be kept as long as possible.

The book was compiled by Francis Balducci Pegolotti of Florence, who was with the Company of the Bardi of Florence, and during the time that he was in the service of the said Company, for the good and honour and prosperity of the said Company, and for his own, and for that of whosoever shall read or transcribe the said book. And this copy has been made from the book of Agnolo di Lotti of Antella, and the said book was transcribed from the original book of the said Francesco Balducci.

This is followed by several pages of [the contents and] explanations of abbreviations and technicalities of different countries, which are used in the book. Thus:

Tamunga in Tauris[1], and throughout Persia, at Trebizond, at Tana, at Caffa, and throughout all the cities of the

[1] *Tunizi* is printed in the *Decima*, but unquestionably it should be *Torizi*. *Tamungha* no doubt stands for *Tumgha*, a name which was applied to all customs and transit duties under the Mongol Khans of Persia. (See *D'Ohsson*, iv, 373, 386.) The word meant *a seal*, and going still further back was the term applied to the distinguishing brands of cattle among the Mongols. (V. Hammer, *Gold. Horde*, 220.) When Sultan Baber was engaged in a holy war with the Rajput Rana Sanga, he made one of his abjurations of wine, and vowed that he would renounce the *Tamgha* if victorious. Accordingly he published a firman, solemnly announcing his repentance, and declaring that in no city or town, on no road or street or passage should the *Tamgha* be received or levied. The translators render it *stamp-tax*, but the passages in D'Ohsson, as well as Baber's words, seem to show that it was a transit duty. (*Baber*, p. 356.)

Tartars: *Pesadone* in Armenia[1]; *Doana*[2], in all the cities of the Saracens, in Sicily, in Naples, and throughout the kingdom of Apulia; *Piazza, Fondaco*[3], *Bindanajo*, also throughout all Sicily and the kingdom of Apulia; *Comerchio* in all the cities of the Greeks, and in Cyprus[4]; *Dazio* at Venice; *Gabella* throughout Tuscany; *Spedicamento* and *Pedaggio* at Genoa: *Chiaveria*[5] throughout Provence; *Lelda*[6], in part of Provence and in France; *Malatolto*[7], *Pedaggio*,

[1] Among documents of the kingdom of Lesser Armenia quoted in Dulaurier's papers referred to above, we find *Pasidum* and *Pasidonum*, with the meaning of *Customs*, custom-house, and *Capitaneus Pasidoneus de Ayacio*, as the appellation of the chief of the custom-house in that port. (*J. As.*, sér. v, tom. xviii, 326, 327.) *Pasidonum* is a Latinization of the Armenian *Pájdún*, from *páj*, toll or customs, a word still existing in that language. (St. Martin, in *Notices et Extraits*, xi, 115, 117.)

[2] *Doana*, or in modern Italian *Dogana*, is believed to be from the Arabic *Dewán*, "council, council-hall, tribunal." Giov. da Uzzano spells it Dovana, which seems somewhat to confirm this derivation. (*Della Dec.*, iv, 119.)

["Neque inferior videtur eorum opinio, qui ab Arabico *Divan* seu *Diwan* Praetorium, hocque ab Hebraeo *Doun*, Judicavit, derivant, quod in *Doana* soleat de mercimoniis judicari." Ducange.—On the Arabic etymology of the word see Marcel Devic, *Dict.*, p. 32.]

[3] Some of these seem to be names of particular payments, not of *duties* or *customs* in general: *piazza*, probably a market tax; *fondaco*, payment for warehousing, which he elsewhere calls *fondacaggio*. *Alfandega*, however, is custom-house in Portuguese.

[4] Κομμέρκιον and κουμέρκιον, *Tributum, Vectigal pro mercimoniis exsolvi solitum* will be found in Ducange. (*Gloss. Græcitatis*, etc.) From the Greeks the word passed to the Turks and Arabs, see in *Freytag's Lexicon* جمرك. We also find in the Genoese version of a treaty with the Tartars of Gazaria, A.D. 1380, *Comerho* and *Comerha* for customs and custom-house. (*Not. et Ext.*, xi, 54, 57.)

[5] Some of these are probably slang. *Chiaveria*, key-money?

[6] Perhaps should be *Leuda*, which we find mentioned by Giovanni da Uzzano (p. 162) as the name of a tax at Barcelona paid by buyers or sellers not being freemen of the city. *Leuda*, *Lesda*, or *Ledda*, according to Ducange, is any duty, especially one paid on merchandize.

[7] *Malatolta*, according to the same authority, is an arbitrary exaction forcibly taken under the name of duty or customs. ["Maltota, Tributum quodvis, quaelibet exactio." Ducange.] He quotes [s.v. *Tolta*] among other examples a charter of Philip the Fair to the people of Bordeaux, which speaks of "*Assisiam seu coustumam, quæ in illo loco et locis circumvicinis* Malatolta *vulgariter nuncupatur*"; and one also of Peter of Castille which introduces the terms in the text preceding and following: "*Sint immunes ab omni* pedagio, leudâ, costumâ, malętotâ, *seu aliis quibusvis impositionibus*." The

and *Bara*[1] throughout all France; *Toloneo*[2] throughout Flanders; *Foveo* (?) throughout Brabant; *Costuma* throughout the Island of England; *Fedo*[3] at Tunis in Barbary; *Munda* in Friuli; *Mangona* and *Talaoch* in Spain[4];

All these names mean *duties* which have to be paid for goods and wares, and other things, imported to or exported from, or passed through the countries and places detailed in this paragraph.

Mercato in Tuscan; and *Piazza*[5] in several tongues; *Bazarra* and *Raba* in Genoese[6]; *Fondaco* in several languages; *Foda* in Cyprus; *Alla*[7] in Flemish; *Sugo* in Sara-

original for taxes and customs at p. 92 *supra* is *truuaiges et malestoultes*. The term shows just the same state of feeling that led the people in the North-West Provinces of India to apply to the tolls that used to be levied on the Grand Trunk Road, the terms *Lút* (plunder) and *Zulm* (oppression).

[1] Tolls were called *Barræ*, especially such as were levied at the gates and *barriers* of towns (*Ducange*).

[2] "Telon, Teloneum, *Toloneum*, Toll, Tolnetum, etc., *Tributum* de mercibus *marinis circa littus acceptum*" (*Ducange*). Our English word *Toll*.

[3] *Arab.* "*fadá*, Res quâ aliquis redimitur et liberatur" (Freytag). In a treaty between the Genoese and the Soldan of Babylon (Egypt) in 1290, we find the following: "*Item quod Januenses non compellantur nec compelli debeant ad solvendum...nec* feda *nec aliquid aliud*," etc. (*Notices et Extraits*, xi, 39.) The word may have had a specific application in the custom-houses which has escaped the lexicographers.

[4] On *Talaoch* my friend Mr. Badger says: "This is probably from the Arabic اطلاق (*Itláq*), meaning *releasing*, setting free. It might have been applied to the stamp or certificate by which goods were declared to be free after payment of customs. I am not aware that the word is used in that sense now." This suggestion is strengthened by the analogous use of *Fadá* in the preceding note, and by the fact that Pegolotti in a later passage calls it *Intalacca*, an export duty levied in the ports of Morocco. By *Spain* he means the Moorish ports on both sides of the strait, as his details show (pp. 278 *seqq.*).

[5] *Piazza* is commonly used for *mercato* in Palermo, where this note is written.

[6] *Raba* must be the Arabic Rahbah "Amplum spatium loci; area ampla" (Freytag). It is used by Ibn Jubair in his description of Palermo for "an esplanade." (*Journ. Asiat.*, Jan. 1846, p. 222.)

[7] The French *Halle*.

cenesque[1]; *Fiera* in Tuscan and several other tongues; *Panichiero* in Greek[2];

All signify the place where goods are sold in cities, and where in towns and villages all manner of victuals and necessaries for the life of man are brought for sale, with corn and cattle which are brought there continually at certain fixed times of the week, or month, or year.

These may suffice as specimens.

Then some doggerel verses to the following purport introduce the body of the work.

"Honesty is always best
And to look before ye leap:
Do ever what thou promisest;
And, hard though it may be, still keep
Fair chastity. Let reason tell
Cheap to buy and dear to sell,
But have a civil tongue as well.
Frequent the church's rites, and spare
To Him who sends thy gains a share.
So shalt thou prosper, standing by one price,
And shunning pest-like usury and dice.
Take aye good heed to govern well thy pen,
And blunder not in black and white! AMEN!"

CHAPTER I.

Information regarding the journey to Cathay, for such as will go by Tana and come back with goods.

IN the first place, from TANA to GINTARCHAN[3] may be twenty-five days with an ox-waggon, and from ten to twelve days with a horse-waggon. On the road you will find

[1] *Arab. Súq.*

[2] This must be *πανηγύριον*, which has the meaning of a fair or market in Byzantine Greek (*Ducange*).

[3] [Ibn Batuta, marching on the frozen river, reached Sarai in three days from Astrakhan. Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, p. 6 *n.*] *Gintarchan*, or as below less incorrectly *Gittarchan*, is Astrakhan, though according to Sprengel the old city destroyed by Timúr in 1395 was further from the Caspian than the present one. It is mentioned by Rubruquis in the preceding century as Summerkeur or Summerkent, most probably a clerical error for *Sittarkent*, and in this century it was the seat of a

plenty of *Moccols*, that is to say, of *gens d'armes*[1]. And from Gittarchan to SARA may be a day by river, and from Sara to SARACANCO[2], also by river, eight days. You can do this either by land or by water; but by water you will be at less charge for your merchandize.

From Saracanco to ORGANCI may be twenty days' journey in camel-waggon. It will be well for anyone travelling with merchandize to go to Organci, for in that city there is a ready sale for goods. From Organci to OLTRARRE[3] is thirty-five to forty days in camel-waggons. But if when you leave Saracanco you go direct

Minorite convent. The original name was *Haj-*, or *Hajji-Tarkhan*. Ibn Batuta says it was so called after a devout Haj who established himself there, in consideration of which the prince exempted the place from all duties, *Tarkhan*, he says, signifying a *place free from duties*. This is a mistake, however, for *Tarkhan* among the Mongols denoted a *person*, the member of an order enjoying high privileges, such as freedom from all exactions, the right to enter the sovereign's presence unsummoned, and exemption from punishment for crime till a ninth time convicted. D'Ohsson quotes the mention of this title by a Greek author as old as the time of the Emperor Justin. (*Ibn Batuta*, ii, 410, and Editor's note, 458; *D'Ohsson*, i, 45, etc.) In the *Carta Catalana* and *Portulano Mediceo* the place appears as *Agitarcham*; in Fra Mauro's Map as *Azetrechan*; by Barbaro and others, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, we find it called *Citracan*.

[1] *Moccoli* are in another passage explained by Pegolotti to be *Tartari scherani*, bandits or troopers. The word is, I suppose, simply *Mongols*, or rather as called in Western Asia *Moghols*, which will be almost the Tuscan pronunciation of *Moccol*. Indeed the word is called by the Armenians *Muchal* (*Neumann's Chron. of Vahram*, p. 88).

[2] On *Sarai* see *supra*, p. 82. Saracanco appears to be unquestionably *Sarachik*, on which, and on *Organci* or Urghanj, see pp. 82, 84, 85.

[3] Oltrarre is Otrár, previously called Faráb, a city of Turkestan, of which it was once considered the capital. It stood on a tributary of the Sihun or Jaxartes, about two leagues from that river, about lat. 44° 30′, some distance west of the town called Turkestan in the maps. Its capture by Chinghiz in 1219 was the commencement of his Western conquests; and it was at Otrár that the great Timúr died, 17th February, 1405. Hayton calls the city *Octorar*, the greatest city of Turkestan. It stood on the frontier, between the Khanates of Kapchak and Zagatai.

[According to Lerch (*Archæol. Journey in Turkestan*), quoted by Bretschneider (*Mediæval Res.*, ii, p. 57), the ruins of ancient Otrár are still to be seen a little to the north of the mouth of the river *Arys*, an eastern affluent of the Syr Daria.—In 1903, two Russians, Tcher-

to Oltrarre, it is a journey of fifty days only, and if you have no merchandize it will be better to go this way than to go by Organci.

From Oltrarre to ARMALEC[1] is forty-five days' journey with pack-asses, and every day you find Moccols. And from Armalec to CAMEXU[2] is seventy days with asses, and from Camexu until you come to a river called ..... is forty-five days on horseback; and then you can go down the river to CASSAI[3], and there you can dispose of the *sommi*[4] of silver that you have with you, for that is a most

kasov and Claret, made plans of the citadel and environs of Otrár and published a report on their exploration in the "Turkestan News." See No. 4, March, 1905, of the *Bul. de l'Association int. pour l'Exploration...de l'Asie Centrale*, St. Petersburg, p. 9.]

[1] See p. 87.

[2] Camexu (i.e. *Camechu*) is considered by Forster to be Hami or Kamil, with the Chinese *chu* added. But there can be no doubt that it is the Chinese frontier city *Kan chau* in Kan Suh. That city is called by Rashídúddin and by the author of *Masálak-al-Absár Kamchu*, so that the Western Asiatics called it just as Pegolotti does. Moreover the latter author allows only forty days from Almáliq (Armalec) to Kamchu, showing that the time named by Pegolotti is most ample allowance. The same author allows forty days from Kamchu to Khanbaliq (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii, 246).

[Kan chau is the Campichu of Marco Polo: "It is the capital and place of government of the whole province of Tangut." It fell under the Tangut dominion in 1208. Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, p. 219 and 220 *n*.]

[3] Forster chooses to consider Cassai to be a place called Kissen, on the Hwang Ho. It is not worth while to look if there is such a place, for Cassai is obviously Quinsai, Cansai, Kingszé, the commercial city of China at that time, *hod.* Hang-chau fu. It is called Cassai in the *Portulano Mediceo* and *Cassay* in the "Livre du Grant Caan" (*supra*, p. 97). [Cf. *Odoric*, p. 192 *supra* and *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 193 *seq.*]

The river reached in forty-five days from Kan-chau is most probably the Great Canal. Forster, according to Baldelli Boni (I presume in some later edition of his work than that used by me), supplies the blank with *Karamuren* from a MS. that belonged to Sprengel. But this is of no authority, for the blank exists in the original MS. in the Riccardian library.

[4] *Sommi* of silver is written in the MS. *sonmi*, and is so printed by Pagnini. But it is a mere fashion of writing. Pegolotti writes also *chanmino*, *chanmello*, *fenmina*, but Pagnini does not print these so. Indeed Giovanno da Uzzano (p. 188) writes *sommi*. The *sommo*, as explained in the next chapter, was a silver ingot weighing eight and a half Genoese ounces. Ibn Batuta mentions these as current among the Tartars under the name of *saum*, sing. *saumah*. He says the

active place of business. After getting to Cassai you carry on with the money which you get for the *sommi* of silver which you sell there; and this money is made of paper, and is called *balishi*[1]. And four pieces of this money are worth one *sommo* of silver in the province of Cathay[2]. And from Cassai to Gamalec [Cambalec], which is the capital city of the country of Cathay, is thirty days' journey.

weight of each saumah or sommo was five ounces, i.e., I suppose, five-twelfths of a *rithl* (ii, 412, 414). Von Hammer says that the *sûm* (as he terms it) was in the form of an octahedron, and quotes from the Persian historian Wassaf a passage which shows that the term was applied also to ingots of gold (*Geschichte der Gold. Horde*, pp. 223, 224).

[1] [The printed text has *babisci*.]

[2] Here Pegolotti speaks of the celebrated paper money of China, once deemed a fable of Marco Polo's, though before his time even it had been distinctly mentioned by the intelligent friar Rubruquis. [See Rockhill, *Rubruck*, p. 201.]

Its use was of great antiquity, for traces at least of leather representatives of money are found as far back as B.C. 118. [Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*. 201 note) says: "As early as B.C. 118, we find the Chinese using 'leather-money' (*p'i pi*). These were pieces of white deer skin, a foot square, with a coloured border. Each had a value of 40,000 cash. (*Ma Twan-liu*, Bk. 8, 5.)."] In the reign of Hien Tsung of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 806–821), copper being scarce, notes were issued on deposits from the public treasury, and were current for some years. These issues were renewed under the Sung (A.D. 960), and some sixty years later amounted in nominal value to 2,830,000 ounces of silver. These were followed by further issues of real paper money, issued without reference to deposits (? so says Klaproth), and payable every three years. The business at this time was managed by sixteen chief houses, but these becoming bankrupt, the emperor abolished private notes, and established a government bank, the issues of which in 1032 amounted to 1,256,340 ounces. Such banks were established in several parts of the empire, the notes of one province not being current in another.

In 1160, in the reign of Kao Tsung, a new paper was issued, the amount of which rose in six years to 43,600,000 ounces. There were local notes besides, so that the empire was flooded with paper, rapidly depreciating in value.

When the invaders who formed the *Kin* or "Golden" Dynasty had established themselves in Northern China they also speedily took to paper, notwithstanding their name. Their notes had a course of seven years, after which new notes were given by government with a deduction of 15 per cent.

The Mongols did like their predecessors. Their first notes were issued in 1236, but on a small scale compared to the issues of Kúblái and his successors. Kúblái's first issue was in 1260; and consisted of notes of three classes; viz. notes of *tens*, i.e. of 10, 20, 30, and 50 *tsien* or cash; notes of *hundreds*, of 100, 200, and 500 *tsien*; and notes of

strings or *thousands* of cash, viz. of 1000 and 2000. This money, however, was worth only half its nominal value, so that two notes of 1000 cash went for an ounce of pure silver. There were also notes printed on silk, for 1, 2, 3, 5 and 10 ounces each, valued at par in silver; but these would not circulate. In 1277 Kúblái made a new issue of very small notes; and a complete new currency in 1288. One of these new notes was as before worth half its nominal value in silver, but was to be exchanged against *five* of equal nominal value of the old notes!

In 1309 a new issue took place with a like valuation; i.e. one ounce note of this issue was to exchange against five of Kúblái's last issue, and therefore against twenty-five of his older notes! And it was at the same time prescribed that the new notes should exchange at par with metals, which of course it was beyond the power of government to enforce, and so the notes were abandoned.

Issues continued from time to time to the end of the Mongol dynasty, but according to the Chinese authors with credit constantly diminishing. This depreciation might easily escape Odoric, but it is curious that it should be so entirely ignored by Pegolotti, whose informants must have been mercantile men. In fact he asserts positively that there was no depreciation. (*See below.*)

The remarks of MaTwan-lin, a mediæval Chinese historian, on this subject are curiously like a bit of modern controversy: "Paper should never be *money*; it should only be employed as a representative sign of value existing in metals or in produce, which can thus be readily exchanged for paper, and the cost of its transport avoided. At first this was the mode in which paper currency was actually used among merchants. The government, borrowing the invention from private individuals, wished to make a real *money* of paper, and thus the original contrivance was perverted."

The Ming dynasty for a time carried on the system of their predecessors, and with like results, till in 1448 the *chao*, or note, of 1000 cash, was worth but 3! Barbaro still heard of the paper money of Cathay from travellers whom he met at Azov about this time, but after 1455 there is said to be no more mention of it in Chinese history.

Though the government of China has not issued paper money since then, there has been considerable local use of such currency among the people, even in our own time. In Fu chau some years ago it had almost displaced bullion, and in that city the banking houses were counted by hundreds. Though the system was under no efficient control, few notes were below par, and failures of any magnitude were rare. The notes were chiefly from copper plates (and such notes were engraved in China as early as 1168) and ranged in value from 110 cash to 1000 dollars.

Kaikhátu Khan of Persia was persuaded to attempt the introduction of a paper currency under the Chinese name (*chao*) in 1294. After most expensive preparations in erecting offices in every province, etc., the scheme utterly failed, the shops and markets of Tabriz were deserted, and the *cha* had to be given up. Mahomed Túghlák of Dehli fared no better in a somewhat similar project in 1330–31. In Japan bank-notes were introduced about 1319–27, but in that country they always represented considerable sums. They continued to exist in the last century, and perhaps do still.

The notes of the Sung, Kin, and Mongol dynasties were all made

CHAPTER II.

Things needful for merchants who desire to make the journey to Cathay above described.

IN the first place, you must let your beard grow long and not shave. And at Tana you should furnish yourself with a dragoman. And you must not try to save money in the matter of dragomen by taking a bad one instead of a good one. For the additional wages of the good one will not cost you so much as you will save by having him[1]. And besides the dragoman it will be well to take at least two good men servants, who are acquainted with the Cumanian

with the bark of the paper mulberry. Those of the first two were only printed with characters and sealed; the last were also ornamented.

[Marco Polo writes: "[The Emperor makes the notes] of the bark of a certain tree, in fact the Mulberry Tree, the leaves of which are the food of the silkworms."—Dr. Bretschneider (*Hist. Botan. Disc.*, i, p. 4) makes the following remarks on the subject: "He [Polo] seems to be mistaken. Paper in China is not made from mulberry-tree but from the *Broussonetia papyrifera*, which latter tree belongs to the same order of Moraceæ."]

A note of the Ming dynasty is figured in *Duhalde*, ii, 168. It is for 1000 cash, and bears the following inscription: "On the request of the Board of Treasurers, it is ordered that paper money thus impressed with the imperial seal have currency the same as copper money. Forgers shall lose their heads, and informers shall receive a reward of 250 *taels*, with the criminal's goods. In such a year and month of the reign of Hung-Wu." [A note of the Ming is reproduced in facsimile in Vissering's *Chinese Currency*, also in *Marco Polo*, i, p. 426.] (Klaproth in *Mém. Rel. à l'Asie*, i, 375–388; Biot, in *J. A.*, sér. iii, tom. iv; Parkes, in *J. R. A. S.*, xiii, 179; *D'Ohsson*, iv, 53; Elphinstone's *Hist. of India*, ii, 62.) Another and probably more exact account of the history of paper-money under the Mongols will be found in Pauthier's new *Marco Polo*. [See long note in our *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 426–430.]

Regarding the *balish*, see note to *Odoric*, p. 196.

[1] ["Primieramente conviene che si lasci crescere la barba grande, e non si rada. E vuolsi fornire alla Tana di Turcimanni, e non si vuole guardare a rispiarmo dall cattivo al buono, che il buono non costa quello d' ingordo che l' uomo non se ne megliori via più."] The Italian here is very obscure and probably defective, but this seems the general sense; or perhaps, "so much as the greed of the other will cause you loss."

tongue. And if the merchant likes to take a woman with him from Tana, he can do so; if he does not like to take one there is no obligation, only if he does take one he will be kept much more comfortably than if he does not take one. Howbeit, if he do take one, it will be well that she be acquainted with the Cumanian tongue as well as the men[1].

And from Tana travelling to Gittarchan you should take with you twenty-five days' provisions, that is to say, flour and salt fish, for as to meat you will find enough of it at all the places along the road. And so also at all the chief stations noted in going from one country to another in the route, according to the number of days set down above, you should furnish yourself with flour and salt fish; other things you will find in sufficiency, and especially meat.

The road you travel from Tana to Cathay is perfectly safe, whether by day or by night, according to what the merchants say who have used it. Only if the merchant, in going or coming, should die upon the road, everything belonging to him will become the perquisite of the lord of the country in which he dies, and the officers of the lord will take possession of all[2]. And in like manner if he die in Cathay. But if his brother be with him, or an intimate friend and comrade calling himself his brother, then to such an one they will surrender the property of the deceased, and so it will be rescued.

And there is another danger: this is when the lord of the country dies, and before the new lord who is to have the lordship is proclaimed; during such intervals there

[1] The Cumanian was apparently a Turkish dialect. [Cf. *Codex Cumanicus* bibliothecae ad templum Divi Marci Venetiarum Primum ex integro edidit prolegomenis notis et compluribus glossariis instruxit comes Géza Kuun...Budapestini, 1880, 8vo.] See p. 83.

[2] This custom seems to have prevailed very generally (see *Sto. Stephano* in *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 7) It was also the law of Lesser Armenia unless a subject of the kingdom was left heir. (*J. As.*, sér. v. tom. xviii, 346.)

have sometimes been irregularities practised on the Franks, and other foreigners. (They call *Franks* all the Christians of these parts from Romania westward[1].) And neither will the roads be safe to travel until the other lord be proclaimed who is to reign in room of him who is deceased.

Cathay is a province which contained a multitude of cities and towns. Among others there is one in particular, that is to say the capital city, to which is great resort of merchants, and in which there is a vast amount of trade; and this city is called Cambalec. And the said city hath a circuit of one hundred miles, and is all full of people and houses and of dwellers in the said city.

You may calculate that a merchant with a dragoman, and with two men servants, and with goods to the value of twenty-five thousand golden florins, should spend on his way to Cathay from sixty to eighty *somni* of silver, and not more if he manage well; and for all the road back again from Cathay to Tana, including the expenses of living and the pay of servants, and all other charges, the cost will be about five *somni* per head of pack animals, or something less. And you may reckon the *somno* to be worth five golden florins[2]. You may reckon also that each ox-waggon will require one ox, and will carry ten cantars Genoese weight; and the camel-waggon will require three camels, and will carry thirty cantars Genoese weight; and the horse-waggon will require one horse, and will commonly carry six and half cantars of silk, at 250 Genoese pounds

[1] Romania means Greece, or nearly so. By Giov. da Uzzano the Morea and the isle of Scio are both spoken of as belonging to Romania (pp. 89 and 160). And the expression in the text *tutti i Cristiani delle parte di Romania innanzi in verso il Ponente* seems to *include* Romania. Yet I do not think the Greeks were or are regarded as Franks.

[2] Taking the gold florin or ducat at 9*s* 6*d*., the value of the goods will be nearly £12,000 and the cost of the merchant's journey from £140 to £190 going, and nearly £12 a head on his beasts coming back.

to the cantar. And a bale[1] of silk may be reckoned at between 110 and 115 Genoese pounds.

You may reckon also that from Tana to Sara the road is less safe than on any other part of the journey; and yet even when this part of the road is at its worst, if you are some sixty men in the company you will go as safely as if you were in your own house.

Anyone from Genoa or from Venice, wishing to go to the places above-named, and to make the journey to Cathay, should carry linens[2] with him, and if he visit Organci he will dispose of these well. In Organci he should purchase *sommi* of silver, and with these he should proceed without making any further investment, unless it be some bales of the very finest stuffs which go in small bulk, and cost no more for carriage than coarser stuffs would do.

Merchants who travel this road can ride on horseback or on asses, or mounted in any way that they list to be mounted.

Whatever silver the merchants may carry with them as far as Cathay the lord of Cathay will take from them and put into his treasury. And to merchants who thus bring silver they give that paper money of theirs in exchange. This is of yellow paper, stamped with the seal of the lord aforesaid. And this money is called *balishi*[3]; and with this money you can readily buy silk and all other merchandize that you have a desire to buy. And all the people of the

[1] *Scibetto.* I cannot trace this word in any dictionary, but it looks like Arabic. The nearest thing I can find is *sibt*—hides of ox leather (*Freytag*). It is possible that the silk may have been packed in such. From India and China now it is generally packed in mats. Pegolotti writes it in another place in the plural *iscibetti*, with *fardelli* as synonymous (p. 131). The Genoese pound of twelve ounces was equal to about $\frac{6}{7}$ of the London pound ($\frac{108}{112}$), as we learn from Pegolotti in another part of his book.

[2] *Tele.*

[3] The Riccardian MS. has here *palisci*, as in the previous chapter [and in the printed text] *babisci*. No doubt in both places the original had *balisci*.

country are bound to receive it. And yet you shall not pay a higher price for your goods because your money is of paper. And of the said paper money there are three kinds, one being worth more than another, according to the value which has been established for each by that lord[1].

And you may reckon that you can buy for one *sommo* of silver nineteen or twenty pounds of Cathay silk, when reduced to Genoese weight, and that the *sommo* should weigh eight and a half ounces of Genoa, and should be of the alloy of eleven ounces and seventeen deniers to the pound[2].

You may reckon also that in Cathay you should get three or three and a half pieces of damasked silk[3] for a *sommo*; and from three and a half to five pieces of *nacchetti*[4] of silk and gold, likewise for a *sommo* of silver.

[1] This seems to allude to three *classes* of notes, as in Kúblái's issue of 1260 mentioned above.

[2] *I.e.* 7 pennyweights of alloy to 11 oz. 17 dwts. of pure silver. Giov. da Uzzano in the next century speaks of the *sommi* from Caffa as being of both gold and silver, the alloy of the latter being 11 oz. 13 to 15 dwt. (p. 188).

[3] The word is *cammocca*. This the dictionaries generally are good enough to tell us means "a kind of cloth." Mr. Wright on Mandeville says it is "a rich cloth of silk mentioned not unfrequently in medieval writers," but this is still very unprecise. I had arrived at the conclusion that it must be *damasked silk*, and I now find this confirmed by Ducange (*Gloss. Græcitatis*, etc.): "καμουχᾶς, *Pannus sericus more* damasceno *confectus*." Moreover the word is almost certainly the Arabic كمخو *kimkhwá*, "Vestis scutulata Damascena" (*Freytag*). I suppose that the *kimkhwáb* of Hindustan, now applied to a gold brocade, is the same word or a derivative.

[*Camocato* (*camocan*, *camocas*) originally from China, hence *Kincha* or *Kimcha*, brocade; manufactured at Herat, Nishapur, Tabriz under the name of *Kimkhá* or *Kamkhá*; known among the Greeks as καμουχᾶς. Cf. Heyd, ii, pp. 697–8 and *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Kincob*, "Gold brocade."]

[4] In a later chapter describing the trade at Constantinople, our author details "silk velvets, *cammucca*, *maramati*, gold cloth of every kind, *nacchetti* and *nacchi* of every kind, and likewise all cloths of gold and silk except *zendadi* (gauzes)." [*Zendado* (cendal), a silk taffeta. Cf. Heyd, ii, p. 701.] The *nacchi* and *nacchetti* appear to have been cloths of silk and gold. The former (*nakh*) is so explained by Ibn Batuta, who names it several times. It was made, he tells us,

CHAPTER III.

Comparison of the weights and measures of Cathay and of Tana.

			lbs.	ozs.
The maund[1] of Sara = in Genoa weight			6	2
„	Organci	„ „	3	9
„	Oltrarre	„ „	3	9
„	Armalec	„ „	2	8
„	Camexu	„ „	2	0

Tana on the Black Sea.

At Tana, as shall next be shown, they use a variety of weights and measures, viz.:

The *cantar*, which is that of Genoa.

at Nisabur in Khorassan, and in describing the dress of the princess of Constantinople he says she had on "a mantle of the stuff called *nakh*, and also *nastj*." These two, however, were apparently not identical, but corresponded probably to the *nacchi* and *nacchetti* of Pegolotti. For Polo in the Ramusian version has "panni d' oro *nasiti* (*nasici?*) fin, e *nach*, e panni di seta." And in the old version printed in Baldelli Boni's first volume this runs "*nasicci*, drappi dorati"; whilst Rubruquis mentions *nasic* as a present given him by Mangu Khan. [Marco Polo, i, p. 63, writes: "In Baudas they weave many different kinds of silk stuffs and gold brocades, such as *nasich*, and *nac*, and *cramoisy*, and many another beautiful tissue richly wrought with figures of beasts and birds." Among the articles sent from Baghdad to Okkodai Khan, mentioned in the *Yüan ch'ao pi shi* (made in the 14th century), quoted by Bretschneider (*Med. Res.*, ii, p. 124), we note: *Nakkut* (a kind of gold brocade), *Nachidut* (a silk stuff interwoven with gold), *Dardas* (a stuff embroidered in gold). Bretschneider (p. 125) adds: "With respect to *nakhut* and *nachidut*, I may observe that these words represent the Mongol plural form of *nakh* and *nachetti*.... I may finally mention that in the *Yüan shi*, chap. lxxviii. (on official dresses), a stuff, *na-shi-ki*, is repeatedly named, and the term is explained there by *kin kin* (gold brocade)." Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, p. 65.] I know not what *maramati* is, unless it should rather be *maramali* for *makhmal*, velvet. [*Maramoto* or *Maramanto*, from the Arabic *makremah*, a gold brocade. Cf. Heyd, ii, p. 698.] (*Ibn Batuta*, ii, 309, 388, 422; iii, 81; *Polo* in *Ramus.*, pt. i, f. 53; *Il Milione*, i, 57; *Rub.*, p. 317.)

[1] *Mena*, representing the Arabic *man*, I suppose from Greek and Lat. *mina*, diffused over all the East with an infinite variety of values from below two pounds up to one hundred pounds. We have Anglicized it in India into *maund*. The *man* of Ghazan Khan, which may be meant here, was 0·260 drachms.

The *great pound*[1] = 20 lbs. Genoese.
The *ruotolo*[2], of which 20 = 1 great pound.
The *little pound*, which is the Genoese pound.
The *tocchetto*, of which 12 = 1 great pound.
The *saggio*, of which 45 = 1 sommo.
The *picco*[3].

Wax, ladanum[4], iron, tin, copper, pepper, ginger, all coarser spices, cotton, madder, and suet, cheese, flax, and oil, honey, and the like, sell by the great pound.

Silk, saffron, amber wrought in rosaries and the like, and all small spices sell by the little pound.

Vair-skins by the 1000; and 1020 go to the 1000.

Ermines by the 1000; 1000 to the 1000.

Foxes, sables, fitches and martens, wolfskins, deerskins, and all cloths of silk or gold, by the piece.

Common stuffs, and canvasses of every kind sell by the *picco*.

Tails are sold by the bundle at twenty to the bundle.

Oxhides by the hundred in tale, giving a hundred and no more.

Horse and pony hides by the piece.

Gold and pearls are sold by the *saggio*[5]. Wheat and

[1] This should be equal to thirty, not twenty, Genoese pounds, as is shown by passages at pp. 31, 37, of Pegolotti. Is this *great pound* the origin of the Russian *pood*?

[2] The *cantaro* and *ruotolo* both survive in Southern Italy and Sicily, the former derived from the *kantár* and the latter from the *rithl* of the Arabs, though the first of these words, and perhaps both, must have come to the Arabic from the Latin.

[3] The *pik* is still the common cloth measure in the Levant. It seems generally to be about twenty-eight inches.

[4] *Ladanum* or *labdanum* (the *ládin* of the Arabs) is a gum resin derived from the *Cistus creticus*, which grows in the Islands of the Levant. It is exported in solid pieces of cylindrical and other forms. A long description of the mode of collecting it, etc., will be found in Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, i, 84, *et seq.* [Cf. Heyd, ii, p. 631.] According to Herodotus ladanum was derived "from a most inodorous place," viz. the beards of he-goats, which collected it from the bushes in browsing. (Rawlinson's *Herod.*, bk. iii, 113.)

[5] The saggio in Italy was $\frac{1}{72}$ of a pound, *i.e.* $\frac{1}{6}$ of an ounce. (*Pegol.*

all other corn and pulse is sold at Tana by a measure which they call *cascito*[1]. Greek wine and all Latin wines are sold by the cask as they come. Malmsey and wines of Triglia and Candia are sold by the measure.

Caviar is sold by the *fusco*, and a *fusco* is the tail-half of the fish's skin, full of fish's roe[2].

CHAPTER IV.

Charges on merchandize which are paid at Tana on things entering the city, nothing being paid on going forth thereof.

Gold, silver, and pearls at Tana pay neither *comerchio*, nor *tamunga*, nor any other duties.

On wine, and ox-hides, and tails, and horse-hides, the Genoese and Venetians pay four per cent., and all other people five per cent.

What is paid for the transit of merchandize at Tana.

Silk 15 aspers per pound.

All other things, at...aspers for 3 cantars.

At Tana the money current is of *sommi* and aspers of silver. The *somino* weighs 45 *saggi* of Tana, and is of the alloy of 11 oz. 17 dwt. of fine silver to the pound. And if

p. 31). Here it was a little more, as may be deduced from its relation to the *somino* opposite.

[1] *Cascito* must have been miswritten for *cafiço*. There is a measure called *kafiz* in Arabic, and specified as *cafizium* in some of the treaties (*Not. et Ext.*, xi, 30). Hammer-Purgstall mentions *kofeiz* as a standard measure at Tabriz, which is doubtless the same. (*Gesch. der Golden Horde*, etc., p. 225.) And Pegolotti himself has *cafisso* as a Moorish measure. Indeed, I need not have sought this word so far away. It is still used in Sicily as *Cafisu* for an oil measure, the fifth part of a *Cantaro*. It also exists in Spanish as *Cahiz*, and will be found in Ducange in a variety of forms, *Caffium*, *Caficium*, *Cafisa*, *Cappitius*, etc.

[2] Caviare is now exported in small kegs. *Fusco* is perhaps just *fish*. In the dialect of the Goths of the Crimea that word was *fisct* according to Busbeck. [Caffa was a great place for the caviare trade. Cf. Heyd, ii, p. 395.] The sturgeon of the Borysthenes are already mentioned by Herodotus as large fish without prickly bones, called *antacæi*, good for pickling, and according to Professor Rawlinson caviare also was known to the Greeks as τάριχος Ἀνταϰαῖον.

silver be sent to the Tana mint, they coin 202 aspers from the *sommo*[1], but they pay you only 190, retaining the rest for the work of the mint and its profit. So a *sommo* at Tana is reckoned to be 190 aspers. And the *somni* are ingots of silver of the alloy before mentioned, which are paid away by weight. But they do not all weigh the same, so the ingots are weighed at the time of payment, and if the weight is less than it ought to be the balance is paid in aspers, to make up every *sommo* to the value of 45 *saggi* of Tana weight.

And there are also current at Tana copper coins called *folleri*, of which sixteen go to the asper. But the *folleri* are not used in mercantile transactions, but only in the purchase of vegetables and such small matters for town use[2].

CHAPTER V gives details as to the relation of the Tana weights and measures to those of Venice, etc.; as to the weights and measures of Caffa; and as to those of Tabriz (*Torissi di Persia*). The duties at Tabriz are called *Camunoca*.

CHAPTER VI.

On the expenses which usually attend the transport of merchandize from Ajazzo of Erminia to Torissi, by land[3].

In the first place from AJAZZO as far as COLIDARA[4] i.e.,

[1] The *asper* must therefore have contained silver to the amount of about 0*s*. 2.8*d*.

[2] *Follero* is the Byzantine copper *Follis*, and perhaps Persian *pul*.

[3] [At the meeting of the 20th October, 1881, of the philos.-hist. section of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, Hr. Kiepert read a paper: "Über Pegolotti's vorderasiatisches Itinerar" (*Monatsb. d. kön. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1881, pp. 901–913) in which he criticized both Yule, *Cathay*, ii, pp. 291–301, and Wilhelm Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, 1879, ii, pp. 113 *seq*. Heyd answered in the French edition of his work: *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, ii, 1886, pp. 112 *seq*. We shall examine the arguments given on both sides.]

[4] Respecting Ajazzo see note, p. 139 *supra*. *Colidara* should

as far as the King of Armenia's territory extends, you pay altogether 41 taccolini and 3½ deniers (at the rate of 10 deniers to the taccolino) on every load, whether of camels or of other beasts. Now taking the taccolino to be about an asper, the amount will be about 41 aspers of Tauris per load. And 6 aspers of Tauris are equal to one Tauris bezant.

At GANDON, where you enter upon the lands of Bonsaet, i.e. of the lord of the Tartars[1], on every load	20	aspers.
At the same place, for watching, ditto . .	3	„
At CASENA	7	„
At the CARAVANSERAI of the ADMIRAL[2] .	2	„
At GADUE	3	„

perhaps be Gobidar, the name of an Armenian fortress and barony in Taurus, which is mentioned in *Journ. As.*, sér. v, vol. xviii, 314.

[Dulaurier, *Rec. des Hist. des Croisades, Doc. Arméniens*, i, Int., p. ci, calls *Colidara*, "Gobidar, dans le Taurus cilicien," in his short itinerary of Pegolotti.]

[According to Kiepert, Italian caravans leaving Lajazzo, would follow the Djihan river [Pyramus] until they reached the neighbourhood of Missis (Massissa); then go northward to reach Sis, the capital of Armenia; beyond they would pass the Sarus gorges to reach the mountainous region of Kozan, the Casena of Pegolotti. Heyd, pp. 113-4, objects that there is no proof that there is a locality called Kozan, and that the passes of the Taurus, north of Sis, were avoided by travellers, on account of the tribes living of plunder. Heyd thinks that western merchants leaving Lajazzo, followed the Djihan until Anabad; then they left this river to follow its tributary the Anabad Su which led them under the walls of Geben or Gaban; there is a diploma of the emperor Leon II, dated March, 1201, stating that the Genoese paid a tax to the lord of this stronghold, to pass the Djihan; it was the place where they crossed from the right side of the river to the left; then they went along the Anabad Su, the basin of which was under the dominion of the Lord of Gaban; hence Geukoun was reached without any difficulty. — Khozan is a sandjak with Sis as a caza and chief town.]

[1] *Bonsaet* is Abu Sa'id Bahadur Khan, the last effective sovereign of the Mongol dynasty in Persia, who died 1335. He is called Busaid by some Arabic writers, and on some Mongol coins. The Pope in addressing him calls him *Boyssethan*, i.e. Busaid Khan. (*D'Ohsson*, iv, 716; *Mosheim*, 144.)

[2] *Gavazera del Amiraglio*, I suppose *Karwánsarai-ul-Amír*. The same word is used at each place rendered caravanserai.

At the CARAVANSERAI of CASA JACOMI[1] .	3 aspers.
At the entrance to SALVASTRO[2] from Ajazzo	1 „
Inside the city	7 „
Leaving the city on the road to Tauris .	1 „
At DUDRIAGA[3]	3 „
At GREBOCO[4]	4 „
At MUGHISAR[5]	2½ „
At ditto, as *tantaullaggio*[6] for the watch	0½ „
At ARZINGA[7], at entrance to the town	5 „
Ditto, inside the city . . .	9 „
Ditto, for the watchmen, on leaving.	3 „

[1] [*Gavazera di Casa Jacomi.*]

[2] Sebaste, now Sivas. [Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 43, 44 *n.*]

[3] The proper reading is probably *Duvriaga*, viz. Divrik or Τεφρικη, a place still existing between Sivas and Erzinjan.

[Heyd, p. 115, says that Dudriaga must be the present village of Toduiga (Todorag), 10 leagues E.N.E. of Sivas in the upper valley of the Halys; and that the road to Erzinghian by Divrighi and the valley of the Euphrates is longer and more difficult. Kiepert is also in favour of Todurga. Divrighi is on the road from Ordu to Kharpont, near the Chatta Irmak, a tributary of the Kara Su (Western Euphrates). To go from Sivas to Erzinghian, the road instead of turning to the S.E. to the Euphrates would then follow the valley of the Kizil Irmak. The Kizil Irmak (Red River, ancient *Halys*) has its source at the foot of the Kizil Dagh (Red Mountain) in the caza of Kochkiri, sandjak of Sivas, and falls into the Black Sea, at the eastern end of the bay of Sinope.]

[4] [Kiepert has very cleverly discovered *Greboco* in the *Agreboce* of the Map of the brothers Pizzigani, Venice, 1367, probably the *Arauraci* of the Romans.]

[5] [According to Heyd, p. 115, possibly the modern *Mushar* or *Mehar*.]

[6] This was probably written *Tancaullaggio*. The *Tangauls* were guards or patrols upon the roads in Persia. An edict of Ghazan Khan, cited by D'Ohsson, illustrates these charges. He denounces the Tangauls for their exactions from travellers, and authorises them to take a fee of half an *akché* and no more, for every two camels or four mules loaded. (The *akché* was, I presume, the same as the asper, for it is named from *ák*, white, as the asper from ἄσπρον, white.) At every station of *Tangauls* there was to be a stone pillar indicating their number, the duties of their chief, and the fees due. (*D'Ohsson*, iv, 471-2.) Pegolotti, in his prefatory glossary, says *Tantaullo* in Tartaresque is applied "to people who act as guards of places and of roads for gentlemen and others," p. xxiii.

[7] Erzinjan of our maps.

[According to Vital Cuinet, the distances from Erzrum to Erzinjan are the following:

At the Caravanserai on the Hill[1] . . .	3	aspers.
At LIGURTI[2].	2	„
At ditto, at the bridge, for *tantaullaggio*[3]	0½	„
At the Caravanserai outside ARZERONE[4] .	2	„
At Arzerone, at the Baths	1	„
Ditto, inside the city	9	„
Ditto, as a present to the lord . .	2	„
Ditto. at the Baths towards Tauris[5] .	1	„
At POLORBECH[6]	3	„

From Erzrum to Seni Keuï	kilom.	49,500
„ Seni Keuï to Mama Khatum	„	38,500
„ Mama Khatum to Palanka	„	27,500
„ Palanka to Erzinjan	„	60,500
Together	„	176,000

Cf. Marco Polo, i, pp. 46–47.]

[1] [*Gavezera sulla montagna.*]

[2] [Neither Kiepert nor Heyd have identified this Ligurti.]

[3] [To-day, says Heyd, the road usually followed by the caravans, crosses the Euphrates about half-way between Erzinghian and Erzrum, at Mamakhatun, on the well-known old bridge of Korgeun. As Pegolotti's Ponte must be looked for nearer Erzrum, Kiepert rightly thinks that a more northern route then existed crossing the Euphrates not further than Aqkala. Between this bridge and the town of Erzrum, there were but two stations, a caravanserai, and a bath house.]

[4] Erzrum.

[5] In connexion with these baths at the entrance and exit from the city we read that Ghazan Khan, in building New Tabriz, caused to be erected at each gate of the city a great caravanserai, a market, and a set of baths, so that the merchants, from whatever quarter they came, found a serai and baths adjoining the custom-house where their wares were examined (*D'Ohsson*, iv, 276).

[According to Vital Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, p. 165, the distances from Trebizond to the Persian frontier are the following:

From Trebizond to Erzrum		kilom.	314
„ Erzrum to Hassan-Kaleh	kilom.	33,000	
„ Hassan-Kaleh to Deli-Baba	„	55,000	
„ Deli-Baba to Mollah-Suleïman	„	49,500	
„ Mollah-Suleïman to Kara-Kilisse	„	27,500	
„ Kara-Kilisse to Diadin	„	66,000	
„ Diadin to Bayazid	„	33,000	
			264
„ Bayazid to the Persian frontier	„		16
From Trebizond to the Persian frontier		kilom.	594

[6] [*Polorbech*, in Armenian *Polorabahag*, "the round fortress," at

At ditto	0½	aspers.
At SERMESSACALO[1] for *tantaullaggio*	0½	„
At AGGIA, for the whole journey	0½	„
At the middle of the plain of Aggia, for duty	3	„
At ditto for *tant.*	0½	„
At CALACRESTI[2], ditto	0½	„
At the THREE CHURCHES[3], for *tant*	0½	„
Under Noah's Ark[4], for duty	3	„
Ditto ditto for *tant.*	0½	„
At SCARACANTI, ditto	0½	„
At LOCCHE ditto	0½	„
At the plain of the Falconers, ditto (twice altogether)	1	„

nine hours from Erzrum on the Araxes, crossed there to-day by a bridge of seven arches called Choban-Keupri. Cf. Heyd, p. 116.]

[1] I have no doubt that this is the Sarbisacalo of Odoric; see note at p. 101.

[2] Probably the place called *Kara-Kilisse* (the Black Church).

[Kara-Kilisse, on the road from Erzrum to the Persian frontier, is situated 165 kil. to the east of Erzrum, 66 kil. to the N.E. of Diadin, and 99 kil. from Bayazid, on a tributary of the Murad Su. Cf. Vital Cuinet, i, p. 235.]

[3] I presume that this route from Erzrum to Tabriz follows the old Genoese line between Trebizond and Tabriz, which passed to the *south* of Ararat. The *Three Churches* are not therefore those of Echmiazin, but the *Uchkilisi* of the maps in the position just mentioned.

Tre Chiese. ["This name (Tre Chiese)," writes Dulaurier, *Hist. des Croisades, Doc. arméniens*, i, Int., p. ci, "is but a translation of the Turkish name *Uch Kiliceh*, which is still given to the convent and church of Echmiazin, with the two other churches on the right and the left, under the invocation of Saint Hṙipsimê and Saint Kaïanê,"—At Uch-Kilisse, there is a monastery supposed to possess the tomb of the patriarch Noah, and with a magnificent church of the 3rd century; during the last war it was pillaged by the Kurds who destroyed the fine library. Not far from the Three Churches is Diadin, on the Murad Su (Eastern Euphrates), and on the road from Trebizond to the frontier, 33 kilom. from Bayazid. Cf. Vital Cuinet, i, p. 234.]

[4] "*Sotto Larcanöe!*" Probably at Bayazid.

[After Uch-Kilisse, the station was in the vicinity of the present town of Diadin, on a height (*Sotto Larcanoe*) where could be seen to the south-west the peak of Massis, wrongly called Ararat; not far from it was the actual town of Karakand, the Scaracanti of Pegolotti. Cf. Heyd, p. 116.]

[I do not see any good reason to think with Kiepert that Pegolotti's route does not pass through Bayazid and runs along lake Urmiah,

At the said plain, for a ticket or permit from the lord . . . . . 0½ aspers.
At the CAMUZONI, for *tant.* . . . . . 0½ „
At the Plains of the RED RIVER[1]. for *tant* . 0½ „
At CONDRO, for *tant.* . . . . . 0½ „
At SANDODDI, ditto . . . . . 0½ „
At Tauris, ditto . . . . . 0½ „

And you may reckon that the exactions of the Moccols or Tartar troopers along the road, will amount to something like fifty aspers a load. So that the cost on account of a load of merchandize going by land from Ajazzo of Armenia to Tauris in Cataria[2] (?) will be, as appears by the above details, 209 aspers a load, and the same back again[3].

CHAPTER VIII.

Detail showing how all goods are sold and bought at Constantinople and in Pera, and of the expenses incurred by traders; but especially as regards Pera, because most of the business is done there, where the merchants are more constantly to be found. For the rest of Constantinople belongs to the Greeks, but Pera to the Franks, i.e. to the Genoese. And from Constantinople to Pera, 'tis five miles by land, but half a mile by water.

This is one of the longest chapters in the book, and embraces numerous particulars as to the customs of trade; as of tare, damage, garbling, samples, etc. We shall give some extracts.

Goods are sold at Constantinople in various ways.

instead of passing by Marand. Bayazid is on the road from Trebizond to the Persian frontier, at 264 kil. from Erzrum.]

[1] The Red River (*Fiume Rosso*) is mentioned in this position by the Palatine version of Odoric also. There is no Red River here, so named, but no doubt what is meant is the Araxes, or *Arás*, called by Edrisi Al *Rás*, a name sure to be Italianized into *Rosso*.

[Yule is here mistaken; this *fiume rosso* is no doubt the tributary of the Araxes, the Kizil Chái which waters Khoi.]

[2] Tartaria?

[3] It is really 203 aspers (about £2. 8*s.* 0*d.*). Apparently he has added in the 6 aspers named at the end of the first paragraph.

The indigo called *Baccaddeo* is (sold in packages) of a certain weight, and the weight you must know should be the cantar. And if the buyer chooses to take it from the seller without weighing it, be it more or less than a cantar, 'tis to the profit or loss of the buyer. But they do almost always weigh it, and then payment is made according to the exact weight, be it more or less than a cantar. And the skin and wrapper are given with it but no tare is deducted; nor is garbling allowed; nor do they allow the indigo to be examined except by a little hole, from which a small sample may be extracted. For such is use and wont in those parts.

The following are sold by the cantar (of 150 Genoese lbs.).

Wormwood; madder, and the bag goes as madder without any allowance for tare. Alum of every kind, and even if it be Roch-alum, the sack and cord go as alum.

The following also are sold by the cantar at Constantinople and in Pera.

Ox hides
Buffalo hides
Horse hides

In purchasing these they are shown to the provers up the hill, i.e. in Pera; and if the hides smell damp or wet, then a fit allowance is made, and this is the system in Pera and in Constantinople, and they are not put in the sun unless they are exceedingly wet indeed.

Suet in jars[1]; iron of every kind; tin of every kind; lead of every kind. *Zibibbo*[2] or raisins of every kind, and the mats go as raisins, with no allowance for tare unless

[1] "*Sevo in* parrocie"; the latter word is to be found in no dictionary. But in a grant of trading privileges to the Genoese from Leon III, King of Armenia, we find "*Vinum possit rendere in vegetis vel in* parge." And on this St. Martin observes, "This is the common Armenian word *p'hartch*, signifying a *jar*." (*Notices et Extraits*, xi, 114.) I have little doubt that this is the word represented by *parrocie*.

[2] *Arab. zibîb*; the word is still in Italian use.

they be raisins of Syria. In that case the baskets or hampers are allowed for as tare, and remain with the buyer into the bargain.

Soap of Venice, soap of Ancona, and soap of Apulia in wooden cases. They make tare of the cases, and then these go to the buyer for nothing. But the soap of Cyprus and of Rhodes is in sacks, and the sacks go as soap with no tare allowance.

Broken almonds in bags; the bag goes as almonds; only if there be more than one sack and cord it must be removed, or deducted, so that the buyer shall not have to take more than one sack and cord as almonds, but for any beyond that there shall be tare allowed; and the cord shall go to the buyer gratis.

Honey in kegs or skins; tare is allowed for the keg or skin, but it remains with the buyer gratis.

Cotton wool[1]; and the sack goes as cotton without tare. Cotton yarn; and the sack is allowed as tare, and remains with the buyer for nothing.

Rice; and the bag goes as rice, but if it be tied the cord is allowed as tare and remains with the seller. Turkey galls of every kind; and if they are in bags you weigh bag and all, and do not make tare of the bag. Dried figs of Majorca and Spain in hampers. Orpiment, and the bag goes as orpiment. Safflower[2], and you make tare of bag and cord, and after that they remain with the buyer gratis.

Henna[3]; and the bag goes as henna, only a tare of four per cent. is allowed by custom of trade. Cummin; and

[1] "*Cotone mapputo.*"

[2] Here the word is *Asfrole*, the identity of which with safflower will perhaps be doubted. But at p. 373, where he makes the word *affiore*, the description of the article and the way to judge of qualities appear to point to safflower. In other passages he has *astifore*, *astuffi*, but also *zaffole* (di Valenza), *zaffiore*, *zaffiore* (pp. 64, 295, 211, 113, 134, 137).

[3] "*Alcana*," the Cyprus of the Greeks, the *Phylleria* or Mock-privet of Gerarde, now called *Lawsonia Inermis*, used by Eastern women to tinge the nails, by men in dyeing the beard, etc.

the bag goes as cummin, and if tied with rope the rope is allowed as tare but remains with the buyer gratis.

Pistachios[1]; and the bag goes with them with no allowance for tare, unless there be more bags than one, and if there be, then the excess is weighed and allowed as tare, and the buyer has the one bag gratis.

Sulphur; and the bag or barrel in which it is, is allowed as tare, and goes to the buyer gratis. Senna; and the bag is tare and goes to the buyer. Pitch; and the mat is allowed for as tare, and goes to the buyer. *Morda sangue*[2]; the bag goes with it and no tare allowed.

The following are sold in the same way (but the particulars as to customs of sale, etc., are omitted).

Saltmeat; cheese; flax of Alexandria and of Romania; Camlet wool; washed wool of Romania; unwashed ditto; washed or unwashed wool of Turkey; chestnuts.

The following are sold by the hundredweight of 100 *Genoese pounds* (details omitted).

Round pepper; ginger; barked brazil-wood; lac; zedoary[3]; incense; sugar, and powdered sugar of all kinds; aloes of all kinds; quicksilver; cassia fistola; sal ammoniac or *lisciadro*; cinnabar; cinnamon; galbanum[4]; ladanum

[1] *Fistuchi.* Though I do not find this form in any Italian dictionary, *Macculloch's Commercial Dict.* mentions *Fastucchi* as an Italian form of *Pistacchi*, and I have no doubt this is the word. For the Arabs call pistachioes *Fustúk* and the Turks, *Fistik.* The Persian is *Pistah* with no *k*, so that the word probably was first introduced in the Arabic form. I find Gerarde calls pistachioes *Fistick-Nuts.*

[2] This perplexing word must be the Persian *Murdah-sang*, "Litharge." Burnes however renders *Moordar-sung* (as he spells it) "sulphate of copper" (*Travels*, iii, 207).

[3] *Zettoara.* This is a drug now almost disused; the root of a plant which used to be exported from Malabar, Ceylon, Cochin China, etc. (*Macculloch.*)

[4] A gum-resin derived from a perennial plant (*G. officinale*) growing in Syria, Persia, the Cape of Good Hope, etc. It is imported into England from the Levant chiefly. (*Macculloch.*)

of Cyprus; mastic; copper; amber, big, middling, and small, not wrought; stript coral; clean and fine coral, middling and small.

The following are sold by the pound.

Raw silk; saffron; clove-stalks[1] and cloves; cubebs; lign-aloes; rhubarb; mace; long pepper; galangal[2]; broken camphor; nutmegs; spike[3]; cardamoms; scammony; pounding pearls[4]; manna; borax; gum Arabic; dragon's blood; camel's hay[5]; turbit[6]; silk-gauze; sweetmeats; gold wire; dressed silk; wrought amber in beads, etc.

Sold in half scores of pieces.

Buckrams of Erzingan and Cyprus.

[1] *Fusti di Gherofani.* These, when good, are said elsewhere by Pegolotti to be worth one-third the price of good cloves. The phrase appears often in Uzzano's book, as well as *Fiori* and *Foglia di Gherofani.* Garzia, quoted by Mattioli on Dioscorides, says the *stalks* of the cloves are called *Fusti.* But old Gerarde says: "That grosse kinde of cloves which hath been supposed to be the male, are nothing else than fruit of the same tree tarrying there untill it fall down of itselfe unto the grounde, where by reason of his long lying and meeting with some raine in the mean season, it loseth the quick taste that the others have. Some have called those *Fusti*, whereof we may English them *Fusses.*" Pegolotti has also (p. 309) *Fistuchi di Gherofani*, but these seem to have been clove twigs, which were formerly imported along with cloves, and which Budaeus in a note on Theophrastus considers to have been the *cinnamomum* of the ancients. (See a passage in Ibn Batuta, *infra*; *Gerarde's Herball*, 1535; *Mattioli*, 354; *Budaeus* on *Theophrastus*, 992–3.)

[2] *Galanga*, a root imported from India and China, of aromatic smell and hot unpleasant taste. (*Macculloch.*)

[Galanga or Galangal was much used as a spice in the Middle Ages; it exists of two kinds: *Great* or *Java Galangal* and *Lesser* or *China Galangal.* Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 229 note.]

[3] *Spigo*; the spike lavender from which this was made was called *Italian Nard.* Marsden supposes the spigo of M. Polo to be spikenard.

[4] *Perle da Pestare*, mentioned also by G. da Uzzano; I suppose for use in medicine. Mattioli quotes from Avicenna and others that pearls were good in palpitations and watery eyes; but not as if they were used in his own time.

[5] *Squinanti*, the σχοῖνος of the Greek herbalists, or *Juncus Odoratus.* The name in the text is that used (and perhaps invented) by Gerarde.

[6] The cortical part of the root of a species of convolvulus from various parts of the East Indies. Like other drugs named here, it is but little used in medicine now-a-days.

By the piece.

Silk velvets; damasks; *maramati*; gold cloth of every kind; *nachetti* and *nacchi* of every kind; and all cloths of silk and gold except gauzes[1].

Sold by the hundred piks *of Gazaria*[2].

Common stuffs and canvasses of all kinds, except those of Champagne; also French and North-country broad cloths.

Then follow details of the different kinds of cloths, with the length of the pieces. And then a detail of special modes of selling certain wares, such as:

Undressed vairs, and vair bellies and backs; Slavonian squirrels; martins and fitches; goat skins and ram skins, dates, filberts, walnuts; salted sturgeon tails; salt; oil of Venice; oil of the March; oil of Apulia, of Gaeta, etc.; wheat and barley; wine of Greece, of Turpia in Calabria[3], of Patti in Sicily, of Patti in Apulia[4], of Cutrone in Calabria[5], of the March, of Crete, of Romania; country wine.

Then follow details on the money in use, on the duties levied,—

(And don't forget that if you treat the custom-house officers with respect, and make them something of a present in goods or money, as well as their clerks and dragomen, they will behave with great civility, and always be ready to appraise your wares below their real value.)

[1] On the words in this passage see note, p. 155 *supra*.

[2] Gazaria, the country embracing the Sea of Azov and the Crimea, in which were the Frank factories of Tana, Caffa, Soldaia, etc.; so named from the ancient tribes of the Khozars or Chasars.

[3] Tropea, on the west coast of Calabria.

[4] Patti in Sicily is a small cathedral town west of Milazzo. The other I cannot indicate.

[5] Cotrone, the ancient Crotona, on the east coast of Calabria.

—On the preferential prices given for certain kinds of goods; as to the fees paid for weighing, garbling, brokerage, packing, warehousing, and the like; with details of the relation of the weights and measures to those of most European countries.

This may serve as a sample of the average contents of the book.

CHAP. XXIX treats of how various kinds of goods are packed, etc.

CHAP. XXX is on shipment and matters connected therewith.

CHAP. XXXV is on assays of gold and silver.

CHAP. LXII is *on London in England in itself;* but it does not contain anything of interest for extract. The chief idea connected with England in Pegolotti's mind appears to have been wool[1].

CHAP. LXIII gives a detail of the "Houses (Religious) in Scotland, in England[2], that have wool."

The list is very curious. It embraces:

Niobottoli[3], Merososso[4], Barmunacche[5], Cupero[6], Chilosola[7], Donfermellino[8], Dondarnane[9], Grenellusso[10], Balledirucco (?), Guldingamo[11], Ghelzo[12], Norbonucche[13], Sansasano (?)[14], Grideghorda (?).

But he soon passes from Scotland to England, for the

[1] Woollen cloth was one of the staples of Florentine commerce. In 1338 there were 200 *botteghe*, producing cloth to the value of 1,200,000 *zecchins*, and supporting 30,000 persons. (*Della Decima*, iv, p. 24.)

[2] "*Magioni di Scozia d' Inghilterra.*"

[3] Newbattle. [4] Melrose? or perhaps "Mary's House."

[5] Pagnini has *Barmicciacche*, but the above is from the MS. Balmerynac or Balmannac is the old name of the Abbey of Balmerino in Fifeshire.

[6] Cupar. [7] Killoss or Kynloss in Moray.

[8] Dunfermline. [9] Dundrennan. [10] Glenluce.

[11] Coldingham. [12] Kelso. [13] North Berwick?

[14] This seems like St. Susan's, but I can trace no such Scotch abbey.

following *Houses of the Cistercian Order* certainly belong to the south:

Olcholtam[1], Niomostriere[2] in Orto Bellanda, Fornace in Orto Bellanda[3], Calderea in Coppolanda[4], Salleo in Cravenna[5], Giervalese[6], Fontana[7], Biolanda[8], Bivalse[9], Miesa in Oldaraese[10], Chirchistallo[11], Laroccia[12], Il Parco di Livia[13], Chiricchistede[14], Revesbi[15], Svinsivede[16], Lavaldio[17], Rufforte in Estierenda[18], Gierondona[19].

The chapter contains many more puzzles of the same kind. But our extracts have wandered far from Cathay or the road thither, and must stop.

[1] Holm Cultrum Abbey in Cumberland.

[2] "Newminster," near Morpeth, in "Northumberland."

[3] "Furness in Northumberland," in which it is not.

[4] "Calder Abbey in Cumberland" (and this shows that the Englishman slurred his R's already).

[5] "*Sawley* Abbey in Craven." [6] Jorvaulx.

[7] Fountains. [8] Byland.

[9] Probably should be *Rivalse*, Rivaulx.

[10] "Meaux Abbey in Holderness." [11] Kirkstall.

[12] Roche Abbey.

[13] Probably Louth Park, called "*de Parco Iude.*"

[14] Kirkstead. [15] Revesby Abbey in Lincolnshire.

[16] Swineshead.

[17] The Abbey of *Vaudey* or "de Valle Dei" in Lincolnshire.

[18] Rufford or Rumford Abbey in Nottinghamshire.

[19] Gerondon or Geraldon Abbey in Leicestershire. For these abbeys (which are all Cistercian) see *Tanner's Notitia Monastica.*

APPENDIX

TRANSCRIPT from the original MS. of the first two chapters of PEGOLOTTI.

CAP. I.

Avixamento del viaggio del Ghattaio per lo chanmino della Tana ad andare e ttornare chon merchatantia. Primieramente dalla Tana in Gintarchan sia XXV giornate di charro di buoi e chon carro di chavallo circa da X in XII giornate. Per chanmino si trovano moccholi assai cioe gente d arma e da Gittarchan in Sara sia una giornata per fiumana dacqua et di Sara in Sarachancho sia 8 giornate per una fiumana dacqua e puotesi andare per terra e peracqua ma vassi peracqua per meno spesa della merchatantia. E da Sarachancho in fino in Orghanci sia XX giornate di charro di chanmello e chi va chon marchantia gli conviene che vada in Orghanci pareche la è spacciativa terra di marchatantia. E d' Orghanci in Oltrarre sia da 35 in 40 giornate di chanmello chon carro e chi si partisse di Sarachanco e andasse dritto in Oltrarre si va L giornate e segli non avesse merchatantia gli sarebbe migliore via che dandare in Orghanci. E dì choltrarre in Armalecco sia 45 giornate di some dasino e ogni die truovi moccholi. E d Armalecco infino in Chamexu sia 70 giornate dasino et di Chamexu in sino che vieni a una fiumana che si chiama... sia XLV giornate di chavallo e dalla fiumana se ne puoi andare in Chassai ella vendere sonmi dellargento che avessi, perocche la e spacciativa terra di merchantia. E di Chassai si va cholla muneta chessi trae de sonmi dellargento venduti in Chassai che è moneta di charta chessappella la detta moneta babisci che gli quattro di quella moneta vagliono un sonmo dariento per le contrade del Ghattaijo. E di Chassai a Ghamalecco che è la mastra città del paese del Ghattaijo si va 30 giornate.

CAP. II.

Cose bixognevole a Merchatanti che vogliono fare il sopradetto viaggio del Ghattaijo. Primieramente chonviene che si lasci crescere la barba grande et non si rada. E vuolsi fornire alla Tana di Turcimanni e non si vuole guardare a rispiarmo dal chattivo al buono nonchosta quella dingordo chelluomo non se ne migliori vi va piu. E oltre a Turcimanni si chonviene menare per lo meno due fanti buoni che ssapiano bene la lingua Cumanesca e sse il merchatante vuole menare dalla Tana niuna femmina chon secho si puote e sse nolla vuole menare non fa forza mappure se la menasse sara tenuto di miglior chondizione che se nolla menasse e pero sella mena chonviene che sappia la lingua Chumanesca chome il fante. E dalla Tana infino in Gittarchan si chonviene fornire di vivanda 25 dì cioe di farina e di pesci insalati perocche charne truova assai per chanmino in tutti i luoghi. E ssimilmente in tutti i luoghi che vai da uno paexe a un altro nel detto viaggio sechondo le giornate dette di sopra si chonviene fornire di farina e di pesci insalati che altre chose truovi assai e spezialmente charne.

Il chanmino dandare dalla Tana al Ghattajo è sichurissimo e di dì e di notte sechondo che ssi chonta pergli merchatanti che lhanno uxato salvo se il merchatante che va o che viene morisse in chanmino ogni chosa sarebbe del singnore del paexe ove morisse il merchatante e tutto prenderebbono gli uficiali del singnore. E ssimilmente se morisse

al Ghattajo veramente segli avesse suo fratello o stretto chompangno che dicesse che fusse suo fratello si gli sarebbe dato lavere del morto e chonperebbesi in questo modo lavere. E ancora va un altro pericholo cioe che quando lo singnore morisse insino che non fusse chiamato laltro singnore che dovesse singnoreggiare in quello mezzo alchuna volta ve stata fatta novitade a Ffranchi e ad altre stranee genti. I Franchi appellaneglino tutti i christiani delle parti di Romania innanzi in verso il ponente. E non chorre sichuro il chanmino infino che non è chiamato laltro singnore che dee regnare appresso di quelloche è morto.

Il Ghattajo si è una Provincia dove a molte terre e molte chasali in fra laltre si a una cioe la mastra cittade ove riparano merchatanti e ove si fa il forza della merchatantia la quale cittade si chiama Chambalecchо. E la detta cittade gira cento miglia ed è tutta piena di gente e di magione e di abitanti nella detta cittade.

Ragionasi che un merchatante chon uno Turcimanno e con due fanti e con avere della valuta di XXV miglia di Fiorini doro spenderebbe infino al Ghattajo da LX in LXXX sonmi dargento volendo fare masserizia e per tutto il chanmino da ttornare dal Ghattajo ala Tana chontando spese di boccha e ssalario di fanti e tutte spese intorno a cio sonmi V alla somma o meno e puote valere il sonmo da fiorini cinque doro. E ragionasi chel carro debbe menare pure uno bue e del charro X cantara di genova el charro di chanmelli mena 3 chanmeli e del charro 30 cantari di Genova e il carro de chavalli mena 1° chavallo e del charro cantara 6½ genovesche di seta communalmente da libre 250 genovesche e uno scibetto di seta si ragiona da libre 110 in 115 genovesche.

Raggionasi che dalla Tana in Sara sia meno sichuro il chanmino che non e tutto laltro chanmino ma segli fussono 60 uomini quando il chanmino è in piggiore chonditione andrebbe bene sichuro come per la casa sua.

Chi volesse muovere da Genova o da Vinegia per andare al detto luogo e viaggio del Ghattajo portasse tele e andasse in Organci ne farebbe bene e in Organci chonperasse sonmi e andasse chon essi avanti sanza investire in altra merchatantia seggià nonavesse alquante balle di tele molto sottilissime che tengono piccholo inbuglio e non vogliono piu di spesa, che vogliono altre tele piu grosse.

E possono i Mercanti cavalcare per lo chanmino o chavallo o asino o quella cavalcatura che piace loro di cavalcare.

Tutto largento che i merchatanti portano e che va al Ghattajo il Singnore del Ghattajo lo fa pigliare per se e mettelo in suo texoro e merchatanti che lui portano ne da loro moneta di pappiero cioe di charta gialla choniata della bolla del detto Singnore la quale moneta sapella paliscj della qual moneta puoi e ttruovi chonperare seta ed ognaltra merchatantia e cosa che chonperare volesse e tutti quelli del paexe sono tenuti di prenderla e gia pero non si cosi sopra chonpera la merchatantia perche sia moneta di pappiero. E della detta moneta di pappiero ne sono di tre ragioni che luna si mette per piu che laltra secondo che sono ordinate a valuta per lo Singnore.

E ragionasi che al Ghattajo arai da libre 19 in 20 di seta Ghattaja recato a peso di Genova per uno sonmo d'argento che puote pesare da once 8½ di Genova ed è di lega d once 11 e denari 17 fine per libbra.

E ragionasi che avai al Ghattajo da 3 in 3½ pezze di chanmoccha di seta per uno sonmo e da 3½ in sino in 5 pezze di nacchetti di seta e doro per uno sonmo dargento.

V

MARIGNOLLI'S RECOLLECTIONS OF EASTERN TRAVEL

V

JOHN DE' MARIGNOLLI AND HIS RECOLLECTIONS OF EASTERN TRAVEL

BIOGRAPHICAL AND INTRODUCTORY NOTICES

THESE notices of Eastern Travel are found, like unexpected fossils in a mud-bank, imbedded in a Chronicle of Bohemia, which was first printed from an old MS. in the latter half of the last century. Of the author there is not very much to be learned, except what can be gathered from these reminiscences of his. John of Florence, a Minorite, is known to the ecclesiastical biographers as the author of sundry theological works, and as Bishop of Bisignano. And a John of Florence, a Minorite, is also known, through brief notices in the Annals of Raynaldus and Wadding, as having gone on a mission to Cathay. But till the publication of the Bohemian Chronicle the identity of these Johns does not seem to have been suspected, and even since the date of that publication they have been carefully discriminated by a very learned Franciscan[1].

The two Johns were, however, one. He was a native of Florence or its neighbourhood, and came of the Marignolli of San Lorenzo, a noble family of the Republic which derived its name from a village called Marignolle, in the

[1] See *Supplementum et Castigatio ad* Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo, &c., *opus posthumum Fr. Jo. Hyacinthi Sbaraleæ*, Romæ, 1806, p. 436. Another John of Florence, also connected with the Eastern missions of the fourteenth century, is mentioned by Quétif; but he was a Dominican, and bishop of Tiflis in Georgia. (*Script. Ord. Prædicat.*, p. 583.)

Valley of the Arno, about two miles south-west of the city. The family of the Marignolli was, in the middle ages, one of the most influential in Florence, and its members were generally leaders in the Guelf faction. They were expelled from the Republic on the defeat of that party at Montaperti in 1260[1],

"Lo strazio e 'l grande scempio
Che fece l' Arbia colorata in rosso,"

but after a few years effected their return, and long continued to give many gonfaloniers and other magistrates to the city. In the seventeenth century, however, they were already quite extinct. A street in Florence near the cathedral, now called Via de' Cerretani, is still marked as having formerly borne their name (*Già de' Marignolli*)[2].

The date of John's birth is not known. But it may be guessed from the wandering garrulity of his recollections, that he was an aged man, when, some time about 1355, he put them on paper; and this is confirmed by a circumstance which will be cited below. He was therefore born, in all probability, before 1290.

He was a member of the Franciscan monastery of Santa Croce in Florence, to which he apparently refers in his story, when he tells us that on his return from the East he deposited a certain Indian garment in the sacristy of the Minorites in that city.

He is known for certain as the author of two works in Tuscan: one a *History of St. Onufrio*; the other a work called *The Acts of the Apostles*, whether a translation of Scripture or a collection of legends, I do not know. Both are said to be cited as authorities in Italian by the Della Crusca vocabulary. But he is also supposed to have been

[1] *G. Villani, Istoria Fiorentina*, book v, c. 79, 80.

[2] The last fact is from personal observation. Others in this paragraph are partly from *Italia Sacra* of Ughelli (Venice, 1717, i, 522), and partly from a respectable Tuscan authority the reference to which I have omitted to note.

the John of Florence who wrote a History of his Order, and a treatise on the Canonization of St. Francis, works which formerly existed in the library of Santa Croce[1]. Sbaralea also regards as probably written by Marignolli a small Italian work on *The Flowers of St. Francis*, which was printed by Nicolas Girardengo at Venice in 1480, and often reprinted; and also a Life of St. John Baptist, which is appended to the former in the MS. at Bologna.

Marignolli refers in his recollections to having at one time given lectures at Bologna[2]. And this is all that I can collect about him previous to his mission to the East.

John of Monte Corvino, the venerable Archbishop of Cambalec, died as we have already seen about 1328, and the successor appointed by Pope John in 1333 seems never to have reached his destination[3].

In 1338 however there arrived at Avignon an embassy from the Great Khan of Cathay, consisting of Andrew a Frank, and fifteen other persons. They brought two letters to the pope: one purporting to be from the Grand Khan himself, and the other from certain princes of the Christian Alans in his service[4].

[1] *Sbaralea*, u.s.

[2] "*Vidi etiam Bononiæ quando ibi legebam.*" (*Dobner*, p. 112.)

[3] See above, p. 11.

[4] ["Ineunte hoc anno pervenerunt Avenionem Legati Imperatoris maximi Tartarorum, qui se Imperatorum Imperatorem nuncupabat (erant enim in Tartaria plures Imperatores, quibus hic praecellebat) icturi foedus cum Pontifice, vel majorem conciliaturi amicitiam per frequentes & alternas, quas stabilire cupiebat legationes: eo praesertim titulo, quod Christianis omnem favorem impenderit; quibus veluti peculiaris eorumdem fautor & protector, Pontificiam deprecabatur benevolentiam. Ita etiam ipsi testati sunt, praecipue Principes Alanorum, scriptis per eosdem Legatos litteris, quibus Imperatoriam erga se depredicant beneficentiam, & gratias a Pontifice rependi deposcunt. Exhibeo ipsas eorumdem litteras, per quas constabit rei Christianae status inter Tartaros, & Minoritarum, praesertim bonae memoriae Joannis a Monte Corvino, olim Archiepiscopi Cambalien. in fide propaganda inter efferas gentes sollicitudo." Wadding, vii, p. 209.

The envoys were Andrew and William "of Nassio" and Thogay, an Alan of Cathay: "Scribitur littera salvicunductus pro Andrea et

It is not stated that Andrew was an ecclesiastic; but it is possible that he may have been our acquaintance the Bishop of Zayton[1].

D'Ohsson[2] regards the whole matter as an example of the sham embassies which on several occasions were palmed off on the European courts as coming from the Mongol princes. But he is apparently not aware of Marignolli's narrative of the return mission and its reception. And the Khan's letter looks very genuine in its haughty curtness and absence of swelling titles, the use of which Chinghiz prohibited to his successors. The preliminary phrase also seems the same that is found prefixed to the Tartar letters in the French archives; and which Rémusat states to be a mark of genuine character[3]. In any case the letter is meritoriously short and to the point, so we may give it in full[4].

"In the strength of the Omnipotent God!

"The Emperor of Emperors commandeth:

"We send our envoy, Andrew the Frank, with fifteen others, to the Pope, the Lord of the Christians, in Frankland beyond the Seven Seas[5] where the sun goes down, to

Guillelmo de Nassio et Thogay Alano de Cathayo nunciis imperatoris Tartarorum super certis fidem catholicam tangentibus ad sedem apostolicam destinatis et cum litteris sursalibus ejusdem sedis remissis. Dat. Avenione, XIII kal. julii, anno quarto." Reg. vatic. 62, f. xxxii v°, quoted by C. de La Roncière and Léon Dorez, *Lettres inédites de Marino Sanudo l'ancien* in *Bib. de l'École des Chartes*, lvi, 1895, p. 29.]

[1] See p. 28 above. [2] *Hist. des Mongols*, ii, 608.

[3] *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript.* (Modern) vii, 367. He renders it "*Par la force du Ciel suprême.*"

[4] This and the other letters connected with this embassy are given in *Wadding*, vol. vii, pp. 209 and *seq.*; also in *Mosheim*, Append., pp. 166 and *seq.*

[5] Meinert (see below) supposes these seven seas to be the Aral, Caspian, Sea of Azov, Black Sea, Sea of Marmora, Archipelago, and the Mediterranean. It may be noted that Edrisi also reckons seven seas besides the Great Ocean, viz. Sea of China, Red Sea, Green Sea (Persian Gulf), Sea of Damascus (Mediterranean), Sea of Venice, Sea of Pontus, and Sea of Jorjan (Caspian). And the Arabian navigators of the ninth century also reckon seven seas between Basra and China. But any such

open a way for the frequent exchange of messengers between us and the Pope; and to request the Pope himself to send us his blessing, and always to remember us in his holy prayers; and to commend to him the Alans, our servants and his Christian sons. Also we desire that our messengers bring back to us horses and other rarities from the sun-setting.

"Written in Cambalec, in the year of the Rat, in the sixth month, on the third day of the Moon[1]."

The letter of the Alan chiefs, with partial omissions, runs as follows:

"In the strength of the Omnipotent God, and in the honour of our Lord the Emperor!

"We, FUTIM JOENS, CHATICEN TUNGII, GEMBOGA EVÉNZI, JOANNES IUCHOY (and RUBEUS PINZANUS)[2],

scientific precision is here highly improbable. The reference is more likely to be to the seven annular seas of the Buddhist cosmogony, and done into vulgar English means only that the Pope lived at the "Back of Beyond."

[1] About July 1336.

["In fortitudine Omnipotentis Dei, Imperatoris Imperatorum praeceptum. Nos mittimus Nuncium nostrum Andræam Francum cum quindecim sociis ad Papam, Dominum Christianorum in Franchiam ultra septem maria, ubi sol occidit, ad aperiendum viam nunciis saepe mittendis per nos ad Papam, & per Papam ad nos, & ad rogandum ipsum Papam, ut mittat nobis suam benedictionem, & in orationibus suis sanctis semper memoriam faciat de nobis. Et quod Alanos servitores nostros, filios suos Christianos, habeat recommendatos. Item quod adducant nobis ab occasu solis equos, & alia mirabilia. Scripta in Cambalec in anno Rati mense sexto, tertia die lunationis." Wadding, vii, p. 209.]

[2] These at first sight look like names out of *Gulliver's Travels*, such as Quinbus Flestrin and the like. They are several times repeated in the copies of different letters from the Pope that have come down to us, and the forms vary considerably. We have the following:

Futim Joens, Fodim and Fodin Jovens;
Chaticen Tungii [and Ghaticen Tungy], Chyansam and Chyausam Tongi;
Gemboga Evenzi, Chemboga Vensii or Vense [and Venz];
Ioannes Jukoy, Iochoy, or Yathoy [and Yotkoy];
Rubeus Pinzanus or Puizanus.

The last name occurs in two of the Pope's letters, but not in that of the Alans as we have it.

with our heads in the dust salute our Holy Father the Pope. ...For a long time we received instruction in the Catholic faith, with wholesome guidance and abundant consolation, from your Legate Friar John, a man of weighty, capable, and holy character. But since his death, eight years ago, we have been without a director, and without spiritual consolation. We heard, indeed, that thou hadst sent another legate, but he hath never yet appeared. Wherefore

I cannot venture to say what these names are meant to represent, but the following suggestions may at least show the sort of explanations that are practicable. I have a suspicion that the first six words form two names only instead of three. Assuming this we have for the first, Futim Joens (i.e. Yoens) Chyansam. To reduce Yoens or Yovens to a rational form it must be remembered that these names were probably transferred from Persian, or some analogous character. Transfer Yovens *back* into Persian it becomes يونس, which when read properly into Roman letters is *Yúnus* or Jonas, no doubt the name of the personage in question; whilst *Futim* may represent the Chinese title *Fu t'ai*, and *Chyansam* that of *Chingsang*, the designation of the great ministers of state which often occurs in the Mongol history, and has already occurred in the extracts from Rashid. (*D'Ohsson*, ii, 636; *Journ. Asiat.*, sér. ii, tom. vi, pp. 352–3; *supra*, p. 119.)

The next name will be *Tungii Gemboga Vensii*. *Tungii* looks like the *Daukji* of Shah Rukh's Embassy, in the narrative of which we find it applied to the Chinese governors of the frontier provinces, perhaps as a corruption of the Chinese *Tsiang kiun*, a general. *Gemboga* or Chambuca is the proper name, a name quite Tartar in character, for scores of *Boghas* will be found in the histories of the Mongols and of Timur (from Turki *Bugha*, an army leader). We find *Jamuca*, which is perhaps the same name, as one of the rivals of Chinghiz (*D'Ohsson*, i, 70). And Vensii is almost certainly *Wan shi*, a commandant of ten thousand.

The *Yukoy*, which appears to be the title of Joannes, the next of the Alans, is perhaps *Yeukie*, which according to Visdelou (*Suppt. to Herbelot*) is a rank equivalent to colonel, or as Pauthier calls it, "*chef de bataillon*" (*Chine Mod.*, 221). [Couvreur gives *Iou ki*, Lieut.-Colonel, and Mayers, *Yeo ki*, Major; but the title did not exist at the time of the Mongols.] Lastly we have in the title of *Rubeus Pinzanus*, the *Fanchán* or *Panchán* of the Persian historians of the Mongol dynasty (*D'Ohsson*, vi, 530, 637, etc.; Ext. from Rashid, *supra*, p. 120) representing the Chinese title of an under minister of state. *Rubeus* is probably a translation of the original name, *Kizil* or the like, meaning *Red*.

[This note of Yule might perhaps have been suppressed; for the names somewhat altered, of Futim, and others, however strange they look, are genuine; the first three: Fodim = Fou ting, Chiansam = Hiang chan, Gemboga = Tchö-yeń-p'ou-houa (Jayanbogha), have been found by Pelliot and no doubt the others will be discovered in the same work.]

we beseech your Holiness to send us a legate, wise, capable, and virtuous, to care for our souls. And let him come quickly, for we are here a flock without a head, without instruction, without consolation.... And it has happened on three or four different occasions that envoys have come on thy part to the aforesaid Emperor our Master, and have been most graciously received by him, and have had honours and presents bestowed upon them; and although all of them in turn promised to bring back thine answer to our Lord aforesaid, never yet hath he had any reply from thee or from the Apostolic See. Wherefore let your Holiness see to it that this time and henceforward there may be no doubt about a reply being sent, and an envoy also, as is fitting from your Holiness. For it is cause of great shame to Christians in these parts, when their fellows are found to tell lies." (Date as above.)[1]

[1] ["In fortitudine omnipotentis Dei, & in honore Imperatoris Domini nostri.

"Nos Futim Juens, Caticen Tungii, Gemboga Evenzi, Joannes Juckoy, sanctum Patrem Dominum Papam nostrum, capitibus ad terram positis, pedes osculantes, salutamus, petentes benedictionem suam & gratiam, & quod in orationibus suis sanctis faciat de nobis memoriam, & numquam obliviscatur nostri. Hoc autem sanctitati vestrae sit notum, quod longo tempore fuimus informati in fide Catholica, & salubriter gubernati, & consolati plurimum per Legatum vestrum fratrem Joannem, valentem, sanctum, & sufficientem virum, qui tamen mortuus est ante octos annos, in quibus fuimus sine gubernatore, & sine spirituali consolatione, licet audierimus, quod providistis de alio legato, ille tamen nondum venit. Quare supplicamus Sanctitati Vestrae, quod mittatis nobis bonum, sufficientem, ac sapientem Legatum, qui curam habeat de animabus nostris, & quod cito veniat, quia male stamus sine capite, sine informatione, & sine consolatione, supplicamus etiam sapientiae vestrae, quod Domino nostro Imperatori respondeatis gratiose, ita quod aperiatur via, sicut & ipse petit, expedita & apta nunciis saepe mittendis a vobis ad ipsum, & ab ipso ad vos, & ad conferendam inter vos & ipsum amicitiam: quia si hoc feceritis magnum bonum subsequetur pro salute animarum, & pro exaltatione fidei Christianae, quia favor ejus in imperio suo facere potest innumera bona, & indignatio ejus innumera mala, & ideo recommendetis nos sibi, filios vestros, & fratres, & fideles alios, qui sunt in imperio ejus, quia si ita feceritis, bono maxima facietis, cum ita factum fuerit, quod ex parte vestra diversis temporibus tres vel quatuor nunc iverunt ad praefatum Imperatorem Dominum nostrum, a quo gratiose recepti fuerunt, & honorati & grati; & ex tunc dictus Imperator nullum a vobis, vel a Sede

The position of these Alans in China suggests a curious and perplexing problem. We shall find that Marignolli speaks of them as "the greatest and noblest nation in the world, the fairest and bravest of men"; as those to whose aid Chinghiz owed all his great victories; and who in the writer's own day were to the number of thirty thousand in the service of the Great Khan, and filled the most important offices of state, whilst all were, at least nominally, Christians.

The Alans were known to the Chinese by that name, in the ages immediately preceding and following the Christian era, as dwelling near the Aral, in which original position they are believed to have been closely akin to, if not identical with, the famous Massagetæ. Hereabouts also Ptolemy (vi, 14) appears to place the Alani-Scythæ, and Alanæan Mountains. From about 40 B.C. the emigrations of the Alans seem to have been directed westward to the lower Don; here they are placed in the first century by Josephus and by the Armenian writers; and hence they are found issuing in the third century to ravage the rich provinces of Asia Minor. In 376 the deluge of the Huns on its westward course came upon the Alans and overwhelmed them. Great numbers of Alans are found to have joined the conquerors on their further progress, and large bodies of Alans afterwards swelled the waves of Goths, Vandals, and Sueves, that rolled across the Western Empire. A portion of the Alans, however, after the Hun invasion retired into the plains adjoining Caucasus, and into the lower valleys of that region, where they maintained the name and nationality which the others speedily lost. Little is heard of these Caucasian Alans for many centuries,

Apostolica responsum accepit, licet singuli promiserunt se a vobis responsa ad praefatum Dominum reportare. Quare prodeat Sanctitas vestra, quod hac vice, & deinceps habeat certum a vobis responsum & nuncium, sicut decet Sanctitatem vestram, quia magna verecundia est Christianis in partibus istis, quando mendacia inveniuntur in ipsis. Scripta in Cambalec in anno Rati, mense sexto, tertia die lunationis." Wadding, vii, pp. 209–210.]

except occasionally as mercenary soldiers of the Byzantine emperors or the Persian kings. In the thirteenth century they made a stout resistance to the Mongol conquerors, and though driven into the mountains they long continued their forays on the tracts subjected to the Tartar dynasty that settled on the Volga, so that the Mongols had to maintain posts with strong garrisons to keep them in check. They were long redoubtable both as warriors and as armourers, but by the end of the fourteenth century they seem to have come thoroughly under the Tartar rule; for they fought on the side of Toctamish Khan of Sarai against the great Timur.

The Chinese historians of the Mongol dynasty now call this people ASU, and by that name (Aas and the like) they were also known to Ibn Batuta and to the Frank travellers, Carpini, Rubruquis, and Josafat Barbaro. This and other reasons led Klaproth to identify them with the *Ossethi*, still existing in Caucasus. Vivien de St. Martin however has urged strong reasons against this identification, though he considers both tribes to have been originally members of one great stock of *Asi*, who by routes and at times widely separated, severally found their way from Central Asia to the region of Caucasus. According to the same authority the Georgians, who always distinguished between the *Alanethi* and *Ossethi*, still recognize a people of the former branch in the interior of the Abaz country where no traveller has penetrated.

We now come to the difficulty of accounting for the appearance of numerous Alans in the armies and administration of the Yuen dynasty, a difficulty which perhaps led Klaproth to suggest that those were really of a Mongol tribe bearing that name, and had nothing in common with the Caucasian people of whom we have been speaking[1].

[1] *Klaproth, Magazin Asiatique*, i, p. 199.

This suggestion has not met with acceptance. And there are notices to be found which account to some extent for the position ascribed to the Alans in China, though the records on the subject seem to be imperfect. Chinghiz Khan, in the course of his western conquests, is recorded to have forced many of the inhabitants of the countries which he overran to take service in his armies. The historian Rashíduddín, in speaking of the Christianity of the Keraits, and especially of the mother and the minister of Kuyuk-Khan, who were Christians of that tribe, says that they summoned to the court of Karakorum numerous priests of Syria, Asia Minor, *the Alan country*, and Russia. And Gaubil, without apparently being aware of the identity with the Alans of the Asu (or Aas) who are spoken of in the text of the Chinese history which he follows, observes in a note that the country of the Asu, after its conquest, furnished many valuable officers to the Mongols, and that it could not have lain far from the Caspian. The same narrative states that Kúblái Khan, when despatching an army against the Sung dynasty of Southern China, desired his general to select the best possible officers, and that there were consequently attached to the army many chiefs of the Uighúrs, Persians, Kincha, *Asu*[1], and others. The

[1] [See Marco Polo, ii, p. 179 *n.* Mr. Rockhill writes *Rubruck*, p. 88 *note*): "The Alans or Aas appear to be identical with the An-ts'ai or A-lan-na of the *Hou Han Shu* (bk. 88, 9), of whom we read that 'they led a pastoral life N.W. of Sogdiana (K'ang-chü) in a plain bounded by great lakes or swamps, and in their wanderings went as far as the shores of the Northern Ocean.' (Ma Twan-lin, bk. 338.) *Pei-shi* (bk. 97, 12) refers to them under the name of Aorsi living to the north but contiguous to the Albani, whom some authors confound with them, but whom later Armenian historians carefully distinguish from them. (De Morgan, *Mission*, i, 332.) Ptolemy (vi, 14) speaks of this people as the 'Scythian Alans' ('Αλανοὶ Σκύθαι); but the first definite mention of them in classical authors is, according to Bunbury (ii, 486), found in Dionysius Periergetes (305), who speaks of the ἀλκήεντες Ἀλανοί (see also De Morgan, i, 202, and Deguignes, ii, 279, *et seq.*)." According to the *Yuen shi* and Devéria, *Journ. Asiat.*, Nov.–Dec. 1896, p. 432, in 1229 and 1241, when Okkodaï's army reached the Country of the Aas (Alans), their chief submitted at once and a body of one thousand Alans was kept for the private guard of

anecdote which Marco Polo relates of the massacre of a body of Christian Alans during this very war, may also be called to mind[1].

Still the numbers and very prominent position ascribed by Marignolli to the Alans in the Mongol-Chinese empire, are, after all allowance for natural exaggeration of the importance of his co-religionists, rather startling. The history of these later princes of the Yuen dynasty does not seem to be accessible in any great detail; but it is easily conceivable that as the spirit of the Mongols degenerated, their princes, as in so many similar cases, came to lean more and more on their foreign auxiliaries, and that these may have been often found in occupation of the highest posts of the empire. Indeed it was one of the complaints against Tocatimur or Shun Ti, the Emperor reigning at this time, that he gave too much authority to "foreigners of ill-regulated morals[2]."

Returning to the embassy of 1338, we find that it was graciously received by the Pope, Benedict XII, one mark of his favour being to create one of the Tartar envoys sergeant-at-arms to himself[3]; that in due time his Holiness delivered answers to the letters from Cathay; and that shortly afterwards he appointed legates to proceed on his own part to the court of Cambalec, with a charge which

the Great Khan; Mangu enlisted in his bodyguard half the troops of the Alan prince, Arslan, whose younger son Nicholas took a part in the expedition of the Mongols against Karajang (Yunnan). This Alan imperial guard was still in existence in 1272, 1286 and 1309, and it was divided into two corps with headquarters in the Ling pei province (Karakorúm). See also Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, ii, pp. 84–90.]

[1] [See *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 178–179. This massacre is confirmed by Chinese Sources.]

[2] See a learned article by *Vivien de St. Martin*, in *Ann. des Voyages* for 1848, iii, 129; also *Rubruquis*, pp. 242, 243, 252, 381; *Carpini*, pp. 709, 729; *Ramusio*, ii, 92; *St. Martin* in *Journ. Asiat.*, sér. ii, tom. v, 175; *Klaproth* in ditto, p. 389; *Jacquet* in ditto, vii, 417–433; *St. Martin, Mém. sur l'Arménie*, ii, 280; *Ibn Batuta*, ii, 448; *Gaubil, Hist. de Gentchis Can.*, pp. 40, 147; *Deguignes*, iv, 215, etc.

[3] *Baluzius, Vitæ Pap. Avenion.*, i, 242.

combined the reciprocation of the Khan's courtesies with the promotion of missionary objects.

The letters addressed by the Pope in reply to the Khan and the Alan Princes are of no interest[1]. They were accompanied by letters also to the Khans of Kipchak and Chagatai, and to two Christian ministers of the latter sovereign, expressing the Pope's intention speedily to send envoys to those courts. With these letters the eastern envoys departed from Avignon in July 1338, bearing recommendations from the Pope to the Doge and Senate of Venice, and to the Kings of Hungary and Sicily[2].

Some months later the Pontiff named the legates, and addressed a letter to them under date II Kal. Novemb., in the fourth year of his Popedom, *i.e.*, 31st October, 1338. Their names were Nicholas Bonet S.T.P., Nicholas of Molano, JOHN OF FLORENCE, and Gregory of Hungary[3].

But for the disinterment of Marignolli's reminiscences in the Bohemian Chronicle, this is all that we should know of the mission, excepting what is conveyed by a few brief lines in Wadding's Annals of the Order under 1342, as to the arrival of the party at the Court of Cambalec, and eleven years later as to the return of its surviving members to the headquarters of the Church at Avignon.

It does not appear with what strength or composition the mission actually started, but probably there were a good many friars in addition to the legates. Indeed, a contemporary German chronicler says, that fifty Minorites were sent forth on this occasion; but it is evident that he had no accurate knowledge on the subject; and, indeed,

[1] The letter to the Khan from this James Fournier, Bishop of Rome under the name of Benedict XII, commences without any mincing of the matter: "*Nos qui, licet immeriti*, LOCUM DEI TENEMUS IN TERRIS."

[2] *Wadding*, l. c.

[3] ["Dilectis filiis Nicolao Boneti sacrae Theologiae Professori, Nicolao de Molano, Joanni de Florentia, & Gregorio de Hungaria Ordinis Fratrum Minorum." Wadding, vii, p. 214.]

his notice is accompanied by one of the fabulous statements, so frequent in that age, as to the conversion of the Grand Khan to Christianity, and by other palpable errors[1]. Marignolli mentions incidentally that the party, during their stay at Cambalec, consisted of thirty-two persons, but with no further particulars. Nor do we even know what became of his colleagues in the legation. Though Marignolli's name comes only third in the Pope's letters, he speaks throughout his narrative as if he had been the chief, if not the sole, representative of the Pontiff. And it is him alone that Wadding mentions by name in his short notices of the proceedings and return of the mission.

One of the four indeed, Nicholas Bonet, must have returned speedily if he ever started for the East at all. For in May 1342 he is recorded to have been appointed by Clement VI to the Bishopric of Malta[2].

Marignolli's notices of his travels have no proper claim to the title of a narrative, and indeed the construction of a

[1] Under the year 1339: "The King of the Tartars is reported to have been converted through the agency of a certain woman who had been brought to the Catholic faith by the Minor Friars dwelling in that country for the purpose of preaching Christ's Gospel. And he sent ambassadors with a letter to Pope Benedict, to beg that he would deign to send teachers, preachers, and directors of the orthodox faith to convert the people, to baptize the converted, and to confirm the baptized in their new faith. And the Pope, joyfully assenting, arranged the despatch of fifty Minor Friars (because men of that order had been the instruments of the king's conversion), all men of good understanding and knowledge of life. But as to what progress they have made, or how much people they have won to the Lord Jesus Christ, up to this present time of Lent in the year 1343 no news whatever hath reached Suabia." (*Joannis Vitodurani* (of Winterthur) *Chron.* in *Eccard*, i, col. 1852.)

[2] *Wadding*, An. 1342, § iv. This annalist says of Nicholas, as if knowing all about his return, "*qui tamen ob graves causas ex ipso reversus est itinere.*"

["*Supremàe dignitatis*, 11 Kalend. Jun. fratre Nicolao Boneti, Viro docto, sacrae Theologiae Magistro, (quem superius, diximus destinatum Legatum ad Tartaros, qui tamen ob graves causas ex ipso reversus est itinere) ad Milevitanum, sub Archiepiscopo Panormitano, per obitum Henrici etiam Minoritae." Wadding, vii, p. 253. According to Gams' *Series Episcoporum*, Nicolas was elected to the see of Malta on the 27th of the eleventh month of 1342 and died in 1360.]

narrative out of them is a task something like that of raising a geological theory out of piecemeal observations of strata and the study of scattered organic remains. It is necessary, therefore, to give a short sketch of the course of his travels, such as the editor has understood it, unless readers are to go through the same amount of trouble in putting the pieces together. But in doing so I shall anticipate as little as possible the details into which our author enters.

The party left Avignon in December 1338, but had to wait at Naples some time for the Tartar envoys, who had probably been lionizing in the cities and courts of Italy. Constantinople was reached on the 1st May, 1339, and there the party halted till midsummer. They then sailed across the Black Sea to Caffa, and travelled thence to the Court of Uzbek, Khan of Kipchak, no doubt at Sarai. The winter of 1339 was passed there; and, supposing the party to start about May and to take the usual commercial route by Urghanj, they would get to Armalec (or Almaliq), the capital of the Chagatai dynasty or "Middle Empire," about September. The stay of the mission at Almaliq was prolonged. They did not quit it till 1341, and perhaps not till near the end of that year. They must also have spent some considerable time at Kamul[1], so that probably they did not arrive at Peking till about May or June 1342. It was, however, almost certainly within that year; for both Wadding's notice, and a curious entry in the Chinese Annals, agree in naming it[2].

[1] See Marignolli's Recollections of Travel, *infra*, near the end.

[2] *Wadding*, vii, p. 258, and note, *infra*, on the horses conveyed to the Khan by Marignolli.

[1342. "XI. Magnus erat sub hoc tempore in Tartaria Christianorum numerus, & frequentes Fratrum missiones, quorum & domicilia multa, & opinio magna. Habebant domum prope magni Chami palatium, & convescebantur ei, a quibus etiam dum iret cubitum, volebat benedici. In magna Tartaria, prope regionem Millescorte plura habebant domicilia, in civitate Seitin aliud, in Armalech alterum quod Alisolda, uti diximus, destruxit; in Iberia duo immobilia, & quinque ad tentorii modum mobilia; in Taurisio

The time spent by Marignolli at Cambalec extended to three or four years, after which he proceeded through the empire to the port of Zaytún, where there were houses of his Order. He sailed from Zaytún for India on the 26th December, either in 1346 or 1347, probably the latter. Of this voyage unluckily he says not one word, except to record his arrival at Columbum (Quilon) in Malabar, during the following Easter week. He remained with the Christians of Columbum upwards of a year, and then, during the south-west monsoon of 1348 or 1349, set sail for the Coromandel Coast to visit the shrine of Thomas the Apostle. After passing only four days there he proceeded to visit Saba, a country which he evidently means to be identified with the Sheba of Scripture, and which he finds still governed by a queen.

As this Saba and its queen offer the most difficult problem in all the disjointed story of Marignolli's wanderings, and as his notices of it are widely dispersed, I will bring together the substance of all in this place, hoping that some critic may have learning and good luck enough to solve a knot which I have given up in something like despair.

This Saba, then, is the finest island in the world; the Arctic Pole is there, as was pointed out to Marignolli by Master Lemon of Genoa (I suppose after his return to

duo; in Masserica alia duo, & alibi plura. Horum numerum auxerunt, & Fratribus majorem advexerunt opinionem frater Joannes de Florentia, & socii. Legati missi a Benedicto ad magnum Chamum Imperatorem, qui a Principibus Orientis honorifice habiti, pervenerunt hoc anno ad civitatem Cambaliensem. Ita prudenter & modeste egerunt, ut summam invenerint gratiam in Principis conspectu, & novo edicto licentiam fecerit fidem Christianam, in suo Imperio praedicandi. Reliquis praeibat frater Joannes exemplo, magnam crucem manu portans, hinc inde, tamquam scintilla discurrens, multos ad Christi fidem convertens, intrepide Christi nomen omnibus inculcans. Erectae tunc multae Christianorum Ecclesiae; & diffusa per multas partes fides Romana. Tamdem post aliquot annos eumdem fratrem Joannem remisit Imperator ad Innocentium VI. Pontificem honorifice functurum legatione, uti sub anno MCCCLIII. referemus." Wadding, vii, pp. 257–8.]

Europe), six degrees below the horizon, and the Antarctic as much above it, whilst many other wonderful astronomical phenomena are visible; women always or very generally administer the government; the walls of the palace are adorned with fine historical pictures; chariots and elephants are in use, especially for the women; there is a mountain of very great height called *Gybeit* or The Blessed, with which legends of Elias and of the Magi are connected; the queen treats the traveller with great honour and invests him with a golden girdle, such as she was wont to bestow upon those whom she created princes; there are a few Christians there; and finally when Marignolli has quitted Saba he is overtaken by a series of gales, which drive his ship (apparently contrary to intention) into a port of Ceylon.

Meinert, the first who commented on Marignolli, is clear that Java is intended by him; Kunstmann as clear that he speaks of the Maldives. The latter idea also occurred to me before I had the pleasure of seeing Professor Kuntsmann's papers, but I reject it for reasons which seem insuperable.

It is true and certainly remarkable that both Mas'udi in the end of the ninth century, and Edrisi in the eleventh, speak of the *Dabihat* or *Robaihat* (which are apparently errors of transcription for *Dibajat*, and mean the Maldives) as more or less under female government; and when Ibn Batuta was in the same islands a short time before Marignolli's return from China, there actually reigned a female sovereign, Kadija by name, the daughter of the deceased sultan, and who had been set upon the throne in place of a brother whom the people had deposed. Her husband exercised the authority in fact, but all orders were issued in her name. Edrisi also mentions the queen as going on "state occasions with her women mounted on elephants, with trumpets, flags, etc., her husbands and vizirs

following at an interval[1]." This is striking; but it is impossible to accept the evidence about the elephants without strong corroboration. These would at all times have been highly inconvenient guests upon the little Maldive Isles, and we gather from Ibn Batuta that in his time (and Marignolli's) there were but one horse and one mare on the whole metropolitan island. Nor could our author with any show of reason call these little clusters, with their produce of cowries and coco-nuts, "the finest *island* in the world." We might perhaps get over the statement about the latitude, as wiser men than Marignolli made great mistakes in such matters. But where are we to find a "very lofty and almost inaccessible mountain" in the Maldives? You might as well seek such a thing on the Texel.

We may remember that Odoric in his quaint idiom terms Java "the second best of all islands that exist," whilst the historic pictures on the palace walls of Saba rather strikingly recall what the same friar tells us about the like in the palace of the Kings of Java, and I should be quite content to accept Java with Meinert, if we could find there any proof of the frequency of female sovereignty. I quote below the only two traces of this that I have been enabled to discover[2]. Though I do not think it so probable,

[1] Jaubert's *French Trans.*, vol. i, pp. 67, 8.

[2] The chronology of Javanese history up to the establishment of Islam is very doubtful, and it is difficult to say how far either of the following instances of female rule might suit the time of Marignolli's voyage:

1. An ineffectual attempt having been made by Ratu Dewa, a native of Kuningan in the province of Cheribon, who had been entrusted with the administration of Gálu, to maintain an authority independent of Majapahit, he lost his life in the struggle, and his widow Torbita, *who persevered and was for a time successful*, was at length overcome and went over to Majapahit.

2. Merta Wijaya, fifth prince of Majapahit, left two children, a daughter named Kanchana Wungu, and a son, Angka Wijaya, who according to some authorities ruled jointly. The *princess, however, is better known as an independent sovereign*, under the title of Prabu Kanya Kanchana Wungu (See Raffles, *Hist. of Java*, ii, 107 and 121).

it is just possible that some province of Sumatra may be meant. We know that island to have been called Java by the Mahomedan navigators, as may be seen in Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta, and the Catalan Map, in which last the great island named *Jana* (for Java) seems certainly to represent Sumatra. And, curiously enough, in this map we find towards the north end of the island *Regio Feminarum*, with the effigy of a queen. Also Ida Pfeiffer, during her wanderings in Sumatra, heard that there existed round the great Lake Eier Tau, a powerful people under female rule. *Valeant quantum!*

It is worth while, however, to note what Nikitin the Russian, in the succeeding century, says about a place called Shabat or Shabait, which he heard of in India. It was a very large place on the Indian seas, two months' voyage from Dabul, one month's voyage from Ceylon, and twenty days from Pegu. It produced abundance of silk, sugar, precious stones, sandal wood and elephants. The Jews called the people of Shabait Jews, but they were in truth neither Jews, nor Mahomedans, nor Christians, but of a different religion. They did not eat with Jews or Mahomedans, and used no meat. Everything was cheap, etc. If we could identify this place, perhaps we should find the Saba[1] of Marignolli.

Though the latitude assigned to Saba applies correctly

This second instance seems the most pertinent, and as the fifth prince of Majapahit, according to Walckenaer's correction of the chronology, came to the throne in 1322, the time appears to suit fairly. (See *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, xv (1842), pp. 224 *seqq.*)

The stories of Elias (or Khidr) would be gathered from the Mahomedan settlers here as those of Adam and Cain were gathered (as we shall see) by our traveller in Ceylon.

[Female rule in a state of the South Seas (1349) is confirmed in the *Ta yi chi lio.*]

[1] ["On the whole, it seems most nearly to answer to some region of Java or Sumatra, and the Blessed Mountain Gybeit of which he talks so much, corresponds admirably in title and description to the *Great S'lamat*, or 'Hill of Peace,' near the northern coast of Central Java." (Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geog.*, iii, 1906, p. 301.)]

to Java and not to Sumatra, we must remember that Marco Polo there speaks with wonder of the country's lying so far to the south that the Pole Star could not be seen. And in a very curious contemporary reference to Polo[1], the author says of the Magellanic cloud: "In the country of the ZINGHI there is seen a star as big as a sack. I know a man who saw it, and he told me that it had a faint light like a piece of cloud, and is always in the south. I was told of this and other matters also by Marco the Venetian, the most extensive traveller and the most diligent inquirer whom I have ever known. He saw this same star under the Antarctic; he described it as having a great tail, and drew a figure of it, *thus*. He also told me that he saw the Antarctic Pole at an altitude above the earth, apparently equal to the length of a soldier's lance, whilst the Arctic Pole was as much depressed. 'Tis from that place, he said, that they export to us camphor, lign-aloes, and brazil. He says the heat there is intense, and the habitations few. And these things he witnessed in a certain island at which he arrived by sea; ...and there was no way of getting at this place except by sea." There can be no doubt that this reported oral relation

[1] *Petri Aponensis Medici ac Philosophi Celeberrimi, Conciliator*, Venice, 1521, fol. 97. This Peter, physician and astrologer, born in 1250 at Abano, near Padua, was Professor of Medicine at the University in that city. He was twice brought up by the Inquisition on charges of sorcery, and the second time he only escaped their hands by death in 1316. He was posthumously condemned, but the magistrates objected to further proceedings, and his body was burnt in effigy only.

This curious passage was first pointed out by Zurla (quoted by *Baldelli Boni, Il Milione*, ii, 486). But I do not think he notices the woodcut, which is omitted in some editions. It has been thought worth copying here, as an approach at least to an autograph drawing by Marco Polo! [See *Marco Polo*, i, p. *120*, and notes.]

of Marco referred to Sumatra, and the wording of the passage in regard to the Poles, as well as the description of the "other wonderful things in regard to the stars," lead me strongly to suspect that it was from this very passage of Peter of Abano that Master Lemon of Genoa pointed out those facts to Marignolli.

In quitting Saba our author took ship again, probably to return to Malabar on his way towards Europe, and was driven into Ceylon in the manner mentioned above. Here he fell into the hands of a Mussulman buccaneer, who had at this time got possession of a considerable part of the island; and was by him detained for some four months, and stript of all the Eastern valuables and rarities that he was carrying home.

Notwithstanding these disagreeable experiences, Marignolli appears to recur again and again with fascination to his recollections of Ceylon, and they occupy altogether a considerable space in these notices. The Terrestrial Paradise, if not identified in Marignolli's mind with a part of the island (for his expressions are hazy and ambiguous), is at least closely adjacent, and sheds a delicious influence over all its atmosphere and productions. This idea is indeed so prominent that a short explanatory digression on the subject will not be inappropriate.

It was in the west that the ancients dreamed of sacred and happy islands, where the golden age had survived the deluge of corruption. But it was to the opposite quarter that the legends of the middle ages pointed, building as they did upon that garden which was planted "eastward in Eden"; and though it was in sailing west that Columbus thought he had found the skirts of Paradise near the mouths of Orinoco, it must be remembered that he was only seeking the "far East" by a shorter route.

What has been written on the Terrestrial Paradise would probably fill a respectable library. Marignolli's idea

of it was evidently the same as that which seems to have been generally entertained in his age, viz., that of a great mountain rising in ineffable tranquillity and beauty far above all other earthly things, from which came tumbling down a glorious cataract, dividing at the foot into four great rivers, which somehow or other, underground or over, found their several ways to the channels of Hiddekel and Euphrates, and of such other two streams as might be identified with Gihon and Phison. This mountain was frequently believed to rise to the sphere of the moon, an opinion said to be maintained even by such men as Augustine and Bede[1].

The localities assigned to Paradise have been infinitely various. Old oriental tradition was satisfied to place it in Ceylon; but western belief more commonly regarded it as in the more extreme east, where John of Hese professes to have seen it. Cosmas, again, considered it to lie with the antediluvian world beyond the ocean which encompasses the oblong plateau of the earth that we inhabit. Father Filippo the Carmelite thinks it lay probably in the bosom of Ararat, whilst Ariosto seems to identify it with Kenia or Kilimanjaro,—

> "Il monte ond' esce il gran fiume d' Egitto
> . . . . . .
> Ch' oltre alle nubi e presso al ciel si leva;
> Era quel Paradiso che terrestre
> Si dice, ove abitò già Adamo ed Eva."—(xxxiii, 109, 110.)

The map of Andrea Bianchi, at Venice, agrees with Marignolli, for it shows *Paradiso Terrestre* adjoining Cape

[1] "*Joannes Hopkinsonius*," however, who has disserted upon Paradise, judiciously stigmatizes this as a manifest figment. For, quoth he, is not the height of the moon according to Ptolemy and Alphraganus, seventeen times the earth's diameter; and would not such a mountain therefore require for a base *at least* the whole superficies of the terrestrial hemisphere, and deprive us of a great part of the sun's light? Joannes Tostatus therefore is more reasonable when he says that Paradise does not quite reach the moon, but rises into the third region of the air, and is higher than all other mountains of the earth by twenty cubits! (The same John thinks Paradise was or

Comorin, whilst the four rivers are exhibited as flowing up the centre of India,—one into the north of the Caspian, near *Agrican* (Astracan, viz., the Volga); a second into the south of the Caspian, near Jilan (Araxes?); a third into the Gulf of Scanderoon (Orontes?); and the fourth, Euphrates[1].

Some other old maps and fictitious voyagers, such as John of Hese, assign a terrestrial position also to Purgatory. Dante, it will be remembered, has combined the sites of Purgatory and of the earthly Paradise, making the latter the delightful summit of the mountain whose steep sides are girt with the successive circles of purification.

And to conclude this matter in the words of Bishop Huet of Avranches: "Some have placed the terrestrial Paradise...under the arctic pole; some in Tartary, on the site occupied now by the Caspian; some at the extreme south, in Terra del Fuego; many in the East, as on the banks of the Ganges, in the island of Ceylon, in China, beyond the sun-rising, in a place no longer habitable. Others in America, in Africa, in the equinoctial orient, under the equator, on the Mountains of the Moon. Most have set it in Asia; but of these, some in Armenia Major, some in Mesopotamia, in Assyria, in Persia, in Babylonia, in Arabia, in Syria, in Palestine. Some even would stand up for our own Europe; and some, passing all bounds of

is about twelve miles long, and some thirty-six or forty in compass.) Of his mind is Ariosto when he speaks of

"La cima
Che *non lontana* con la superba balza
Dal cerchio della Luna esser si stima."—(xxxiv, 48.)

(See *Hopkinsonius*, etc., in *Ugolini*, as quoted below, vii, pp. dcxi-xiii-xiv.)

[1] "The summit of Meru is the city of Brahma...The holy river of Ganges issuing from the foot of Vishnu and washing the moon, falls here from the skies, and after encircling the city of Brahma divides into four mighty rivers, flowing in opposite directions. These are on the north the Indus...on the east the Sanpo or Brahmaputra..., on the west the Sutlej..., on the south the Karnali...". (C. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet*, Lond., 1906, pp. 44-45.).

nonsense, have placed it at Hesdin in Artois, urging the resemblance to *Eden*[1]."

How, or in what company, Marignolli quitted Ceylon, he leaves untold. We only gather from very slight and incidental notices that he must have sailed to Hormuz, and afterwards travelled by the ruins of Babylon to Baghdad, Mosul, Edessa, Aleppo, and thence to Damascus, Galilee, and Jerusalem. The sole further trace of him on his way to Italy, is that he seems to have touched at Cyprus.

In 1353, according to Wadding, he arrived at Avignon, bringing a letter from the Khan to the Pope (now Innocent VI), in which the monarch was made to express the greatest esteem for the Christian faith, to acknowledge the subjection of his Christian lieges to the Pope, and to ask for more missionaries.

It was probably during the visit of the Emperor Charles IV[2] to Italy in 1354, to be crowned by the Pope at Rome, that he became acquainted with Marignolli, and made him one of his domestic chaplains. To this he was perhaps induced by curiosity to hear at leisure the relations of one who had travelled to the world's end; for, though mean in moral character, Charles was a man of intelligence, and an encourager of learning and the useful arts[3].

In 1354 also the Pope rewarded our traveller with the

[1] *F. D. Huetii, Episc. Abrinc. Tract. de Situ Paradisi Terrest.* in *Ugolini, Thesaurus Antiq. Sacr.*, Venet., 1747, vii, p. dii. Also Cosmas in *Montfaucon, Coll. Nova Patrum*, ii, 131; *Peregrin. Joannis Hesei*, etc., *Antv.*, 1565, etc.

[2] Charles, son of John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, the blind warrior who fell at Crecy, was born on [16th May] 1316, and on [19th July] 1346 was elected emperor in place of the excommunicated Lewis of Bavaria.

[3] Dobner was not able to find the appointment of Marignolli among the archives of Charles's court at Prague, though he found several other nominations to that dignity, viz., as "*consiliarius, capellanus, familiaris et commensalis domesticus.*"

bishopric of Bisignano in Calabria[1]. The bishop, however seems to have been in no hurry to reside there; thinking perhaps that a man who had spent so many years of his life in travelling to Cathay and back, might well be excused from passing the whole of those that remained to him in the wilds of Calabria. He seems to have accompanied the Emperor on his return from Italy to his paternal dominions[2]; whilst in 1356 we find him at Avignon, acting as envoy to the Pope from the republic of Florence; and in 1357 he is traced at Bologna by his grant of indulgence privileges to one of the churches in that city[3].

It was, no doubt, during Marignolli's visit to Prague that the Emperor desired him to undertake the task of recasting the *Annals of Bohemia*. Charles would have shewn a great deal more sense if he had directed his

[1] 12th May, 1354 (*Ughelli, Italia Sacra*, as above). ["12. Fr. JOANNES ex nobili Marignolla familia satus, patria Florentinus, professione Franciscanus, Christophoro in Episcopatu successit ann. 1354. 4. idus Maij ut ex regesto Vatic. eruitur. Hic insignis S. Crucis monasterii Florentini alumnus extitit, ob doctrinae famam, familiaeq; claritatem ad hunc Episcopatum evolavit; quanto postea tempore vixerit me latet...." (*Ughelli, Italia Sacra*, i, col. 522, *Bisinianenses Episcopi.*)] The small episcopal city of Bisignano, supposed to have been the ancient Besidiæ, stands on a hill to the east of the post-road between Castrovillari and Cosenza. It gives the title of prince to the Sanseverino family (*Murray*). Wadding notices the appointment of a Friar John to this bishopric, but seems not to have known that it was the legate whose return from Cathay he had recorded.

[2] Marignolli's most distinct mention of having been at Prague is found at p. 136 (of Dobner), in introducing a chapter entitled "*Miraculum de Incisione digiti Sancti Nicolai.*" He says this finger was sent to the Emperor with other reliques by the Pope, "and it will not be irrelevant to state," he proceeds, "a new miracle which mine own eyes have seen and mine own hands have handled," etc.; and then tells his story about blood flowing when the Emperor pricked the finger, etc. Now, according to Dobner, Hagecius a Bohemian chronicler ascribes this story to 1353. This is probably wrong, otherwise the Emperor must have called Marignolli to Prague previous to his own visit to Italy.

[3] *Sbaralea*, as above. In the grant of indulgence he speaks of himself as administering for Richard Archbishop of Nazareth, a brother of his order. The diocese of Nazareth, created in honour of the name, had a scattered jurisdiction chiefly in the kingdom of Naples. (*Ughelli*, vol. vii.)

chaplain to write a detailed narrative of his own eastern experiences. However, let us be thankful for what we have. The essential part of the task set him was utterly repugnant to the Tuscan churchman.[1] He drew back, as he says himself, "from the thorny thickets and tangled brakes of the Bohemian chronicles"; from "the labyrinthine jungle of strange names, the very utterance of which was an impossibility to his Florentine tongue." And so he consoled himself under the disagreeable duty imposed on him, by interpolating his chronicles, *à propos de bottes*, with the recollections of his Asiatic travels, or with the notions they had given him of Asiatic geography. It might have been hard, perhaps, to drag these into a mere chronicle of Bohemia; but in those days every legitimate chronicle began from Adam at latest, and it would have been strange if this did not afford latitude for the introduction of any of Adam's posterity.

Chronicle and reminiscences alike slept in Prague cloister dust for some four centuries. During all that time Marignolli's name as a Bohemian chronicler is only twice alluded to, and that by authors strange to nearly all beyond Bohemian boundaries; one of whom, moreover, does not seem to have read him[1]. It was not till 1768 that he became accessible to the world in the second volume of unpublished monuments of Bohemian history, edited by the Reverend Gelasius Dobner, member of an educational order[2]. Dobner's qualifications for dealing with Bohemian history were probably superior to what he

[1] These are, according to Dobner, Hagecius, and Marthias Bolesluzky, a historian of the seventeenth century.

[2] *Monumenta Historica Boemiæ nusquam antehac edita*, etc., *Collegit*, etc., P. Gelasius Dobner a S. Catharina, *e Clericis Regularibus Scholarum Piarum*, tom. i, Prague, 1764; tom. ii, *ib.*, 1768, 4to.

Observationes praeviae in Chronicon Marignolae, ii, pp. 68-78.

Chronicon Reverendissimi Joannis dicti de Marignolis de Florentia Ordinis Minorum Bysinianensis Episcopi, gloriosae memoriae Imperatoris Caroli IV. Imperialis Aulae Capellani, ii, pp. 79-282.

exhibits in commenting on Asiatic travels and geography. His notes on the latter subjects are often astonishing indeed, and are calculated amply to justify the foresight of his godfathers and godmothers in the name they gave him.

But though the account of Marignolli's journeys became thus *accessible* to the world, it only transferred its sleep from manuscript to type; for no one seems to have discovered these curious interpolations in a Bohemian chronicle till 1820, when an interesting paper on the subject was published by Mr. J G. Meinert in the Transactions of the Scientific Society of Bohemia[1]. He adopted the plan of extracting from Dobner all that bore upon Marignolli's travels, and then rearranging the passages in as orderly and continuous a form as they admitted of, accompanying the whole with an intelligent commentary.

An essay on Marignolli's travels has also been published by Professor Kunstmann in his series of papers already alluded to[2]. To both of these articles I have been indebted for occasional suggestions, and especially for indications of some of the illustrative sources which I have followed up. But my work was far advanced before I met with Kunstmann[3].

The time when Marignolli digested the chronicles, and salted them with his recollections, cannot be precisely determined. All that can be said positively is, that it was *after* his nomination as bishop (for that dignity is specified

[1] *Abhandl. der K. Böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. vii. "Johannes von Marignola minderen Bruders und Päbstlichen Legaten Reise in das Morgenland v. J. 1339–1353.—Aus dem Latein übersetzt, geordnet und erläutert von J. G. Meinert." Prag, 1820, 8vo, pp. 108.

[Cf. Notice sur la relation du frère Jean de Marignola, par M. le Baron de Férussac. (*Bul. Soc. Géog.* ii, 1824, pp. 115–120.)]

[2] See p. 88.

[3] [Another essay on Marignolli has been written by Mr. R. Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geog.*, iii, 1906, pp. 288-309, with quotations from, and references to the text in the *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum* (1882), vol. iii, pp. 492–604.]

in the title and body of the chronicle, see p. 209), and *previous* to the death of Innocent VI, of whom he speaks in the last paragraph of his book as still reigning; *i.e.*, between May 1354 and September 1362. But there can be little doubt that he wrote the book during his visit to Prague in 1354 or 1355.

It has been already said that Marignolli must have been an old man when he wrote these recollections; and I think readers will assent to this, though it has been found impossible in the translation to avoid softening his peculiarities. There are often vivid remembrance and graphic description of what he has seen; but these are combined with the incontinent vanity of something like second childhood, and with an incoherent lapse from one subject to another, matched by nothing in literature except the conversation of Mrs. Nickleby. His Latin is of a bad sort of badness. The Latin of Jordanus is bad in one sense. When he says "*istud ales quod vocatur rhinocerunta*," he utters almost as many blunders as words; but he is nearly always perfectly and vividly intelligible. The Latin of Marignolli is bad because it is the hazy expression of confused thoughts[1]. The supposition that Marignolli was at

[1] As an example of Marignolli's incoherence take the original of a passage in Dobner, p. 100 (see below, in chapter *Concerning Clothing of our First Parents*):

"Ideo videtur sine assercione dicendum, quod non peliiceas tunicas est legendum, sed *filiceas*. Nam inter folia *nargillorum*, de quibus supra dictum est, nascuntur fila ad modum tele, staminis quasi grossi, et rari sicci, de quibus eciam hodie fiunt apud illos et apud Judeos vestes pro pluvia rusticorum, qui vocantur camalli, portantes seu onera, et eciam homines et mulieres portant super scapulas in lecticis, de quibus in Canticis; ferculum fecit sibi *Salomon* de lignis *Lybani*, id est lectulum portatilem, sicut portabar ego in *Zayton*, et in India. Unam talem vestem de filis illis camallorum, non camelorum, portavi ego usque *Florenciam*, et dimisi in sacristia Minorum similem vesti *Johannis baptiste*. Nam pili camelorum sunt delicacior lana, que sit in mundo post sericum. Fui enim aliquando cum infinitis camelis et pullis camelorum in deserto vastissimo descendendo de *Babilon* confusionis versus *Egiptum* per viam *Damasci* cum *Arabibus* infinitis. Nec in *Seyllano* sunt cameli, sed elephantes innumeri, qui licet sint ferocissimi, raro tamen nocent homini peregrino. Ego equitavi super

this time advanced in years, and moreover not looked on as very wise in his generation, is confirmed by a curious letter bearing to be addressed to him by a Bishop of Armagh, which Dobner turned up among the records of the Emperor Charles's time in the Metropolitan chapter library at Prague. It may be gathered from the letter that some intention had been intimated, on the part of higher ecclesiastical authorities, of sending Marignolli to Ireland in connexion with questions then in debate with the writer. The wrath of the latter seems to have been sorely stirred at this intimation, and he turns up the lawn sleeves and brandishes the shillelagh in the following style of energetic metaphor. We can hardly read the letter without a feeling that it ought to have been dated from Tuam rather than Armagh. But the writer turns out to have been one who had high claims to respect[1].

"Reverend Father and very dear Friend!

"What those honourable gentlemen — De —, and — De — have told of your behaviour is anything but fitting in a man of your grey hairs and superior pretensions. And the message which your Reverence sent me by them is a poor sample of your prudence.

"By the help of the Lord and the right that was on my side did not I exterminate ———, the flower of your Order? Have not I bate him already in fair fight, and am I going to stand in fear of any of the rest of ye? Sure nothing is deficient in the present conjuncture, but that the conquering

unum Regine *Sabe*, qui videbatur habere usum racionis, si non esset contra fidem."

[1] Some local colour has seemed necessary to do justice to this letter in translation, so I subjoin the latter part as a sample of the original:—"...Veniat igitur inveteratus ille Bisanensis Episcopus, veniat: quis ille, qui se Apostolum Orientis in Curiâ Cesaris ampulose denominat, ut experiatur in opere, quid sompnia sua sibi prodesse valeant. Nam si canum latrancium juventuti intersit vincula, nostre provisionis industria facile quidem palpitantem senio molossum ligare curabimus, cui jam neque vocis claritas, neque sciencie habilitas suffragantur." [Dobner, ii, p. 74.]

hero should receive the prize, and that by the blessing of God the crown of victory should descend to decorate his troyumphant brows!

"A rich recompense must abide the pen which eradicated the briars and thorns from the garden of Holy Church, which sent the ugly faction of error to the right-about, and cleared the street for Catholic Truth to walk in!

"*I* am not afraid of your Reverence's coming. 'Tis not likely that the prospect of having you for antagonist would frighten *me;* me, who tore to rags the sophistries of the Englishmen, Okkam[1] and Burley[2], and the like, when they tried to spread a flimsy veil over the web of lies that they were weaving; me who had stopped their bootless barking with the words of piety and truth! Let him come on then (say we), that old beggar of a Bisignano Bishop! Let him come on! We'll take the measure of him, though he does paycock about the Kaisar's Court and call himself (save the mark) the Aposthle of the East! We'll let him find out what good his doting dreams will do him in a practical question. 'Twill be a pity if I, who have muzzled a whole pack of yelping hounds, find it a hard matter to put a collar on a poor old wheezing tyke, who has scarcely a bark left in him, and never had the least repute for brains!"

[1] William Ockham or Occam, an English Franciscan, very eminent among the schoolmen [born in Surrey]. He was provincial of his order in England, and as such took a prominent part at a council held at Assisi in 1322 in support of the strict obligation to poverty. It was perhaps on this question that he had been at war with the Archbishop of Armagh. Ockham took part with Corbarius the Antipope, and was excommunicated by John XXII [in 1330]. He took refuge with the Emperor Lewis the Bavarian, who was under the like ban, and died at an advanced age at the convent of his order in Munich [on the 7th April] 1347. (*Cave*, App., p. 28; *Biog. Universelle.*)

["His death cannot have occurred before 1349, but it is unlikely that he long survived that year." (*Dict. of Nation. Biog.*)]

[2] Walter Burley, another eminent English Schoolman, and tutor to the Black Prince, born at Oxford 1275, died 1357 (some say 1337).

["Burley was certainly alive later than 1337, as he wrote his treatise on Aristotle's 'Politics' at the request of Richard Bentworth, bishop of London (1338–9), who was not consecrated till July 1338." (*Dict. of Nation. Biog.*)]

Dobner does not identify the writer of this letter, but there can be no doubt that it was Richard Fitz Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, a strenuous adversary of the Franciscans and other mendicant orders, who however proved too strong for him at last, and brought him into trouble which he did not survive[1].

This is the last that we can trace of Marignolli. The time of his death is unknown; nor has even the date of his successor's nomination to Bisignano been recovered, so as to fix it approximately[2].

[1] A native of Dundalk; he was held in high esteem by Edward III, and became successively Professor of Theology at Oxford, Chancellor of the University (1333), Dean of Lichfield (1337), and Archbishop of Armagh (8th July 1347). In his constant war against the friars we are told that "*eorum vanam et superbam paupertatem Oxonii in lecturis theologicis* salse vellificare solebat; *episcopus vero factus* acriori calamo confixit"; statements which from the style of his letter can be well believed. They also appear to disprove the allegation of Wadding that Fitz Ralph's enmity to the friars first arose out of the resistance of the Franciscans of Armagh to a piece of injustice on the part of the archbishop.

Some sermons which he preached in London in 1356 against the friars and the profession of voluntary poverty gave great offence. They accused him of heresy, and had him cited to Avignon (1357) where he was long detained. The questions perhaps involved very serious consequences to those who rashly stirred them, for only four years before, two Franciscans, for holding wrong opinions concerning the principle of poverty (though probably in a direction opposite to Fitz Ralph's) had been burnt to death in the Pope's own city of Avignon. So the archbishop seeing that the authorities were going against him, retired (according to Wadding) to Belgium, probably on his way to England, and died there 16th December, 1359 or 1360; (Cave says, however, that he died at Avignon, 13th November, 1360 [and the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, probably 16 Nov. 1360]).

It is pleasant to see that when Luke Wadding the Franciscan annalist treats of this worthy, the Irishman is stronger in him than the Friar. "Some," he says, "have counted Fitz Ralph a heretic, but undeservedly; he sinned more from exuberant intellect than from perversity of will." He was deemed a saint in Ireland. His best title to the respect of posterity rests on his claim to have translated the Scriptures into Irish; the whole, according to Fox; the New Testament, according to Bale. He left many other works, chiefly controversial, of which some have been printed. One discourse which he delivered at Avignon in defence of his sermons against the friars may be seen in the *Monarchia Sacri Rom. Imperii* of Goldastus. (*Wadding, An. Min.*, viii, an. 1357, § 4–9; *Cave, Script. Eccl.*, Oxon., 1743, in *Append.*); *Baluzii Vit. Pap. Avenion.* i, 323; *Goldasti*, etc., ii, p. 1392; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*)

[2] *Ughelli*, u. s.

It only remains to say a word about the MSS. of Marignolli's chronicle. That from which Dobner edited the work is described as a paper folio, written partly at the end of the fourteenth century and partly at the beginning of the fifteenth. It was then in the Library of the Brethren of the Cross, or Passionists, in the old town of Prague; but when Meinert wrote his essay it had been transferred to the Royal University Library. This MS. was supposed to be unique, but in the St. Mark's Library at Venice I have seen a partial copy, apparently of the fifteenth century, embracing all the most important part of the Asiatic notices[1]. Its differences from Dobner's edition were very trifling, and it contained the same error as to the date of the legation's departure from Avignon. But it has given distinctly the reading of a few names which had probably been misread by Dobner, such as *Manci* and *Mangi* where he read *Maugi, Mynibar* where he read *Nymbar, Thana* for *Chana*, with a very few other differences of more doubtful character.

[1] Bibl. Marciana, Class. x, Codd. Latt. clxxxviii, ff. 243–263. It ends with that chapter of the second book which treats of Roman history. The volume contains a variety of other transcripts connected with Papal and Bohemian history.

—Monumenta Historica Boemiae nusquam antehac edita...Collegit ...P. Gelasius Dobner a S. Catharina e Clericis Regularibus Scholarum Piarum. i, Pragae, 1764; ii, 1768, 2 vols. 4to.

—Johannes von Marignola minderen Bruders und Päbstlichen Legaten Reise in das Morgenland v. J. 1339–1353. Aus dem Latein übersetzt, geordnet und erläutert von J. G. Meinert....Für die *Abhandlungen der K. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.* Prag, 1820, in 8vo, pp. 108.

Abstract Vol. vii, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Historischer Theil. Prag, 1822.

—Notice sur la relation du frère Jean de Marignola, par M. le Baron de Férussac. (*Bull. de la Soc. de Géog.*, ii, 1824, pp. 115–120.)

—Die Missionen in Indien und China im vierzehnten Jahrhundert. (*G. Phillips, und G. Görres, Historisch-Politische Blätter für das Katholische Deutschland*, München, 1856, 1 Bd.)—I. Die Mission in Meliapor und Tana, pp. 25–38.—II. Die Mission in Columbo, pp. 135–152.—III. Die Mission in China, pp. 225–252.—(*Ibid.*, 1856, II Bd.)—IV. Der Missionsbericht des Odoricus von Pordenone, pp. 507–537.—V. Der Reisebericht des Johannes Marignola, pp. 701–719, 793–813.—(*Ibid.*, 1859, 1 Bd.) Die Mission in China, pp. 677–681.

By Prof. F. Kunstmann.

—Dal Chronicon boemorum di Giovanni de' Marignolli Fiorentino vescovo di Bisignano. (Angelo de Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie orientali*, 1875, pp. 142–150.)

Rep. by Marcellino da Civezza, pp. 372–383 of his *Saggio di Bibliografia Sanfrancescana*, 1879.

—Amat di S. Filippo. *Studi biografici e bibliografici.* Edizione seconda. Roma, 1882, i, pp. 103–109.

—R. Beazley. *Dawn of Modern Geography*, iii, 1906, pp. 288–309.

RECOLLECTIONS OF TRAVEL IN THE EAST, BY JOHN DE' MARIGNOLLI,

PAPAL LEGATE TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KHAN, AND AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF BISIGNANO

THE author begins by announcing his intention of dividing his work into Three Books, viz. I. *Thearchos*, or the History of the World from the Creation to the Building of Babel; II. *Monarchos*, or the History of Kings, from Nimrod down to the Franks and Germans, and so to the Kingdom of Bohemia; III. *Ierarchos*, or the Ecclesiastical History, from Melchizedek to Moses and Aaron, to the Foundation of Christianity, and so to the Roman Pontiffs and the Bishops of Bohemia in order.

After speaking of the Creation the author comes to treat of Paradise, "Eastward in the place called Eden, beyond India," and this launches him at once on his reminiscences as follows:

And now to insert some brief passages of what I have seen myself. I, Friar John of Florence, of the order of Minors, and now unworthy Bishop of Bisignano, was sent with certain others, in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and thirty [eight][1], by the holy Pope Benedict the Eleventh[2], to carry letters and presents from the

[1] In both MSS. this is *tricesimo quarto*, but beyond question from a clerical error, as there is no doubt about the true year. Probably in the original MS. VIII was taken for IIII.

[2] *Undecimo* in the Venice MS.; Dobner has *duodecimo*. This Pope is sometimes XI, sometimes XII; Benedict X being in the latter case an antipope. [Benedict X, antipope (1058–1059); B. XI, Saint, Nicolas Bicassini (1303–1304); B. XII, Jacques de Novelles, called Fournier (1334–1342).]

apostolic see to the Kaan or chief Emperor of all the Tartars, a sovereign who holds the sway of nearly half the eastern world, and whose power and wealth, with the multitude of cities and provinces and languages under him, and the countless number, as I may say, of the nations over which he rules, pass all telling.

We set out from Avignon in the month of December, came to Naples in the beginning of Lent, and stopped there till Easter (which fell at the end of March), waiting for a ship of Genoa, which was coming with the Tartar envoys whom the Kaan had sent from his great city of Cambalec to the Pope, to request the latter to despatch an embassy to his court, whereby communication might be established, and a treaty of alliance struck between him and the Christians; for he greatly loves and honours our faith. Moreover the chief princes of his whole empire, more than thirty thousand in number, who are called Alans, and govern the whole Orient, are Christians either in fact or in name, calling themselves *the Pope's slaves*, and ready to die for the *Franks*. For so they term us, not indeed from France, but from Frank-land[1]. Their first apostle was Friar John, called De Monte Corvino, who seventy-two years previously, after having been soldier, judge, and doctor in the service of the Emperor Frederic, had become a Minor Friar, and a most wise and learned one[2].

[1] "*Non a Francia sed a Franquia.*"

["Summi eciam principes sui Imperii tocius, plus quam triginta millia, qui vocantur *Alani*, & totum gubernant imperium orientis, sunt *Christiani*, re vel nomine, & dicunt se *Sclavos Pape*, parati mori pro *franquis*, sic enim vocant nos, non a *francia*, sed a *franquia*." Dobner, ii, p. 85.]

[2] "*Qui primo miles, judex et doctor Friderici Imperatoris post* lxxii *annos factus frater Minor.*" A perplexing passage, owing to some error of the author's. Montecorvino could have been but three years old when Frederick II died in 1250. Dobner and Meinert assume that Marignolli *meant* John de Plano Carpini, who went on a mission from Pope Innocent IV to Tartary in 1246; but *he* was no apostle of Cathay; nor does there seem reason for believing that he was ever soldier or judge. No doubt one takes a liberty in rendering

Howbeit on the first of May we arrived by sea at Constantinople, and stopped at Pera till the feast of St. John Baptist[1]. We had no idle time of it however, for we were engaged in a most weighty controversy with the Patriarch of the Greeks and their whole Council in the palace of St. Sophia. And there God wrought in us a new miracle, giving us a mouth and wisdom which they were not able to resist; for they were constrained to confess that they must needs be schismatics, and had no plea to urge against their own condemnation except the intolerable arrogance of the Roman prelates[2].

Thence we sailed across the Black Sea, and in eight days arrived at Caffa, where there are Christians of many sects. From that place we went on to the first Emperor of the Tartars, Usbec, and laid before him the letters which we bore[3], with certain pieces of cloth, a great war-horse,

"post lxxii annos" by "seventy-two years previously"; but if it does not mean that, *what* does it mean? In 1266, which would be seventy-two years previous to 1338, John of Montecorvino was about twenty years old and might have become a friar. The Venice MS. has "*pts* lxxii *annos*," but I find no light in that.

[1] 24th June 1339.

[2] Five years before this two bishops had come from Rome to argue the point with the Patriarch. The latter was in great trouble, for the public mind was excited on the matter, and he was himself "unaccustomed to public speaking," whilst he knew most of his bishops to be grossly ignorant and incapable. (*Nicephori Gregoriæ* Hist. Byzant., x, 8.) No wonder that Marignolli carried all before him with antagonists so painted by their own friends.

Mandeville relates how, to Pope John XXII's invitations to come under his authority, the Greeks "sent back divers answers, amongst others saying thus: 'We believe well that thy power is great upon thy subjects. We may not suffer thy great pride. We are not in purpose to fulfil thy great covetousness. The Lord be with thee; for our Lord is with us. Farewell!' And no other answer might he have of them." (P. 136.) Many efforts were made to unite the churches from the time of Michael Palæologus, whose ambassador at the Council of Lyons in 1274 acknowledged the Pope's supremacy, to the time of John Palæologus, who in 1438 made a like acknowledgment. But these acts were never accepted by the Greek Church or people.

[3] The legates had letters from the Pope for Uzbek himself, for his eldest son Tanibek, and to a certain Franciscan, Elias the Hungarian, who was in favour with the latter. (See *Wadding* as before; and Append. to *Mosheim*, Nos. 81, 85, 86.)

some strong liquor[1], and the Pope's presents. And after the winter was over, having been well fed, well clothed, loaded with handsome presents, and supplied by the King with horses and travelling expenses, we proceeded to ARMALEC [the capital] of the Middle Empire. There we built a church, bought a piece of ground, dug wells[2], sung masses and baptized several; preaching freely and openly, notwithstanding the fact that only the year before the Bishop and six other Minor Friars had there undergone for Christ's sake a glorious martyrdom, illustrated by brilliant miracles. The names of these martyrs were Friar Richard the Bishop, a Burgundian by nation, Friar Francis of Alessandria, Friar Paschal of Spain (this one was a prophet and saw the heavens open, and foretold the martyrdom which should befall him and his brethren, and the overthrow of the Tartars of Saray by a flood, and the destruction of Armalec in vengeance for their martyrdom, and that the Emperor would be slain on the third day after their martyrdom, and many other glorious things); Friar Laurence of Ancona, Friar Peter, an Indian friar who acted as their interpreter, and Gillott [Gilottus], a merchant[3].

[1] The word in Dobner is *Cytiacam*, which I can trace nowhere. That editor's note is: "Seu *zythiacam*, i.e. liquorem causticum, vulgo *rosoglio*," etc. But ζῦθος means drink of the beer genus. The Venice MS. has *Tyriacam*, probably for *Theriacam*. I imagine however that Dobner is substantially right, and that something strong and sweet is meant. Rubruquis, nearly a century before, took with him for Uzbek's ancestors *vinum muscatel*.

[2] "*Ubi fecimus ecclesiam, emimus aream*, fecimus fontes, *cantavimus missas*, etc." The *fontes* are not very intelligible. Prof. Kunstmann suggests *fonticum* (Ital. *fondaco*) for fontes, which is possible, as that word is blundered in another passage of this MS.

[3] On these Armalec martyrs see *ante*, p. 31 *seqq*. The statement of Marignolli that their death took place the year before his arrival, appears to fix it to 1339, instead of 1340 or later as stated by ecclesiastical chroniclers. Dobner goes eminently astray here, confounding these Franciscans, martyred in Turkestan in the fourteenth century, with those Franciscans who were martyred in Japan in the seventeenth, and whose formal canonization lately made so much noise. Accordingly he thinks it probable that Armalec was one of the Islands of Japan, and Saray another!

Towards the end of the third year after our departure from the Papal Court, quitting Armalec we came to the CYOLLOS KAGON, i.e. to the Sand Hills thrown up by the wind. Before the days of the Tartars nobody believed that the earth was habitable beyond these, nor indeed was it believed that there was any country at all beyond. But the Tartars by God's permission, and with wonderful exertion, did cross them, and found themselves in what the philosophers call the torrid and impassable zone[1]. Pass it however the Tartars did; and so did I, and that twice. 'Tis of this that David speaketh in the Psalms, '*Posuit desertum*,' &c.[2] After having passed it we came to CAMBALEC, the chief seat of the Empire of the East. Of its incredible magnitude, population, and military array, we will say nothing[3]. But the Grand Kaam, when he beheld the great horses, and the Pope's presents, with

[1] It is not quite clear whether he intends that *Cyollos Kagon* (or *Kagan* in Ven. MS.) *signifies* Sandhills. [" *Cyollos Kagon*, id est, ad montes arene, quos faciunt venti, ultra quos ante Thartaros nullus putavit terram habitabilem, nec putabatur ultra aliquam terram esse." Dobner, ii, p. 86.] Their position is evidently to be sought on the northern verge of the Gobi, which is his Torrid Zone, and probably among those to the north-east of Kamul. Hereabouts indeed, in a Chinese work on Turkestan, we find repeated mention of the *Sha-Shan* or "Sand Mountains," from which flows one source of the Barkul Nur, north of Kamil. (See *Julien* in *N. Ann. des Voyages*, 1846, iii, 37–44.) One of the reports translated in *The Russians in Central Asia* (London, 1865, p. 111), speaking of the desert says: "From this region (about Yarkand) it gradually widens as it runs eastward, where it forms the vast Gobi, devoid of all vegetation... where the sand is heaped up in such lofty ridges that the inhabitants give them the name of '*Gag*' (mountain)." If this be no misprint we have here perhaps one element of the name used by Marignolli, and in the Turkish and Persian *Chûl*, a desert, written by Vambery *Tchöl* and *Tchöle*, we have perhaps the other.

[2] "*Posuit Desertum in stagna*" (*Ps.* cvi, our cvii, 35). Probably his twice having passed the Torrid Zone is explained rightly by Meinert's suggestion that Marignolli regarded the Syrian desert, which he crossed on his return to Europe, as only another part of the same belt of desolation. That the Torrid Zone was uninhabitable was maintained, as is well known, by Aristotle and many other philosophers.

[3] The author's expression is, "*de cujus magnitudine incredibili et populo*, ordine militum sileatur," of which I greatly doubt my having given a correct interpretation.

his letter, and King Robert's too, with their golden seals, and when he saw us also, rejoiced greatly, being delighted, yea exceedingly delighted with everything, and treated us with the greatest honour[1]. And when I entered the Kaam's presence it was in full festival vestments, with a very fine cross carried before me, and candles and incense, whilst *Credo in Unum Deum* was chaunted, in that glorious palace where he dwells. And when the chaunt was ended I bestowed a full benediction, which he received with all humility[2].

And so we were dismissed to one of the Imperial apartments which had been most elegantly fitted up for us; and two princes were appointed to attend to all our wants. And this they did in the most liberal manner, not merely as regards meat and drink, but even down to such things as paper for lanterns, whilst all necessary servants also were detached from the Court to wait upon us. And so they tended us for nearly four years[3], never failing to treat us

[1] It is pleasing to find that though our legate has no place in the Chinese Annals, the "great horses" (*dextrarii*), which he took with him, have. Under our year 1342 it is recorded that there were presented to the emperor horses of the kingdom of Fulang (*Farang*, Europe), of a race till then unknown in China. One of these horses was eleven feet six inches in length and six feet eight inches high, and was black all over, except the hind feet, which were white. This present was highly esteemed. (*De Mailla*, ix, 579, and *Gaubil, Hist. de Gentchis Can*, etc., p. 279.) Indeed Gaubil tells us in another work, "In the Imperial Palace is preserved with care a picture in which Shun Ti, the last emperor of the Yuen dynasty, is represented on a fine horse, of which all the dimensions are detailed. It is remarked that this horse was presented to Shun Ti by a foreigner of the kingdom of France" (! No, Père Gaubil, *non a Francia sed a Franquia*!) See *Tr. de la Chronol. Chin.*, p. 186. This vast animal was surely the prototype of the Destrier, which Mr. Millais painted under Sir Ysenbras some years ago.

[Prof. Pelliot has a good many documents drawn from Chinese sources about this great horse, and he can trace the picture in the Imperial Palace up to the beginning of the nineteenth century.]

[2] [From Chinese sources, Pelliot has come to the conclusion that Marignolli's audience took place on the 19th August, 1342.]

[3] *Annos quasi quatuor*, whilst a little below he speaks of residing in Cambalec *annis quasi tribus*. It is possible that the first expression includes the whole time up to his embarking for India, but it cannot be determined.

with unbounded respect. And I should add that they kept us and all our establishment clothed in costly raiment. And considering that we were thirty-two persons, what the Kaam expended for everything on our account must have amounted, as well as I can calculate, to more than four thousand marks. And we had many and glorious disputations with the Jews and other sectaries[1]; and we made also a great harvest of souls in that empire.

The Minor Friars in Cambalec have a cathedral church immediately adjoining the palace[2], with a proper residence for the Archbishop, and other churches in the city besides, and they have bells too, and all the clergy have their subsistence from the Emperor's table in the most honourable manner.

And when the Emperor saw that nothing would induce me to abide there, he gave me leave to return to the Pope, carrying presents from him, with an allowance for three years' expenses, and with a request that either I or some one else should be sent speedily back with the rank of Cardinal, and with full powers, to be Bishop there[3]; for the office of Bishop is highly venerated by all the Orientals, whether they be Christians or no. He should also be of the Minorite Order, because these are the only priests that they are acquainted with; and they think that the Pope is always of that Order because Pope Girolamo was so who sent them that legate whom the Tartars and Alans venerate as

[1] Of the ancient settlement of Jews in China, said to have taken place in the third century B.C., though others name a later date, some notice will be found in the *J. R. G. S.*, xxvii, 297. See also *Silv. de Sacy* in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. iv, and *Alvaro Semedo*, *Rel. della Cina*, 1643, p. 193, etc. [See a bibliography of the Jews in China in Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 1354–1360, and an article by the same author in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.]

[2] See the building of this mentioned by Archbishop John in his letter at p. 55.

[3] A cardinal never came to China till the early part of the eighteenth century (Mezzabarba), and his mission did not prosper. [Mezzabarba was not a cardinal when he went out to China.]

a saint, viz., Friar John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minorites, of whom we have already spoken[1].

We abode in Cambalec about three years, and then we took our way through MANZI[2], with a magnificent provision for our expenses from the Emperor, besides about two hundred horses; and on our way we beheld the glory of this world in such a multitude of cities, towns, and villages, and in other ways displayed, that no tongue can give it fit expression.

And sailing on the feast of St. Stephen[3], we navigated the Indian Sea until Palm Sunday, and then arrived at a very noble city of India called COLUMBUM[4], where the

[1] By Pope Girolamo he means Friar Jerome Musci, Bishop of Palestrina, elected Pope as Nicholas IV, and who sent John of Monte Corvino on his distant mission. Dobner, having taken up the notion that Carpini is meant, says "*legendum Innocentius*"; but he is quite wrong. The Tartars looked on the Pope as the people of India (according to the common story) used to look on John Company, viz. as in a manner immortal. "*Quærebant enim de Magno Papâ*," says Rubruquis, "*si esset ita senex sicut audierunt*" (p. 278).

[2] Dobner's book has here and afterwards *Mauzi*, but this is probably from ignorance only. The Venice MS. has *Manci* and *Manzi* plainly enough.

[3] Here the chronology of the journey calls for remark. The last precise date afforded was St. John's Day, 1339. The succeeding winter is passed at the court of Uzbek. Supposing the party to quit Sarai in May 1340, they would reach Armalec about September (see *Pegolotti*, pp. 285–6), and they did not quit that city till near the end of the third year from their leaving Avignon, viz., late in 1341. The journey from Armalec to Peking would occupy four or five months, but probably much more, as they appear (see *infra*, near the end) to have spent some time at Kamul. Hence perhaps they did not arrive at Peking earlier than the latter part of 1342, but not later than that, as the Chinese record about the horses fixes the year. The St. Stephen's day (26th December) on which he sailed from Zaytún could not have been *earlier* than that of 1346, but might have been later. Meinert takes the day for 2nd August (*Stephen I, Pope and Martyr*), but as Kunstmann justly points out, that would be no season for sailing from China. The latter fixes the date to 1347, as Easter fell late in 1348, and more time is thus allowed for the voyage to Malabar. We will assume it so.

[4] Ritter over hastily identifies Marignolli's Columbum with Columbo in Ceylon, and deduces that pepper was then a staple of that island (*Erdkunde*, v, 688), though as the author says that the "whole world's pepper" was produced there, this interpretation would imply that none was produced in Malabar, the Pepper Metropolis from time imme-

whole world's pepper is produced. Now this pepper grows on a kind of vines, which are planted just like in our vineyards. These vines produce clusters which are at first like those of the wild vine of a green colour, and afterwards are almost like bunches of our grapes, and they have a red wine in them which I have squeezed out on my plate as a condiment. When they have ripened, they are left to dry upon the tree, and when shrivelled by the excessive heat the dry clusters are knocked off with a stick and caught upon linen cloths, and so the harvest is gathered.

These are things that I have seen with mine eyes and handled with my hands during the fourteen months that I stayed there[1]. And there is no roasting of the pepper, as authors have falsely asserted, nor does it grow in forests, but in regular gardens; nor are the Saracens the proprietors but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the masters of the public steel-yard, from which I derived, as a perquisite of my office as Pope's legate, every month a hundred gold *fan*, and a thousand when I left[2].

morial. Even Dobner is more judicious here, and concludes that Columbo is *not* meant, as the place is clearly placed by Marignolli on the continent. But then he continues, entirely losing this gleam of judgment, that it was in *Nimbar* (see note further on), and so could not be in *Malabar*, "*adeoque in regno* Indostan. *An fortassis urbs* Lahor *sit, judicium penes lectorem esto.*" One can only say with Friar Jordanus, "Wonderful!" For further remarks on Columbum, see note to *Odoric*, p. 129.

Probably the name should be rendered *Columbus* as in the only nominative I can find, viz. in Jordanus's letter at p. 77. But I have followed the French editor of Jordanus's *Mirabilia* in calling it Columbum, and it is not worth while to alter what may have authority which I have overlooked.

[1] Our author afterwards calls this time a year and four months.

[2] As to the pepper, *Fr. Jordanus*, p. 27, and *Ibn Batuta*, iv, 77. Marignolli's denial of its growing in forests is probably a slap at the Beato Odorico (see p. 132 *ante*); yet up to the present century there was a tract on the Malabar coast called "the Pepper Jungle" (Buchanan's *Christ. Resear.*, p. 111). Father Vincenzo Maria (Rome, 1672) still speaks of the Christians of St. Thomas as having the pepper chiefly in their hands. Dobner, Meinert, and Kunstmann all strangely misunderstand "*qui habent* stateram *ponderis totius mundi*," as if it meant something about the Christians having a right to an export tax on the pepper. Yet in this very Chronicle (*Dobner*

There is a church of St. George there, of the Latin communion, at which I dwelt[1]. And I adorned it with fine paintings, and taught there the holy Law. And after I had been there some time I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great, when he set up his column (in India). For I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial, in the corner of the world over against Paradise, and anointed it with oil! In sooth it was a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and my own engraved upon it, with inscriptions both in Indian and Latin characters. I consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people, and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palankin like Solomon's[2].

p. 164–5) they might have found a passage in which *statera* can mean nothing but a steelyard. It is in fact used for the Italian *stadera*. So in a correspondence quoted further on, one of the Florentine demands on the Sultan of Egypt is "*che possino tenere* stadere *nelli loro fondachi*," that they may have an authorized steelyard in their factories. The value of the *fanam* (Marignolli's *fan*) has varied so much that it is difficult to estimate what the legate received in this way. Marsden makes the *fanam* 2½*d.* (*Marco Polo*, p. 656). In the beginning of last century, Visscher says the *fanam* of Cochin was about 1½*d.*, that of Calicut 6*d.*, and that of Quilon 15*d.* Late in the same century Friar Paolino states the Paliacat *fanam* at 9 *sous* or 4½*d.*, that of Tanjore or Calicut at 6*d.* or 7*d.*, and that of Madura at 3½*d.* And Ibn Batuta (iv, 174) tells us that 100 *fanams* were equal to 6 *dinars*, which would make the *fanam* nearly 8*d.* This last may be taken as probably about the value of our author's *fan*. So his monthly perquisite would be about £3. 6*s.*, and the present he received at parting £33. If we may judge from the calculations based on Ibn Batuta's statement of prices at Delhi in his time, the money would represent at least ten times as much wealth as at present.

[1] This church "*Latinorum*" was probably founded by Jordanus, and was possibly the same old church *fatto al modo nostro mediocre* which the Portuguese were taken to see on their first visit to *Colom*, though that was then entitled S. Maria (*Ramusio*, i, f. 146). Day indeed (*Land of the Permauls*, p. 4) mentions a church dedicated to St. George, within which may be seen a painting representing God the Father. But this is at Curringhacherry, ten miles from Cochin, and could scarcely have been the church of our author. If Jordanus or any successor in the episcopate had survived at Columbum surely Marignolli would have alluded to the fact? He says below in quitting the place "*valefaciens fratribus*," which perhaps implies that there were friars there.

[2] The Column or Columns of Alexander formed the subject of

So after a year and four months I took leave of the brethren, and after accomplishing many glorious works

some legend that grew out of the memory of the altars on the Hyphasis. In the Pseudo-Callisthenes, edited by Müller, we are told that Alexander got to Serice where the Seres produce silk, and there erected a stone pillar and wrote upon it: *Alexander, King of the Macedonians, got as far as this spot* (p. 102). Imagination was dissatisfied with Alexander's turning back from India scarcely entered—(does not one still feel disappointment every time the story is read?)—and in defiance of history prolonged his expedition to the ends of the earth. We have seen before that the cave temples of Western India were ascribed to him (*ante*, p. 114); Tennent cites a Persian poem describing his journey to Ceylon and Adam's Peak (*Ceylon*, i, 605); whilst Friar Mauro's Map attributes to Alexander the chains that still aid pilgrims in climbing that mountain. John of Hese likewise, in his imaginary travels, finds within a mile of the Mountain of Paradise another mountain, on which Alexander is said to have stood when he claimed tribute also from Paradise. Earlier than these the versifying geographers in their apparent identification of *Kolis* (the *idea* of which is Cape Comorin, though the name may have belonged to a more eastern promontory) with Aornos, seem to indicate that in their notions Alexander had attained the furthest extremity of India. Thus Dionysius—

> "παρὰ τέρματα Κωλίδος αἴης
> Ἡ δ' ἤτοι προνένευκεν ἐπ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνῃ,
> Ἠλίβατος ταχινοῖσι δυσέμβατος οἰωνοῖσιν
> Τοὔνεκά μιν καὶ φῶτες ἐπικλείουσιν Ἄορνιν."
> (*Orb. Descrip.*, v. 1148.)

Dobner indeed refers to a passage in the same author as speaking of the columns erected by Alexander on the ocean, but though otherwise appropriate, it is of Bacchus that the geographer speaks; it runs in the paraphrase of Festus Avienus:

> "Oceani Eoi prætenti denique Bacchus
> Littore, et extremâ terrarum victor in orâ
> Ducit laurigeros post Indica bella triumphos,
> Erigit et geminas telluris fine columnas."—(V. 1380.)

But the most appropriate illustration is in a passage of Mandeville quoted by Meinert from a German edition, but which I do not find in Wright's: "So he set up his token there as far as he had got, like as Hercules did on the Spanish Sea towards the sunset. And the token that Alexander set up towards the sunrising, hard by Paradise, hight Alexander's Gades, and that other hight Hercules's Gades: and these be great Pillars of Stone, that stand upon lofty mountains, for an eternal Sign and Token that no man shall pass beyond those pillars."

Was this pillar of Marignolli's that which the Dutch chaplain Baldæus thus mentions: "Upon the rocks near the sea shore of Coulang stands a Stone Pillar, erected there, as the inhabitants report, by St. Thomas; I saw the Pillar in 1662"? Three hundred years of tradition might easily swamp the dim memory of John the Legate in that of Thomas the Apostle. Mr. Day (*Land of the Permauls*, p. 212) tells us that this pillar still exists, but Mr. Broadley Howard in a recent book (*Christians of St. Thomas*, p. 9) says in

I went to see the famous Queen of SABA. By her I wa honourably treated, and after some harvest of souls (foi there are a few Christians there) I proceeded by sea to SEYLLAN, a glorious mountain opposite to Paradise. And from Seyllan to Paradise, according to what the natives say after the tradition of their fathers, is a distance of forty Italian miles; so that, 'tis said, the sound of the waters falling from the fountain of Paradise is heard there[1].

CHAPTER CONCERNING PARADISE.

Now Paradise[2] is a place that (really) exists upon the earth surrounded by the Ocean Sea, in the regions of the Orient on the other side of Columbine India, and over against the mountain of Seyllan. 'Tis the loftiest spot on the face of the earth, reaching, as Johannes Scotus hath proven, to the sphere of the moon; a place remote from all strife, delectable in balminess and brightness of atmosphere, and in the midst whereof a fountain springeth from the ground, pouring forth its waters to water, according to the season, the Paradise and all the trees therein. And there grow all the trees that produce the best of fruits; wondrous fair are they to look upon, fragrant and delicious for the food of man. Now that fountain cometh down from the mount and falleth into a lake, which is called by the philosophers EUPHIRATTES. Here it passes under another water which is turbid, and issues forth on the

reference to the passage of Baldæus just quoted: "Mr. D'Albedhyll, the Master Attendant at Quilon, told me that he had seen the pillar, and that it was washed away a few years ago." I wish some one would still look for it!

[1] A MS. of the fifteenth century in the Genoese Archives, from which extracts are given by Gräberg de Hemso, says that the Four Rivers flow down from Paradise with such a noise that the people who inhabit round about those parts are born deaf! (*Annali di Geografia e di Statistica*, ii, App.) Akin to this is the myth of the dwellers in the extreme east hearing a tremendous noise made by the sun in rising (*Carpini*, p. 661).

[2] See Introductory Notice to Marignolli, p. 197.

other side, where it divides into four rivers which pass through Seyilan; and these be their names[1]:

[1] Considering how rarely in reality a plurality of rivers have a common source, so rarely that in the discussions arising out of Captain Speke's great journey it has even been denied that such a thing exists in nature, it is remarkable how frequent is the phenomenon in the traditions of many nations, and there must be something in the idea attractive to man's imagination.

The interpretation of the four rivers of Eden as literally diverging from one fount has long been abandoned by Catholics as well as Protestants; but in the Middle Ages, meeting perhaps that attraction to which allusion has been made, it was received to the letter, and played a large part in the geography both of Christendom and Islam; the possible traces of which remain stamped on the map of Taurus in the names of Sihun and Jihun given to the *Sarus* and the *Pyramus*. (See *Mas'udi*, i, 264, 270.) The most prominent instance of the tradition alluded to is that in both Brahmanical and Buddhist cosmogony which derives four great rivers of India, the Indus, the Sutlej, the Ganges, and the Sardha from one Holy Lake at the foot of Kailas. It is also firmly believed by the Hindus that the Sone and the Nerbudda rise out of the same pool near Amarkantak. The natives were so convinced that there was a communication between the Jumna and the Saraswati, which flows towards the Sutlej, that an officer of the Revenue Survey reported it to government as a fact, and my then chief (afterwards Major-General W. E. Baker) was desired to verify it. We found that the alleged communication was supposed to take place *gupti gupti*, i.e., in a clandestine manner! Hiuen Tsang relates that from the Dragon Lake on the high lands of Pamir one stream descends to the Oxus, another to the Sita, which Ritter supposes to be the river of Kashgar, but which perhaps is the mystic source of the Hwang-Ho. In a later form of the same tradition, reported by Burnes, the Oxus, Jaxartes, and Indus are all believed to rise in the Sirikul or Pamir. The rivers of Cambodia, of Canton, of Ava, and a fourth (perhaps the Salween) were regarded by the people of Laos as all branches of one river; a notion which was probably only a local adaptation of the Indian Buddhist tradition. A Chinese work mentioned by Klaproth describes the river of Siam as being a branch of the Hwang-Ho. Even in the south of New Zealand we find that the Maoris have a notion that the three chief rivers known to them issue from a common lake. These legendary notions so possessed travellers and geographers that they seemed to assume that the law of rivers was one of dispersion and not of convergence, and that the best natural type of a river system was to be found, not in the veins of a leaf, but in the body of a spider. Thus the Catalan map of 1375, in some respects the most remarkable geographical production of the Middle Ages, represents all the great rivers of Cathay as radiating from one source to the sea. The misty notions of the great African lakes, early gathered by the Portuguese, condensed themselves into one great sea, that fed the sources not only of the Nile but of the Niger, Congo, Zambesi, and several more. The Hindu myths suggested to map-makers a great Lake Chimay in Tibet, from which dispersed all the great rivers of Eastern Asia; Ferdinand Mendez Pinto declared, perhaps believed, that he had visited it, and every atlas to the be-

GYON[1] is that which circleth the land of Ethiopia where are now the negroes, and which is called the Land of Prester John. It is indeed believed to be the Nile, which descends into Egypt by a breach made in the place which is called ABASTY. The Christians of St. Matthew the Apostle are there, and the Soldan pays them tribute

ginning of the eighteenth century, if not later, repeated the fiction. A traveller of the seventeenth century, the general of his order and therefore perhaps no vulgar friar, says that *he saw* the Ganges near Goa, where one of its branches entered the sea. And far more recent and distinguished geographers have clung to the like ideas. Ritter more than half accepts the Chinese story of the Dragon Lake of Pamir. Buchanan Hamilton, who did so much for the geography both of India and of Indo-China, not only accepted the stories of the Burmese regarding the radiation of rivers, but himself suggested like theories, such as that of an anastomosis between the Brahmaputra and the Irawadi; whilst the old fancies of the African map-makers have been revived in our own time. (See *Strachey*, in *J. R. G. S.*, vol. xxiii, first paper; *Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, vii, 496; *Burnes*, iii, 180; *Journ. Asiatique*, sér. ii, tom. x, 415; *In.*, xi, 42; *Burton*, in *J. R. G. S.*, xxix, 307; *Blaeu's Atlas*, Amsterdam, 1662, vol. x; *Coronelli*, *Atlante Veneto*, 1691, etc.; *Viaggi di P. Filippo*, etc., p. 230.)

[1] The Septuagint has Γηών for the Nile in *Jeremiah* ii, 18, and in *Ecclesiasticus*, xxiv, 37; from the former passage the term was adopted in the Ethiopic books. Many Fathers of the Church thought Gihon passed under ground from Paradise to reappear as the Nile, and the other rivers in like fashion. Ludolf quotes many examples of what he justly calls this foolish story of Gihon and its subterranean wanderings. But such notions were not originated by the Church; for Pomponius Mela supposes the Nile to come under the sea from the antichthonic world, and other heathen writers believed it to be a resurrection of the Euphrates. (*Ludolf*, i. c. 8, § 10–12, and *Comment.*, pp. 119, 120; Note by *Letronne* in *Humboldt's Examen Critique*, etc., iii, 122, 123.)

[In the old French poem: *L'entrée d'Espagne*, edited by A. Thomas for the Société des Anciens Textes, 1913, II, p. 214 we have:

Cant ensi ot le duc fornie sa besoigne,
De retorner a Mec et a sun segnors soigne:
Les desert costoient et les vaus de Sandoigne,
Et paserent *Guion* as guez de le Choudoigne.]

["The Tibetans believe that the Titans, or ungodly spirits, were originally gods, but were expelled from heaven, and now occupy a position at the base of Mount Meru, *i.e.*, Mount Kailas, intermediate between heaven and earth....On the summit of Meru is the city of Brahma...the holy river of Ganges issuing from the foot of Vishnu and washing the moon, falls here from the skies, and after encircling the city of Brahma divides into four mighty rivers, flowing in opposite directions. These are (1) on the north the Indus...(2) on the east the Sanpo or Brahmaputra...(3) on the west the Sutlej...(4) on the south the Karnali." C. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet*, 1906, pp. 44–45.]

on account of the river, because they have it in their power to shut off the water, and then Egypt would perish[1].

[1] For *Abasty* in this paragraph the author probably wrote *Abascy* (the *c* and *t* are constantly confounded), the *Abasci* of Polo, from the Arabic name of Abyssinia *Habsh*. Here again in the fourteenth century is Prester John in Africa (see *ante*, p. 26); as the Catalan Map and Sigoli also show him.

This tribute alleged to be paid by the Soldan of Egypt to the King of Ethiopia or Abyssinia is mentioned by Jordanus also (*Mirabilia*, p. 40), and he names the reported amount as five hundred thousand ducats, though he omits the ground of payment. It is also spoken of by Ariosto:

"Si dice che 'l Soldan, Re dell' Egitto,
A quel Re dà tributo, e sta suggetto,
Perch' è in poter di lui dal cammin dritto
Levare il Nilo, e dargli altro ricetto,
E per questo lasciar subito afflitto
Di fame il Cairo è tutto quel distretto.
Senápo detto è dai sudditti suoi:
Gli diciam Presto o Preteianni noi."

Orl. Fur., xxxiii, 106.

The question will be found discussed in *Ludolf* (i., c. viii, § 76–92, and *Comment.*, pp. 130–132) *Num Rex Habessinorum Nilum divertere possit ne in Ægyptum fluat?* He refers to the Saracenic history of El Macini, in which we find it related that in the time of Michael, Patriarch of the Jacobites of Alexandria (who was elected in the year 1089, and ruled for nine years), "the Nile became excessively low, wherefore (the Sultan) Mostansir sent him (Michael) up to Ethiopia with costly presents. The king of the country sent out to meet him and received him with reverence, asking wherefore he had come. And he then set forth how the great deficiency of the Nile in Egypt was threatening destruction to that land and its people. The king upon this ordered the cut that had been made to divert the waters to be closed, so that the water might again flow towards Egypt, seeing that the Patriarch had come so far on that account. And the Nile rose three cubits in one night, so that all the fields of Egypt received ample water and could be sown. And the Patriarch returned with much credit to Egypt, and was loaded with gifts and honours by the Prince Mostansir." (*Histor. Saracen. a Georg. Elmacino*, by *Erpenius*, Lug. Bat., 1625, B. iii, c. 8.) The story is (briefly) noticed in Herbelot under the word *Nil*, and is told much as by El Macini from the History of Egypt by Wassaif Shah, who says the famine had lasted seven years when the report reached Egypt of the Nile's having been diverted. (*Notices et Extraits*, viii, p. 47; and also in De Castro's *Voyage of Stephen de Gama*.) He says the thing was much talked of among the Abyssinians, and that it secured that people the privilege of passing through Egypt without paying tribute. (*Astley's Voyages*, i, 114.) Urreta, a Spanish Dominican writer, of whom Ludolf speaks with much contempt, says that the Pope wrote to Menas King of Ethiopia to turn off the Nile, and not to mind about the tribute of three hundred thousand sequins which he got from the Turk to keep it open. A certain Wanzlebius, having been desired by Duke Ernest

The second river is called PHISON, and it goes through India, circling all the land of Evilach, and is said to go down into CATHAY, where, by a change of name, it is called CAROMORAN, i.e. Black Water, and there is found bdellium and the onyx stone. I believe it to be the biggest river of fresh water in the world, and I have crossed it myself. And it has on its banks very great and noble cities, rich above all in gold. And on that river excellent craftsmen have their dwelling, occupying wooden houses, especially weavers of silk and gold brocade, in such numbers (I can bear witness from having seen them), as in my opinion do not exist in the whole of Italy. And they have on the shores of the river an abundance of silk, more indeed than all the rest of the world put together. And they go about on their floating houses with their whole families just as if they were on shore. This I have seen. On the other side of Caffa the river is lost in the sands, but it breaks out again and forms the sea which is called BACUC, beyond THANA[1].

of Saxony to investigate this matter, reported that the Europeans in Egypt looked on the whole story as an Abyssinian rhodomontade, but afterwards in 1677 he claimed to have found a letter from a king of Abyssinia threatening the Sultan with the diversion of the Nile. It is also noticed by Ludolf that Albuquerque is stated by his son to have seriously contemplated this diversion, and to have often urged King Emanuel to send him miners for the job. (*Ludolf*, u.s., and the others quoted above.)

The legend is thus told as a fact also by Simon Sigoli, who travelled to Egypt, Sinai and Palestine with Leonardo Frescobaldi and other Florentines in 1384: "'Tis true that this soldan is obliged to pay a yearly ransom or homage to Prester John. Now this potentate Prester John dwells in India, and is a Christian, and possesses many cities both of Christians and of infidels. And the reason why the Soldan pays him homage is this, that whenever this Prester John chooses to open certain river sluices he can drown Cairo and Alexandria and all that country; and 'tis said that this river is the Nile itself which runs by Cairo. The said sluices stand but little open, and yet the river is enormous. And so it is for this reason, or rather from this apprehension, that the Soldan sends him every year a ball of gold with a cross upon it, worth three thousand gold bezants. And the lands of the Soldan do march with those of this Prester John." (*V. in Terra Santa*, etc., Firenze, 1862, p. 202.)

[1] Dobner has *Chana* (the *c* for *t* again), but the Venice MS. has

The third river is called TYGRIS. It passes over against the land of the Assyrians, and comes down near NYNEVE, that great city of three days' journey, to which Jonas was sent to preach; and his sepulchre is there. I have been there also, and stopped a fortnight in the adjoining towns which were built out of the ruins of the city. There are capital fruits there, especially pomegranates of wonderful size and sweetness, with all the other fruits that we have in Italy. And on the opposite side [of the river] is a city built out of the ruins of Nyneve, which is called MONSOL[1].

Between that river and the fourth, there is a long tract of country bearing these names; viz., *Mesopotamia*, i.e. the land between the waters; *Assyria*, the land of Abraham

the name right, Thana, i.e., Azov. In the confusions of this paragraph Marignolli outdoes himself. He jumbles into one river the Phison, Ganges (or Indus), Volga (or Oxus), Hwang-Ho and Yang-tze-Kiang, and then turns them all topsy-turvy. The *Kara-Muren*, or Black River of the Tartars, as he correctly explains it, is well known to be the Yellow River of the Chinese. But it is not a river whose shores and waters are crowded with the vast population described, and his descriptions here appear to be drawn from his recollections of the Yang-tze-Kiang. The river lost in the sands is perhaps the Oxus, which he would probably pass on his way from Sarai to Almaliq, but he *may* mean the Volga which he saw at Sarai, and which has the best claim to be said to form the Sea of Baku, i.e., the Caspian (*Ethilia...faciens Mare Caspium*, says Roger Bacon). How he connects the Caspian and the Karamuren is puzzling. The Chinese have indeed a notion that the sources of the Hwang-Ho were originally in the mountains near Kashgar, whence their streams flowed into the Lop Nor, and thence diving under ground, issued forth as the Hwang-Ho. There was also an old notion that the waters of the country about Kara-shahr came from the Si-Hai or Caspian (*Timkowsky*, ii, 272); (*Fo-koue-ki*, p. 37; *Julien* in *N. A. des Voyages*, as quoted at p. 213). Something of these legends Marignolli may have heard, without quite digesting.

On this passage, with an amusing sense of his own superior advantages, Dobner observes: "Here Marignola shows himself excessively ignorant of geography; but we must pardon him, for in his day geographical studies had by no means reached that perfection which they have attained now."

[1] The ruins opposite Mosul are those called Nabi Yunus and Kouyunjik, well known from Mr. Layard's excavations and interesting books. A sketch showing the tomb of Jonah mentioned in the text, will be found at p. 131, vol. i, of *Nineveh and its Remains*. Ricold of Montecroce also mentions the traces and ramparts of Nineveh, and a spring which was called the Fount of Jonah.

and Job, where also is the city of King Abagarus, to whom Christ sent a letter written with his own hand, once a most fair and Christian city, but now in the hands of the Saracens. There also I abode four days in no small fear.

We come lastly to the fourth river, by name EUPHRATES, which separates Syria, Assyria, and Mesopotamia from the Holy Land. When we crossed it we were in the Holy Land. In this region are some very great cities, especially ALEP, in which there are many Christians who dress after the Latin fashion, and speak a language very near the French; at any rate like French of Cyprus[1]. Thence you come to Damascus, to Mount Lebanon, to Galilee, to Samaria, Nazareth, Jerusalem, and to the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Then follows a chapter *Concerning the Trees of Paradise*, from which I extract a few lines.

[The trees] are there still in existence, as the *Pantheon* says[2]; and this is shown by the fruits and leaves which are sometimes carried forth by those rivers, and are known by their medicinal virtue and fragrant odours. Nor is this incredible; for in the adjoining provinces of India likewise there are trees which produce fruit of a marvellous kind every month[3].

[1] "*Loquuntur linguam quasi Gallicam, scilicet quasi de Cipro.*"

"And French she spake both fayre and fetisely,
After the school of Stratford-atte-Bowe,
For French of Paris was to her unknowe."

French no doubt was much spoken at Cyprus under the Lusignans.

[2] The *Pantheon* is the Universal Chronicle, so called, by Godfrey of Viterbo, an ecclesiastical writer who died in 1186. The work is to be seen in "*German. Scriptorum*, etc., *Tomus Alter, ex Bibl. Joannis Pistorii Nidarii*, Hanov., 1613." It is a very prolix affair, beginning with *De Divinâ Essentiâ ante omnem creationem*, and is largely interspersed with semi-doggerel hexameters and pentameters.

[3] According to Mas'udi some leaves of Paradise covered Adam's body when cast out. These were scattered by the winds over India, and gave birth to all the perfumes of that country. He also bore with him wheat, and thirty branches of the trees of the Garden, and from these come all our good fruits (*French Trans.*, i, 61). St. Athanasius also accounts for the aromatics of India by the spicy breezes from Paradise adjoining. (*Opera*, Paris, 1698, ii, 279.)

From the chapter *On the Transgression of our First Parents by Temptation of the Serpent.*

And they took the leaves of the fig-tree or plantain[1], and made themselves girdles to hide their shame....Then God pronounced sentence after the confession of their sin, first against the serpent that he should go upon his belly creeping on the earth (but I must say that I have seen many serpents, and very big ones too, that went with half the body quite erect, like women when they walk in the street, and very graceful to look upon, but not to be sure keeping this up for any length of time)....

And he made them coats of skins: so at least we commonly have it, *pelliceas*, "of fur," but we should do better to read *filiceas*, "of fibre"; because they were no doubt of a certain fibrous substance which grows like net-work between the shoots of the coco-palm[2]; I wore one of these myself till I got to Florence, where I left it. And God forbade Adam to eat of the Tree of Life. See, said He to the Angels, that they take not of the Tree of Life, and so live for ever. And straightway the Angel took Adam by the arm and set him down beyond the lake on the Mountain Seyllan, where I stopped for four months. And by chance Adam planted his right foot upon a stone which is there still, and straightway by a divine miracle the form of the sole of his foot was imprinted on the marble, and there it is to this very day. And the size, I mean the length, thereof is two and a half of our palms, or about half a Prague ell. And I was not the only one to measure it, for so did another pilgrim, a Saracen of Spain; for many

[1] "*Ficus seu musarum.*" That the leaves used for girdles by Adam and Eve were *plantain* leaves is a Mahomedan tradition; and it is probably from this that the plantain has been called a *fig* in European languages, a name which seems to have little ground in any resemblance of the fruits, but which misled Milton perhaps to make the banyan the tree of the girdles.

[2] "*Nargillorum*," from Pers. *Nargil.*

go on pilgrimage to Adam. And the Angel put out Eve on another mountain, some four short days' journey distant. And as the histories of those nations relate (and indeed there is nothing in the relation that contradicts Holy Scripture), they abode apart from one another and mourning for forty days, after which the Angel brought Eve to Adam, who was waxing as it were desperate, and so comforted them both[1].

NARRATIVE CONCERNING THE MOUNTAIN SEYLLAN.

Now, as our subject requires it, and as I deem it both pleasant and for some folks profitable, I propose to insert here an account of Seyllan, provided it please his Imperial Majesty; and if it please him not he has but to score it out.

First, then, it must be told how, and in what fashion I got there, and after that I will speak of what is to be found there.

First, then, when we got our dismissal from the Kaam that mighty Emperor, with splendid presents and allowances from him, and as we proposed to travel by India, because the other overland road was shut up by war and there was no possibility of getting a passage that way, it was the Kaam's order that we should proceed through Manzi, which was formerly known as *India Maxima*.

Now Manzi is a country which has countless cities and nations included in it, past all belief to one who has not seen them, besides great plenty of everything, including fruits quite unknown in our Latin countries. Indeed it has 30,000 great cities, besides towns and boroughs quite

[1] The usual Mussulman tradition runs, that on the violent expulsion of our parents and their tempter from Paradise, Adam fell on the Mountain of Serendib, Eve at Jidda near Mecca, Eblis near Basrah, and the Serpent at Ispahan. Adam after long solitude and penitence was led by Gabriel to Mecca and thence to the Mountain of Arafat (*Recognition*), where he was reunited to Eve after a separation of two hundred years. (*D'Herbelot*; Weil's *Bib. Legends.*)

beyond count. And among the rest is that most famous city of CAMPSAY, the finest, the biggest, the richest, the most populous, and altogether the most marvellous city, the city of the greatest wealth and luxury, of the most splendid buildings (especially idol temples, in some of which there are 1000 and 2000 monks dwelling together) that exists now upon the face of the earth, or mayhap that ever did exist! When authors tell of its ten thousand noble bridges of stone, adorned with sculptures and statues of armed princes, it passes the belief of one who has not been there, and yet peradventure these authors tell no lie[1].

There is ZAYTÚN also, a wondrous fine seaport and a city of incredible size, where our Minor Friars have three very fine churches, passing rich and elegant; and they have a bath also and a *fondaco* which serves as a depôt for all the merchants[2]. They have also some fine bells of

[1] Probably a reference to the accounts of King ssé or Hang chau, by Polo and Odoric, see II, p. 192. But hear what Dobner has to say on Camsay: "In our time *Cambay*, the chief city of Guzerat, which on account of its size, wealth, and splendour, is often called the Indian Cairo. The river Indus flows through the kingdom, so that Marignolli was quite right in a previous passage when he referred the Columns of Alexander to those parts, in imitation of which he put up another himself in the same quarter"!! (p. 95.)

[2] The original (in Dobner) reads: "*habent tres Ecclesias pulcherrimas, optimas et ditissimas*, balneum fundatum, *omnium mercatorum depositorium*." Meinert and Kunstmann translate "*ein gestiftetes Bad*," but this seems somewhat unmeaning, and I have assumed that *fundatum* should read *Fundacum* (*t* for *c* again) in the sense of the Italian *Fondaco*. This was the word for a mercantile establishment and lodging house in a foreign country, nearly what we should call a factory, and we find it still applied at Venice to the old foreign factories, though the common Italian dictionaries ignore this meaning of the word. In Sicily the word still means *an inn*, especially one where the cattle and goods of traders are put up. It is borrowed from the Arabic *Fanduk*, "a public hostel for traders where they put up along with their wares," and that again comes from the Greek *πανδοχεῖον*.

Pagnini (*Della Decima*, etc., ii, 89) gives a Florentine correspondence about a treaty of commerce with the Sultan of Egypt in the year 1422, in which the chief items of privilege to be demanded for the Florence merchants are under the heads of *Fondaco*, *Church*, *Bath*, *Steelyard*. In the thirteenth century we find the King of Lesser Armenia granting the Venetians at Mamistra "a fondúk to deposit their merchandise and property in." (*Journ. Asiat.*, sér. v, tom. xviii,

the best quality, two of which were made to my order, and set up with all due form in the very middle of the Saracen community[1]. One of these we ordered to be called Johannina, and the other Antonina.

We quitted Zaytún on St. Stephen's day, and on the Wednesday of Holy Week we arrived at Columbum. Wishing then to visit the Shrine of St. Thomas the Apostle, and to sail thence to the Holy Land[2], we embarked on board certain junks, from Lower India[3] which is called Minubar[4]. We encountered so many storms, commencing from St. George's Eve, and were so dashed about by them, that sixty times and more we were all but swamped in the depths of the sea, and it was only by

353.) In a treaty between Abuabdallah Mahomed, King of Granada, and the Genoese, in 1278, it is provided that the latter shall have in all the king's cities *Fundiks* in which to conduct their business, and these shall be allowed to have *churches*, *baths*, *oven*, *and warehouses* (*Not. et Extraits*, xi, 28; see also Amari, *Dipl. Arab.*, pp. xxx, 88, 101). And in a treaty between Michael Palæologus and the Genoese, it is specified that the latter shall have in certain ports and islands *logiam*, *palatium*, ecclesiam, balneum, *furnum et jardinum* (Ducange, *Hist. de Constantinople*, App., p. 6). These quotations show that the *Ecclesia*, *Balneum*, *Fundacum*, and *Depositorium* ran naturally together. It was also the Mahomedan practice to attach a caravanserai (i.e. a *fondaco*) to convents of Kalandars or Darweshes (see Erskine's *Baber*, p. 215).

[1] He has evident glee in mentioning the setting up of the bells in the middle of the Mahomedan quarter of Zaytún; the Mahomedans holding bells in abomination and not allowing them under their rule. Ibn Batuta's account of his terror and dismay, when he first heard bells jangling on all sides of him at Caffa, is amusing (ii, 357).

[2] Meinert suggests that *Terram Sanctam* here is a clerical error for *Terram Sabam*. This is probable, for the first is hardly intelligible.

[3] "*Ascendentes Junkos*." This is perhaps the oldest item in the Franco-Indian vocabulary. It occurs also in Odoric (see *ante*, p. 131). The Catalan Map gives a drawing and description of these ships called *Inchi* (probably for *Iūchi*) with their bamboo sails. Quoth Dobner: "Vocem hanc in nullo Glossariorum Medii Ævi...reperio. Verosimillime navigia *e juncis texta* intelliguntur, quorum usum Indis esse plures affirmant," etc. (p. 96). It is more singular that the same mistake should have been made by Amerigo Vespucci in his curious letter to one of the Medici giving an account of the voyage of De Gama, whose party he had met at Cape Verde on their return from India. (See *Baldelli Boni*, *Il Milione*, p. lviii.)

[4] This correct reading is from Venice MS., Dobner having *Nimbar*. See note on Minibar at II p. 74.

divine miracle that we escaped. And such wondrous things we beheld! The sea as if in flames, and fire-spitting dragons flying by[1], and as they passed they slew persons on board the other junks, whilst ours remained untouched, by God's grace, and by virtue of the body of Christ which I carried with me, and through the merits of the glorious Virgin and St. Clare[2]. And having brought all the Christians to penitential mourning, even whilst the gale still blew we made sail, committing ourselves to the Divine guidance, and caring only for the safety of souls. Thus led by the Divine mercy, on the morrow of the Invention of the Holy Cross[3] we found ourselves brought safely into port in a harbour of Seyllan, called PERVILIS[4], over against Paradise. Here a certain tyrant, by name Coya Jaan[5], a eunuch, had the mastery in opposition to the lawful king. He was an accursed Saracen, who by means of his great treasures had gained possession of the greater part of the kingdom.

[1] This is very like Fahian's account of a storm in the same sea, only the Chinese friar's is the more sober (*Fo-koue-ki*, ch. xl).

[2] St. Clara was the townswoman, disciple, and feminine reflexion of St. Francis.

[3] 3rd May.

[4] Meinert and Kunstmann translate *Pervilis* as if it were a Latin adjective. But the name is perfectly Ceylonese in character, e.g. *Padaville* and *Periaville* are names found in Tennent's Map, though not in positions suited to this. From the expression "over against Paradise," and the after mention of Cotta, we may see that it was somewhere not far from Columbo. And a passage in Pridham enables me to identify the port as Barberyn, otherwise called BERUWALA, near Bentotte and the mouth of the Kaluganga. This is now a large fishing village, with a small bay having an anchorage for ships, and a considerable coasting trade. (*Historical*, etc., *View of Ceylon* pp. 619–20.)

[5] *Coya* or *Coja Jaan* represents, I presume, *Khwája Jahán*. Now this was the title of the Wazir of Delhi; and Ibn Batuta, in reference to a time only a year or two before our author's arrival in Ceylon, mentions as an instance of the arrogance of Nasiruddín the new Sultan of Maabar, that he ordered *his* Wazir and admiral to take the same title of *Khwája Jahán*. Others may have followed the fashion, for it seems probable that our author's accursed Saracen was that "Wazir and Admiral Jálasti" whom Ibn Batuta found in power at Columbo. (*Ibn Batuta*, iv, 185; 204.)

At first he put on a pretence of treating us honourably, but by and by, in the politest manner and under the name of a loan, he took from us 60,000 marks, in gold, silver, silk, cloth of gold, precious stones, pearls, camphor, musk, myrrh, and aromatic spices, gifts from the Great Kaam and other princes to us, or presents sent from them to the Pope. And so we were detained by this man, with all politeness as I said, for four months.

On that very high mountain [of which we have spoken], perhaps after Paradise the highest mountain on the face of the earth, some indeed think that Paradise itself exists. But this is a mistake, for the name shows the contrary. For it is called by the natives *Zindan Baba*; *baba* meaning 'father' (and *mama* 'mother') in every language in the world; whilst *Zindan* is the same as 'Hell,' so that *Zindan Baba* is as much as to say 'the hell of our father,' implying that our first father when placed there on his expulsion from Paradise was as it were in hell[1].

That exceeding high mountain hath a pinnacle of surpassing height, which, on account of the clouds, can rarely be seen But God, pitying our tears, lighted it up one morning just before the sun rose, so that we beheld it glowing with the brightest flame. In the way down from this same mountain there is a fine level spot, still at a great height, and there you find in order, first the mark of Adam's foot; secondly, a certain statue of a sitting figure

[1] I cannot find any trace of this name in the books about Ceylon. *Zindán* (Pers.) signifies "a dungeon," and seems often applied to buildings of mysterious antiquity. Thus a tower-like building of huge blocks of marble, which exists among those remains north of Persepolis which are supposed to mark the site of Pasargadæ, is called *Zindán-i-Suleimán*, "Solomon's Dungeon." And another relic, described by Sir H. Rawlinson in his paper on the Atropatenian Ecbatana, has the same name. It is very likely that the sepulchre-like building which Marignolli describes below, was called *Zindán-i-Baba* by the Persian visitors. Baba is correctly applied to Adam. Thus Ibn Batuta mentions that of the two roads to the Peak one was *Tarik Baba* (Adam's Road), and the other *Tarik Mama* (Eve's Road) (iv, p. 180).

with the left hand resting on the knee, and the right hand raised and extended towards the west; lastly, there is the house (of Adam) which he made with his own hands. It is of an oblong quadrangular shape like a sepulchre, with a door in the middle, and is formed of great tabular slabs of marble, not cemented, but merely laid one upon another[1].

It is said by the natives, especially by their monks who stay at the foot of the mountain, men of very holy life

[1] It is clear from all this that Marignoni never ascended the Peak. Indeed he does not seem to have dreamt of mounting that "*cacumen supereminens*" as he calls it, but thanks God for a glimpse of it merely. The footmark that he saw therefore was not *the* footmark which has been the object of pilgrimage or curiosity for so many ages. Indeed the length of half an ell which he ascribes to it (*ante*, p. 227) does not agree with that of the peak footstep. The length of the latter is given by Ibn Batuta at eleven spans, by Marshall at five feet six inches, by Tennent at about five feet; all in fair accordance. The "*planities altissima pulchrâ*" on which Marignolli places the footmark, and apparently also a lake (see *ante*, p. 227), seems to correspond with the "*pulcherrima quædam planities*" and lake of Odoric. I suspect that the place visited by both Franciscans was some Buddhist establishment at one of the stages between the coast and Adam's Peak, where there was a *model* of the sacred footstep, such as is common in Buddhist countries, and such as Tennent states to be shown at the Alu Wihara at Cotta, at Kornegalle, and elsewhere in Ceylon. It is true that there was a second "genuine" footstep shown in Fahian's time (beginning of fifth century), but this was "to the north of the royal city," apparently Anurajapura, and out of Marignolli's way, even if extant in his time. I see from Pridham and Tennent that there appears to be a model of the foot at Palabadulla, one of the resting places in ascending from Ratnapura, which would be the route likely to be followed by Marignolli, considering the position of the port where he landed. Probably the exact site of which our author speaks might still be identified by remains of the ancient building which he calls Adam' Dungeon. Knox also calls the footmark "about two foot long," so that perhaps he was misled in the same manner as Marignolli (p. 3).

For the history of the Peak see Sir J. E. Tennent's *Ceylon*. [Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 328.] Perhaps he has not noticed that it is represented pictorially in Fra Mauro's Map, with the footstep at the top of it. It must also be added that Tennent quotes from the *Asiatic Journal*, that the first *Englishman* to ascend Adam's Peak was Lieut. Malcolm in 1827. If the date is right, the fact is wrong. For the late Dr. Henry Marshall and Mr. S. Sawers ascended together in 1819, and both published accounts of their ascent. To be sure they were both *Scotchmen!*

The *statua quædam sedens*, etc., is of course a Buddha.

though without the faith[1], that the deluge never mounted to that point, and thus the house has never been disturbed[2]. Herein they put their dreams in opposition to Holy Scripture and the traditions of the saints; but indeed they have some plausible arguments to urge on their side. For they say that they are not descended either from Cain or from Seth, but from other sons of Adam, who [as they allege] begot other sons and daughters. But as this is contrary to Holy Scripture I will say no more about it.

I must remark, however, that these monks never eat flesh, because Adam and his successors till the flood did not do so. They go naked from the loins upwards, and unquestionably they are very well conducted. They have houses of palm-leaves, which you can break through with your finger[3], and these are scattered up and down in the woods, and full of property, and yet they live without the slightest fear of thieves, unless perchance there come vagabonds from foreign parts.

On the same mountain, in the direction of Paradise, is a great fountain[4], the waters of which are clearly visible at a distance of good ten Italian miles. And though it breaks out there, they say that its water is derived from the Fountain of Paradise. And they allege this in proof: that there sometimes turn up from the bottom leaves of unknown species in great quantities, and also lign-aloes,

[1] "*Qui stant ad pedes montis sine fide sanctissimæ vitæ.*" I am doubtful of the meaning.

[2] Tennent mentions that the Samaritan *version* of the Pentateuch, and also an Arabic Pentateuch in the Bodleian, make the Ark rest on the mountains of Serendib or Ceylon (i, 552). Ricold di Montecroce says that the Indians denied that Noah's flood had reached to them, but they lied, for he had noticed as a fact that all the rivers that descended from Ararat flowed towards the Indian Ocean. (*Peregrinat. Quatuor*, p. 122.)

[3] "*Pansala*, 'a dwelling of leaves,' describes the house of a Buddhist priest to the present day." (*Hardy's Eastern Monachism*, p. 129.)

[4] A cascade, I suppose, perhaps the Seellagunga torrent noticed below.

and precious stones, such as the carbuncle and sapphire, and also certain fruits with healing virtues. They tell also that those gems are formed from Adam's tears, but this seems to be a mere figment[1]. Many other matters I think it best to pass over at present.

CONCERNING ADAM'S GARDEN AND THE FRUITS THEREOF.

The garden of Adam in Seyllan contains in the first place plantain trees which the natives call figs[2]. But the plantain has more the character of a garden plant than of a tree. It is indeed a tree in thickness, having a stem as thick as an oak, but so soft that a strong man can punch a hole in it with his finger, and from such a hole water will flow. The leaves of those plantain trees are most beautiful, immensely long and broad, and of a bright emerald green; in fact, they use them for tablecloths, but serving only for a single dinner. Also new-born children, after being washed and salted, are wrapped up with aloes and roses in these leaves, without any swathing, and so placed in the sand. The leaves are some ten ells in length, more or less, and I do not know to what to compare them (in form) unless it be to elecampane. The tree produces its fruit only from the crown; but on one stem it will bear a good three hundred. At first they are not good to eat, but after they have been kept a while in the house they ripen of themselves, and are then of an excellent odour,

[1] See *Odoric*, p. 171. The Chinese also had this story (*Tennent*, ii, 610).

[2] See note at p. 226. We find from Pridham that "Adam's Garden" is the subject of a genuine legend still existing. At the torrent of Seetlagunga on the way to the Peak, he tells us: "From the circumstance that various fruits have been occasionally carried down the stream, both the Moormen and the Singalese believe, the former that Adam, the latter that Buddha had a fruit garden here, which still teems with the most splendid productions of the East, but that it is now inaccessible, and that its explorer would never return." (*Hist., Polit. and Stat. Acct. of Ceylon*, p. 613.)

and still better taste; and they are about the length of the longest of one's fingers. And this is a thing that I have seen with mine own eyes, that slice it across where you will, you will find on both sides of the cut the figure of a man crucified, as if one had graven it with a needle point[1]. And it was of these leaves that Adam and Eve made themselves girdles to cover their nakedness.

There are also many other trees and wonderful fruits there which we never see in these parts, such as the *Nargil*. Now the Nargil is the Indian Nut. Its tree has a most delicate bark, and very handsome leaves like those of the date-palm. Of these they make baskets and corn measures, they use the wood for joists and rafters in roofing houses; of the husk or rind they make cordage; of the nutshell cups and goblets. They make also from the shell spoons which are antidotes to poison. Inside the shell there is a pulp of some two fingers thick, which is excellent eating, and tastes almost like almonds. It burns also, and both oil and sugar can be made from it. Inside of this there is a liquor which bubbles like new milk and turns to an excellent wine[2].

They have also another tree called *Amburan*[3], having

[1] Mandeville gives a like account of the cross in the plantain or 'apple of Paradise" as he calls it, and so do Frescobaldi and Simon Sigoli in their narratives of their pilgrimage in 1384; who also like Marignolli compare the leaves to elecampane (*Firenze*, 1862, pp. 32, 160). The circumstance is also alluded to by Paludanus in the notes to *Linschoten's Voyages* (p. 101). Padre F. Vincenzo Maria says that the appearance was in India that of a cross merely, but in Phœnicia an express image of the crucifix, on which account the Christians of that country never cut the fruit but broke it (*Viaggio*, etc., p. 350). Old Gerarde observes on this subject: "The Crosse I might perceive, as the form of a Spred-Egle in the root of Ferne, but the Man I leave to be sought for by those that have better eyes and better judgment than myself" (p. 1515). And Rheede: "Transversim secti in carne nota magis fusca seu rufa, velut signo crucis interstincti, ac punctulis hinc inde nigricantibus conspersi." (*Hortus Malabaricus*, i, 19.)

[2] He apparently confounds the coconut milk with the toddy, which is the sap of the tree drawn and fermented; a mistake which later travellers have made.

[3] The Mango (*Am* or *Amba*). I do not know how the word Am-

a fruit of excellent fragrance and flavour, somewhat like a peach.

There is again another wonderful tree called *Chakebaruhe*[1], as big as an oak. Its fruit is produced from the trunk and not from the branches, and is something marvellous to see, being as big as a great lamb, or a child of three years old. It has a hard rind like that of our pine-cones, so that you have to cut it open with an axe; inside it has a pulp of surpassing flavour, with the sweetness of honey and of the best Italian melon; and this also contains some five hundred chestnuts of like flavour, which are capital eating when roasted.

I do not remember to have seen any other fruit trees, such as pears, apples, or figs, or vines, unless it were some that bore leaves only and no grapes. There is an exception, however, at the fine church of St. Thomas the Apostle, at the place where he was Bishop. They have there a little

buranus which he uses is formed. [See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Mango.*] There is a tree and fruit in Malabar with a considerable resemblance to the mango (perhaps a wild Mango) called *Ambalám* (Rheede, *Hortus Malabar.*, i, 31).

[1] The Jack; a good account of it. *Ciake Baruhe* is the *Shaki Barki* of Ibn Batuta; concerning which see *Jordanus*, p. 13. P. Vincenzo Maria also calls the best kind of Jack *Giacha Barca* (*Viag.*, p. 355). *Baruhe* however comes nearer to *Waracha*, which Knox states to be one Singalese name of the Jack (Ed. 1691, p. 14).

[See on this fruit, I, p. 340, a passage from the Palatine MS. of Florence of the Travels of Odoric thus translated by Yule in *Hobson-Jobson*: "And there be also trees which produce fruits so big that two will be a load for a strong man. And when they are eaten you must oil your hands and your mouth; they are of a fragrant odour and very savoury; the fruit is called *chabassi.*" In Baber's *Memoirs* there is an excellent description of the fruit: "Another is the *Kadhil.* This has a very bad look and flavour (odour). It looks like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a haggis. It has a sweet sickly taste. Within it are stones like a filbert....The fruit is very adhesive, and on account of this adhesive quality many rub their mouths with oil before eating them. They grow not only from the branches and trunk, but from its root. You would say that the tree was all hung round with haggises." (*Leyden and Erskine's* edition, p. 325.) The Jack is the tree and fruit called *Artocarpus integrifolia.* It is probably derived from the Malayalam name *chákka* and the Portuguese *jaca.* See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.]

vinery which I saw, and which supplies a small quantity of wine. It is related that when he first went thither he used to carry about with him a little wine for masses (as I did myself for the space of nearly two years); and when that was done he went to Paradise, into which he found his way by the help of Angels, and carried away with him some of the grapes, the stones of which he sowed. From these grew the vines which I saw at that place, and from them he made the wine of which he stood in need. Elsewhere there are vines indeed, but they bear no grapes, as I know by experience. The same is the case with melons and cucumbers, and indeed I saw no eatable potherbs there, unless it be an exception that I saw whole thickets of basil.

These then are the trees in Adam's garden. But of what tree was the fruit that he ate I cannot tell; yet might I guess it to be of the citron[1], for it is written,

"*Ipse lignum tunc notavit*
Dampna ligni ut solveret."

Now there were used, it must be observed, in making the cross, palm wood, olive wood, cypress wood, and citron wood, and the last is the only one of the four that can be

[1] "*De cedro.*" This word is ambiguous, but it is evidently the citron and not cedar, from what follows. The quotation is from the hymn PANGE LINGUA GLORIOSI, which is sung in the Roman Church at matins on Passion Sunday, thus:

"*De parentis protoplasti*
Fraude factâ condolens,
Quando pomi noxialis
In necem morsu ruit,
Ipse lignum tunc notavit
Damna ligni ut solveret.

Hoc opus nostræ salutis
Ordo depoposcerat
Multiformis proditoris
Ars ut artem pelleret,
Et medelam ferret inde
Hostis unde læserat."

alleged to bear a fruit which is good to eat and pleasant to the eyes. And these really appear to be the woods of the cross in that which belongs to our Lord the Emperor Charles; whatever people may say about the plantain tree (which is called also a fig tree) and its exhibiting the image of the crucifix; at the same time I don't mean to commit myself to any pre-judgment of the matter. But as regards the fruit before mentioned, there is a certain Hebrew gloss on that proverb of Ezekiel's, "*Patres comederunt uvam acerbam, et dentes filiorum obstupuerunt,*" which needs notice. Where our version has *Patres* the original Hebrew has *Adam*. Now this word is written sometimes one way and sometimes another. For *Adam* is written one way when it signifies *parents*, or *man and woman*, as in Genesis when 'tis said "*Vocavit nomen eorum* Adam" in the plural; and it is written with other letters when it signifies *a man* only. Just as we say on the one hand *hic et hæc homo*, and on the other hand *hic vir* (though I don't mean to say that we use diacritical marks and inherent vowels like the Hebrews), so also *Sem* is written sometimes with a *Zade*, and sometimes with a *Samech*; and *Abram* sometimes with an *Aleph* and sometimes with a *He*, the signification varying accordingly. So then "Adam *comederunt uvam acerbam*" [has been understood of our first father]. But this interpretation is not approved by our divines, for there was no *vinewood* in the cross. The same remark may be made regarding the fig tree for which the sons of Adam in Seyllan stand up, and also regarding the plantain, (though it is highly probable that our parents made their aprons of its leaves, seeing that they be so big). As for the olive and the date, though they are "good for food" nobody ever suggested *their* being the forbidden fruit. Yet there *was* palm wood in the cross, as is clearly seen in the reliques belonging to the Emperor; at least that is my opinion. Yet that can hardly be if the story be true that Godfrey

of Viterbo tells in his Pantheon[1]. For he says that when Adam was waxing old and infirm, he sent his son Seth to Paradise to seek the promised oil of mercy. The angel warden of Paradise said: "The time is not yet; but take thou these branches of olive, citron, and cypress, and plant them; and when oil shall be got from them thy father shall get up safe and sound." So Seth returned, and found his father dead in Hebron. Wherefore he twisted together those three branches, and planted them above the body of Adam, and straightway they became one tree. And when that tree grew great it was transplanted, first to Mount Lebanon, and afterwards to Jerusalem. And at Jerusalem to this day exists a monastery of the Greeks on the spot where that tree was cut down. The hole whence it was cut is under the altar, and the monastery is called in Hebrew "The Mother of the Cross" from this circumstance. The tree was made known to Solomon by means of the Queen of Saba, and he caused it to be buried under the deep foundations of a tower. But by the earthquake that took place on the birth of Christ, the foundations of the tower were rent, and the tree discovered. It was from it that the pool called *Probatica* acquired its virtues.

CONCERNING THE CLOTHING OF OUR FIRST PARENTS.

And the Lord made for Adam and his wife coats of skins or fur, and clothed them therewith. But if it be asked, whence the skins? the answer usually made is, either that they were expressly created (which savours not of wisdom!); or that an animal was slain for the purpose (and this is not satisfactory, seeing that 'tis believed the animals were at first created only in pairs, and there had

[1] The story here related of Seth is told in some of Godfrey's verses of a "younger son of Noah called Hiontius."

been no time for the multiplication of the species). Now then I say, without however meaning to dogmatize, that for coats of *fur* we should read coats of *fibre*. For among the fronds of the Nargil, of which I have spoken above, there grows a sort of fibrous web forming an open network of coarse dry filaments. Now to this day among the people there and the Indians[1] it is customary to make of those fibres wet weather mantles for those rustics whom they call *camalls*[2], whose business it is to carry burdens, and also to carry men and women on their shoulders in palankins, such as are mentioned in Canticles, "*Ferculum fecit sibi Salomon de lignis Libani*," whereby is meant a portable litter, such as I used to be carried in at Zaytún and in India. A garment such as I mean, of this *camall* cloth (and not *camel* cloth), I wore till I got to Florence, and I left it in the sacristy of the Minor Friars there. No doubt the raiment of John Baptist was of this kind. For as regards *camel's hair* it is, next to silk, the softest stuff in the world, and never could have been meant. By the way (speaking of camels), I once found myself in company with an infinite multitude of camels and their foals in that immense desert by which you do down from Babylon of the Confusion towards Egypt by way of Damascus; and of Arabs also there was no end! Not that I mean to say there were any camels in Seyllan; but there were innumerable elephants. And these though they be most ferocious monsters seldom hurt a foreigner. I even rode upon one once, that belonged to the Queen of Saba! That beast really did seem to have the use of reason--if it were not contrary to the Faith to think so.

[1] Dobner has *Judeos*, which I take to be an error for *Indos*.

[2] *Hhamál* (Ar.), a porter or bearer. The word is still commonly applied to palankin bearers in Western India.

CONCERNING THE FOOD OF OUR FIRST PARENTS.

Our first parents, then, lived in Seyllan upon the fruits I have mentioned, and for drink had the milk of animals. They used no meat till after the deluge, nor to this day do those men use it who call themselves the children of Adam. Adam, you know, was set down upon the mountain of Seyllan, and began there to build him a house with slabs of marble, etc., as has been already related. At that place dwell certain men under religious vows, and who are of surpassing cleanliness in their habits; yea of such cleanliness that none of them will abide in a house where anyone may have spit; and to spit themselves (though in good sooth they rarely do such a thing) they will retire a long way, as well as for other occasions.

They eat only once a day, and never oftener; they drink nothing but milk or water; they pray with great propriety of manner; they teach boys to form their letters, first by writing with the finger on sand, and afterwards with an iron style upon leaves of paper, or rather I should say upon leaves of a certain tree.

In their cloister they have certain trees that differ in foliage from all others. These are encircled with crowns of gold and jewels, and there are lights placed before them, and these trees they worship[1]. And they pretend

[1] These were doubtless Peepul trees representing the celebrated tree of Buddh-Gaya, of which a shoot has been cherished at Anurajapura for twenty centuries (see *Tennent*, i, 343; ii, 614). Such trees are maintained in the courtyard of nearly every *wihara* or temple in Ceylon as objects of veneration (Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 212; Knox, p. 18). It is difficult to account for the strange things that Marignolli puts into the mouths of the Buddhists. Probably he communicated with them through Mahomedans, who put things into their own shape. The Buddha's Foot of the Ceylonese monks was the Adam's Foot of the Mahomedans, hence by legitimate algebra Buddha = Adam, and Adam may be substituted for Buddha. The way in which Herodotus makes the Persians, or the Phenicians or Egyptians, give *their* versions of the stories of Io and Europa and other Greek legends, affords quite a parallel case, and probably originated in a like cause viz., the perversions of *ciceroni*. We may be sure that the Persians knew no more of Io than the Singalese Sramanas did of Adam and Cain. (See *Herod.*, i, 1–5; ii, 54, 55, etc.)

to have received this right by tradition from Adam, saying that they adore those trees because Adam looked for future salvation to come from wood. And this agrees with that verse of David's, "*Dicite in gentibus, quia Dominus regnabit in ligno*," though for a true rendering it would be better to say *curabit a ligno*[1].

These monks, moreover, never keep any food in their house till the morrow. They sleep on the bare ground; they walk barefoot, carrying a staff; and are contented with a frock like that of one of our Minor Friars (but without a hood), and with a mantle cast in folds over the shoulder *ad modum Apostolorum*[2]. They go about in procession every morning begging rice for their day's dinner. The princes and others go forth to meet them with the greatest reverence, and bestow rice upon them in measure proportioned to their numbers; and this they partake of steeped in water, with coco-nut milk and plantains[3]. These things I speak of as an eye-witness; and indeed

[1] The quotation is from a celebrated reading of Psalm xcvi, 10 (in the Vulgate, xcv, 10), respecting which I have to thank my friend Dr. Kay, of Bishop's College, Calcutta, for the following note:

"The addition *a ligno* (which is not in the Vulgate, i.e. Jerome's 'Gallican Psalter') is from the *old* Vulgate, which was made in Africa in the first or second century, and was used by Tertullian, St. Augustine, etc. It was no doubt through St. Augustine that the rendering was handed down to your friend Marignolli.

"Justin Martyr says (and it was not denied by Trypho) that ἀπὸ ξύλου occurred in the LXX. It is not known I believe in any MS. now existing; and the inference drawn is that Justin had been misled by certain copies in which some pious marginal annotation had been introduced by later copyists into the text." Dr. Kay adds the following quotation by Bellarmine from Fortunatus:

"*Impleta sunt quæ cecinit*
David fideli carmine,
Dicens, De nationibus
Regnavit a ligno Deus."

I may add since writing the above that copious remarks on this reading of the Psalm are to be found in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, viii, pp. 470, 516 *seq.*

[2] This use of the phrase satisfactorily illustrates the *alla apostolica* which Varthema so often uses. See Jones and Badger's *Varthema* (HAK. SOC.), pp. 78, 112, etc.

[3] "*Lixam in aqua comedunt cum lacte nargillorum et musis.*"

they made me a *festa* as if I were one of their own order[1].

There follow Chapters *Concerning the Multiplication of the Human Race, The Offerings of Cain and Abel, etc., etc.*, to the end of the first section of his book, which he terms *Thearchos*. These chapters do not contain anything to our purpose except a few slight notices here and there, which I shall now extract. Thus of Cain he says:

If we suppose that he built his city after the murder of Abel there is nothing in this opposed to Scripture, unless so far that it seems to be implied that he never did settle down, but was always a vagabond and a fugitive. This city of his is thought to have been where now is that called KOTA in Seyllan[2], a place where I have been. After he had begotten many sons there he fled towards Damascus, where he was shot by the arrow of Lamech his descendant in the seventh generation; and there, hard by Damascus, his sepulchre is shown to this day[3].

In the next passage also he seems to be speaking of Hebron from personal knowledge:

And the story goes that Adam mourned the death of his son Abel for a hundred years, and desired not to beget any more sons, but dwelt in a certain cave apart from Eve, until by command of an angel he rejoined her, and begat

[1] A most accurate account of the Buddhist monks as they may be seen to-day in Burma, and I presume in Ceylon. What Marignolli saw he describes very correctly; his interpreters are, probably, therefore responsible for the stuff he says he heard.

[2] The author curiously overlooks *Gen.* iv, 17. Kotta, or (Buddhisto-classically) Jáyawardanapúra, near Columbo, is first mentioned as a royal residence about 1314, but it again became the capital of the island in 1410, and continued so about a century and a half. It appears to be represented as such in the great Map of Fra Mauro, under the name of *Cotte Civitas*.

[3] This legend of Lamech shooting the aged Cain in a thicket, by mistake for an animal, and then killing the youth who had pointed out the game to him, seems to have been invented by the Hebrews as an explanation of the saying of Lamech in *Genesis*, iv, 23. It is the subject of a curious fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

Seth. Then he separated himself from the generation of evil doers, and directed his course towards Damascus, and at last he ended his days in EBRON, and there he was buried, some twenty miles from Jerusalem. And the city was called *Arba*, i.e. of the four, because there were buried there Adam the chief, then Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, in the double cave that is in Ebron. And there the Patriarchs and other holy Fathers were afterwards buried, and Joseph also when he was brought up out of Egypt.

To Seth, he says,

Succeeded his son Enoch, who began to call upon the name of the Lord. This is believed to mean that he first instituted the practice of addressing God in audible prayers, and that he founded a religious discipline and peculiar rule of life, such as is followed to this day (they say) by the Bragmans, and by the monks of Seyllan, though these have turned aside to idolatry and to the worship of a tree, as we have related....

...And the sons of Adam in Seyllan adduce many proofs that the flood reached not to them. And this is one of the chief, that in the eastern part of the country there are a number of roaming vagabond people whom I have seen myself, and who call themselves the sons of Cain[1]. Their faces are huge, hideous, and frightful enough to terrify anybody. They never can stay more than two days in one place, and if they did they would stink so that nobody could endure them. They seldom show themselves, but yet they are given to trade. Their wives and children, as frightful goblins as themselves, they carry about upon donkeys[2]. Yet St. Augustine and the mass of theologians

[1] Mas'udi says there was a race of Indians descended from Cain in the country of *Kumár* where the aloes wood came from. (*Prairies d'Or*, i, 72.)

[2] Here he speaks of the *Veddahs*, or Aborigines of Ceylon. Compare Tennent's description: "Miserable objects, active but timid, and athletic though deformed, with large heads and misshapen limbs. Their long

deem it absurd to suppose that any should have escaped the Deluge unless in the ark....

...And the ark grounded in the seventh month on a mountain of Armenia, which is near the Iron Gates in the Empire of Uzbek, and is called Ararat in the Lesser Armenia.

Next we come to the *Second Age*, and the beginning of the Second Book which is called *Monarchos*.

From the first chapter, which treats *Of the Distribution of the Earth among the Sons of Noah*, I extract some passages:

Noah therefore under the command of God delivered instructions to his sons about maintaining divine service in the worship of the One God by sacrifices, about the multiplication of offspring, and the division of the earth, that they might replenish it, and live in peace after his death. And he desiring a quiet life for his remaining days, reserved for himself the Isle of Cethym [Chittim] now called Cyprus[1]. Shem the firstborn, as king and priest after his father, obtained half of the world, i.e., all Asia the Great, extending from the White Sea beyond Hungary, where now are the Wallachians[2], in a straight line over all the empire

black hair and beards fell down to the middle in uncombed lumps, they stood with their faces bent towards the ground, and their restless eyes twinkled upwards with an expression of uneasiness and apprehension.... The children were unsightly objects, entirely naked, with misshapen joints, huge heads and protuberant stomachs; the women, who were reluctant to appear, were the most repulsive specimens of humanity I have ever seen in any country" (ii, 450).

[1] Where, says Marignolli in another passage, "he planted a vineyard, which belongs at this day to the Archbishop of Nicosia" (*Dobner*, p. 109.)

[2] "*Olachi*." But what White Sea is meant, that lies beyond Hungary where the Wallachians are? The Caspian, the Sea of Marmora, the Mediterranean, the Baltic, have all claims to the title of the White Sea, but none of these will do, and what *we* call the White Sea seems too remote from Hungary and Wallachia. There was indeed a Great Hungary, and a great Wallachia recognized towards the Ural. (See *Roger Bacon's Opus Majus*, Venice, 1750, p. 173.) Fra Mauro has a *Mar Biancho* represented as a large lake in this quarter; whether it stands for Lake Ladoga, the White Sea, or the Baikal (as Zurla thinks)

of Uzbek, Katay, the Indies, and Ethiopia to the world's end.

The other half was divided between the other two brothers. Cham had Africa (including the Holy Land[1]) by Carthage and Tunis[2] to the world's end. Japhet the younger had Europe where we are now, that is to say, all on this side from Hungary, and all on this side from Rome[3], including Germany, France, Bohemia, Poland and England, and so to the world's end.

The next chapter is *Concerning Worship after the Flood*, a large portion of which is worthy of translation:

would be difficult to say, so compressed is his northern geography; but it is most likely that it means whatever Marignolli means by the same expression. Indeed a glance at Fra Mauro's Map makes Marignolli's division of the earth much more intelligible. There seems to be no doubt that the White Sea of Fra Mauro, and probably, therefore, that of Marignolli, is an exaggeration of the Russian Lake called *Bielo Osero*, which does mean *White Lake*, and out of which flows the R. Szesna, an important feeder of the Volga. The only modification required is that Marignolli conceives Ethiopia as running out eastward, to the south of the Indian Ocean, as remote Africa does in the geography of Edrisi and other Arab writers, as well as that of Ptolemy and the geographer of Ravenna. Make this modification and then you will see how one half of the hemisphere is divided into Europe and Africa, whilst the other is Asia, in which a "a straight line" may be drawn from the White Sea, passing successively through the empire of Uzbek, Cathay, the Indies, Ethiopia, and the World's End!

[1] "*Africam ubi est Terra Sancta.*"

[2] *Turusium*, which I venture to correct to *Tunisium*.

[3] Dobner prints it "*scilicet ab* Ungaria, Cytra, *et* Roma," treating all three as proper names apparently. I suspect it should be "*scilicet ab Ungariâ citrà et* Romaniâ," meaning perhaps from *Hither Hungary*, viz., our modern Hungary as distinguished from the Great Hungary of note (2), p. 246.

Shem was anxious to maintain the worship of the true God, and his history we shall now follow. In the second year after the flood he begat Arfaxat, who in turn begat Elam, from whom the noble race of the Alans in the East is said to have sprung. They form at this day the greatest and noblest nation in the world, the fairest and bravest of men[1]. 'Tis by their aid that the Tartars have won the empire of the east, and without them they have never gained a single important victory. For Chinghiz Caam, the first king of the Tartars, had seventy-two of their princes serving under him when he went forth under God's providence to scourge the world[2]....Arfaxat the son of Shem, at the age of thirty-five begat Sela or Sale, by whom India was peopled and divided into three kingdoms. The first of these is called MANZI, the greatest and noblest province in the world, having no paragon in beauty, pleasantness, and extent. In it is that noble city of CAMPSAY, besides ZAYTÚN, CYNKALAN, JANCI[3], and

[1] "*Major et nobilior natio mundi et homines pulchriores et fortiores.*" Compare with the description by Ammianus Marcellinus of the Alans in his time: "Proceri autem Alani paene sunt omnes et pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis, oculorum temperatâ torvitate terribiles, et armorum levitate veloces" (xxxi, 2).

[2] [This is a mistake; the Alans entered the service of the Mongols only after the conquest of their country by Okkodai. "The Mongols, when they had passed the Caucasus in 1223, found the Alans living on the northern skirts of the Caucasus. Fifteen years later the Alans became subject to Batu Khan, after they had made a stout resistance to the Mongols. The Mohammedan historians who record the expeditions against the Alans call them indiscriminately *Alans* or *Asi* (d'Ohsson, ii, 619, 620)." (Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, ii, p. 85.) "We learn from the *Yüan shi* that in the Mongol period the Alans were not only well known in China, but their nation furnished many able officers to the Mongol-Chinese empire. Several of them held high offices or distinguished themselves as valiant captains. Among the biographies in the *Yüan shi*, more than twenty meritorious Alans, some of them of royal blood, have been immortalised, and besides these the names of many others are found there. The Alans are generally termed there *A-su*, sometimes also *A-sze*. The name *A-lan* occurs there only once, viz., in the list of the Si pei ti, where it is coupled with A-su. The *Yüan shi* mentions the *A-su* first *s.a.* 1223." (Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, ii, pp. 87–88.) See p. 186 *n.*]

[3] [Dobner has *Janu.*] Janci is doubtless Yang chau, see note to *Odoric*, p. 210.

many other cities. Manzi was formerly called CYN, and it has to this day the noble port and city called Cynkalan, i.e. "Great India" [Great China], for *kalan* signifies *great*. And in the Second India, which is called MYNIBAR there is CYNKALI, which signifieth "Little India" [Little China], for kali is *Little*[1].

The second kingdom of India is called Mynibar[2], and 'tis of that country that St. Augustine speaketh in treating of the Canine Philosophers, who had this name of Canine because they used to teach people to do as dogs do, e.g. that a man should never be ashamed of anything that was natural to him[3]. They did not, however, succeed in persuading these people even that sons might without shame bathe before their fathers, or let their nakedness be seen by them[4].

It is in this country that lies the city of Columbum, where the pepper grows, of which we have already spoken.

The third province of India is called Maabar, and the church of St. Thomas which he built with his own hands is there, besides another which he built by the agency of

[1] On *Cynkalan* or Canton and *Cynkali* or Cranganore, see notes to *Odoric*, pp. 179 and 133. As regards Cranganore it may be added that it seems to have been one of the most ancient capitals of Malabar, and in some of the ancient copper deeds appears to be called Muyiri-Kodu, which a writer in the *Madras Journal* indicates as perhaps identifying it with the classical *Muziris* (?). It is now almost a deserted place, but the ancient line of its Rajas still exists (*Day*, p. 11). In connexion with Marignolli's interpretation of Cynkali it is somewhat curious that Abdurrazzak tells us the people of the neighbouring city of Calicut were known by the name of *Chini-Bachagán*, "Sons of the Chinese" or "Chinese Young Ones." There is no Persian word *kali*, "little." The nearest explanation that I can find for Marignolli's etymology is the Arabic *kalil*, "little, small, moderate" (*Richardson*).

[2] Here and where it occurs just before, Dobner has *Nymbar*, but the Venice MS. has correctly *Mynibar*. See note at p. 132.

[3] See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xiv, 20.

[4] Here the author refers to the remarkable decency of the Hindus in such matters, which may well rebuke some who call them "niggers." "Among the Lydians," says Herodotus, "and indeed among the barbarians generally, it is reckoned a deep disgrace, even to a man, to be seen naked" (i, 10).

workmen. These he paid with certain very great stones which I have seen there, and with a log cut down on Adam's Mount in Seyllan, which he caused to be sawn up, and from its sawdust other trees were sown. Now that log, huge as it was, was cut down by two slaves of his and drawn to the seaside by the saint's own girdle. When the log reached the sea he said to it, "Go now and tarry for us in the haven of the city of Mirapolis[1]." It arrived there accordingly, whereupon the king of that place with his whole army endeavoured to draw it ashore, but ten thousand men were not able to make it stir. Then St. Thomas the Apostle himself came on the ground, riding on an ass, wearing a shirt, a stole, and a mantle of peacock's feathers, and attended by those two slaves and by two great lions, just as he is painted, and called out "Touch not the log, for it is mine!" "How," quoth the king, "dost thou make it out to be thine?" So the Apostle loosing the cord wherewith he was girt, ordered his slaves to tie it to the log and draw it ashore. And this being accomplished with the greatest ease, the king was converted, and bestowed upon the saint as much land as he could ride round upon his ass. So during the day-time he used to go on building his churches in the city, but at night he retired to a distance of three Italian miles, where there were numberless peacocks[2]...and thus being shot in the side with an arrow such as is called *friccia*[3], (so that

[1] Mirapolis is a Grecized form of Mailapúr, Meliapur, or, as the Catalan Map has it, Mirapor, the place since called San Thomé, near the modern Madras. *Mailapúram* means or may mean *Peacock-Town*. A suburb still retains the name Mailapúr. It is near the shore, about three miles and a half south of Fort St. George, at the mouth of the Sydrapetta River. [*Marco Polo*, ii, p. 355 *n*.]

[2] There is an evident hiatus here, though not indicated as such in the copies. Marignolli probably meant to relate, as Polo does (iii, 22), how the saint being engaged in prayer in the middle of the peafowl, a native aiming at one of them shot him.

[3] Meinert has here "*mit einem Pfeile, indisch* Friccia *genannt*." But it is no *Indisch*, only the Italian *Freccia = Flèche*. I do not know why the word is introduced.

his wound was like that in the side of Christ into which he had thrust his hand), he lay there before his oratory from the hour of complines, continuing throughout the night to preach, whilst all his blessed blood was welling from his side; and in the morning he gave up his soul to God. The priests gathered up the earth with which his blood had mingled, and buried it with him. By means of this I experienced a distinct miracle twice over in my own person, which I shall relate elsewhere[1].

Standing miracles are, however, to be seen there, in respect both of the opening of the sea, and of the peacocks[2]. Moreover whatever quantity of that earth be removed from the grave one day, just as much is replaced spontaneously against the next. And when this earth is taken in a potion it cures diseases, and in this manner open miracles are wrought both among Christians and among Tartars and Pagans[3].

[1] He does not in this work.

[2] "*Tam de apertione maris quam de pavonibus.*" There is nothing before about this opening of the sea, and the meaning is dark. John of Hese has a foolish story about St. Thomas's tomb being on an island in the sea, and that every year a path was laid dry for fifteen days for the pilgrims to pass through the sea. But Marignolli who had been at the place could not mean such stuff as this. Maffei however mentions that St. Thomas, in erecting a cross at Meliapor, which was then ten leagues from the sea (!), prophesied that when the sea should reach that vicinity white men should come from the world's end and restore the law which he had taught. Perhaps there is an allusion to such a tradition here. There is also a curious Tamul legend bearing upon this which is cited in Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné of Or. MSS.* (Madras, vol. iii, p. 372). Mailapur was anciently inhabited by Jainas. One had a dream that in a few days the town would be overwhelmed by the sea. Their holy image was removed further inland, and three days later the old town was swallowed up. The temples were then reestablished in a town called Mailamanagara, where exactly the same thing happened again. It is added that tradition runs in reference to the whole coast from San Thomé to the Seven Pagodas, that extensive ruins exist beneath the sea and are sometimes visible.

[3] The mention of Tartars here is curious, and probably indicates that the Chinese ships occasionally visited Mailapur. The Chinese are constantly regarded as Tartars at this time.

The Roman Catholic ecclesiastical travellers and hagiologists seem to have striven who should most expand the missionary travels of

That king also gave St. Thomas a perpetual grant of the public steelyard for pepper and all aromatic spices,

Thomas the Apostle. According to an abstract given by Padre Vincenzo his preaching began in Mesopotamia, extended through Bactria, etc., to China, "the States of the Great Mogul" (!) and Siam: he then revisited his first converts, and passed into Germany, and thence to Brazil, "as relates the P. Emanuel de Nobrega," and from that to Ethiopia. After thus bringing light to Asia, Europe, America, and Africa, the indefatigable Apostle retook his way to India, converting Socotra by the way, and then preached in Malabar and on the Coromandel coast, where he died as here related.

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance in relation to the alleged mission of Thomas to India, that whilst the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, ascribed to Abdias, Bishop of Babylonia, relate that before he visited that part of India where he was killed, he had in another region of India converted a king called Gundopharus, a king's name nearly identical with this (Gondophares) has in recent times become known from the Indo-Scythian coins discovered in N. W. India. The strange legend ran that this king Gundopharus sent to the West a certain merchant named Abban to seek a skilled architect to build him a palace. Whereupon the Lord sold Thomas to him as a slave of His who was expert in such work. After leaving Gundopharus Thomas went to the country of a certain King Meodeus (*Mahadeva?*), where he was eventually put to death by lances. The story which Marignolli tells of the great log survived for many generations, and is related in much the same way by Maffei and by Linschoten towards the end of the sixteenth century, and again by the Carmelite Padre Vincenzo late in the seventeenth. It was supposed to be alluded to among other things in the mystic inscription which surrounded the miraculous cross on St. Thomas's Mount. And strange to say Gasparo Balbi relates something like a duplicate of the miracle which he declares he witnessed, and which occurred for the benefit of the Jesuits when in sore need of long beams for a new church at San Thomé.

The spot where Thomas is believed to have been slain is, according to Heber, at the "Little Mount," a small rocky knoll with a Roman Catholic church upon it (now "Church of the Resurrection"), and where a footmark of the Apostle in the rock is I believe still exhibited, close to Marmalong Bridge, on the Sydrapetta river, adjoining the suburb still called Mailapur. The "Great Mount" is an insulated hill of granite some two miles further up on the south side of the river, with an old church on its summit, built by the Portuguese in 1651, but now the property of the Catholic Armenians. I believe it is or was under the altar of a church on the latter site that the miraculous cross existed which was believed to have been cut in the rock by Thomas himself, and to exhibit various annual phenomena, sometimes sweating blood, which betokened grievous calamities. "These wonders began," says P. Vincenzo, with *sancta simplicitas*, "some years after the arrival of the Portuguese in India." Alexander Hamilton however says that tradition assigned the Great Mount as the scene of the martyrdom.

The Padre Vincenzo "would not wonder if that were true" which John, Patriarch of the Indies, was said to have declared to Pope Calixtus, viz., that St. Thomas every year appeared visibly and ad-

and no one dares take this privilege from the Christians

ministered the sacrament to his Indian Christians. John of Hese has got a story of this kind too.

[Mr. W. R. Philipps has a valuable paper on *The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India* in the *Indian Antiquary*, xxxii, 1903, pp. 1–15, 145–160; he has come to the following conclusions: "(1) There is good early evidence that St. Thomas was the apostle of the Parthian empire; and also evidence that he was the apostle of 'India' in some limited sense,—probably an 'India' which included the Indus Valley, but nothing to the east or south of it. (2) According to the Acts, the scene of the martyrdom of St. Thomas was in the territory of a king named, according to the Syriac version, Mazdai, to which he had proceeded after a visit to the city of a king named, according to the same version, Gūdnaphar or Gūndaphar. (3) There is no evidence at all that the place where St. Thomas was martyred was in Southern India; and all the indications point to another direction. (4) We have no indication whatever, earlier than that given by Marco Polo, who died 1324, that there ever was even a tradition that St. Thomas was buried in Southern India."]

[In a recent and learned work (*Die Thomas-Legende*, 1912, 8vo.) Father J. Dahlmann has tried to prove that the story of the travels of St. Thomas in India has an historical basis. If there is some possibility of admitting a voyage of the Apostle to N.W. India (and the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of India is not in favour of Christian Evangelization) it is impossible to accept the theory of the martyrdom of Thomas in Southern India.]

In the beginning of the sixteenth century Barbosa found the church of St. Thomas half in ruins and grown round with jungle. A Mahomedan fakir kept it and maintained a lamp. Yet in 1504, which is several years earlier than Barbosa's voyage, the Syrian Bishop Jaballaha, who had been sent by the Patriarch to take charge of the Indian Christians, reported that the House of St. Thomas had begun to be inhabited by some Christians, who were engaged in restoring it. [See Marco Polo, ii, pp. 355 *n. seq.*]

The Portuguese have a curious history of the search for the bones of St. Thomas by a deputation sent by the Viceroy Duarte Menezes in 1522, under orders from King John III. The narrative states circumstantially that the Apostle's bones were found, besides those of the king whom he had converted, and an inscription commemorating the building of the church by St. Thomas, etc. The bones were eventually removed to Goa. Yet older tradition in the West asserted positively that Thomas was buried at Edessa.

There are numbers of poor native Christians at Madras now. Most of the men who man the *masúla* or surf-boats are such. Have they come down from St. Thomas's time, or who are they? Does anybody know? (See *P. Vincenzo Maria, Viaggi*, pp. 132–136; *Assemani*, pp. 32 and 450; *Linschoten*, p. 28; *Gasparo Balbi*, f. 86; *Kircher, China Illustrata*, p. 53; *Heber's Journal*; *Barbosa* in *Ramusio*, i, f. 315; *Hamilton's New Account of the E. Indies*, 1744, i, 359; *Fabricius*, Collection of Apocryphal books of New Testament (*proper title mislaid*), pp. 691, 699; *Reinaud* in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc.* (1849) xviii, p. 95; *Maffei, Historia Indica*, l. viii; *Faria y Sousa's Portuguese Asia*, pt. iii, c. 7.)

but at the peril of death[1]. I spent four days there; there is an excellent pearl fishery at the place.

. . . . . .

Now to say something of the monstrous creatures which histories or romances have limned or lied about, and have represented to exist in India. Such be those that St. Augustine speaks of in the Sixteenth Book *De Civitate Dei*; as, for example, that there be some folks who have but one eye in the forehead; some who have their feet turned the wrong way; some alleged to partake of the nature of both sexes, and to have the right breast like a man's, the left breast like a woman's; others who have neither head nor mouth, but only a hole in the breast. Then there are some who are said to subsist only by the breath of their nostrils; others a cubit in height who war with cranes. Of some 'tis told that they live not beyond eight years, but conceive and bear five times. Some have no joints; others lie ever on their backs holding up the sole of the only foot they have to shade them; others again have dog's heads. And then poets have invented ypotamuses and plenty of other monsters.

Concerning all these St. Augustine concludeth either that they exist not at all, or if they do exist they have the use of reason, or are capable of it. All men come from Adam, and even if they be natural monstrosities still they are from Adam. Such monstrosities are indeed born among ourselves from time to time, and a few also in those regions; but then they amount to a good many if you take what are born from the whole family of man[2]. Such

[1] One of the old copper grants, which are claimed by the Malabar Christians as the charters of their ancient privileges, contains a passage thus interpreted in the *Madras Journal* for 1844, p. 119: "We have given as eternal possession to Iravi Corttan, the lord of the town, the brokerage and due customs of all that may be measured by the *para*, weighed by the balance, stretched by the line, of all that may be counted or carried,...salt, sugar musk, and lamp-oil, or whatever it be, namely within the river mouth of Codangulor" (Cranganore), etc.

[2] St. Augustine's chapter is headed: "*An ex propagine Adam vel*

is the case (as he exemplifies the matter) with the different sorts of hunchbacks, with men who have six fingers, and many others of like character[1]. So the most noble Emperor Charles IV brought from Tuscany a girl whose face, as well as her whole body, was covered with hair, so that she looked like the daughter of a fox[2]! Yet is there no such race of hairy folk in Tuscany: nor was her own mother even, nor her mother's other children so, but like the rest of us[3]. Such too was that monster whom we saw in Tuscany, in the district of Florence, in our own time and which a pretty woman gave birth to. It had two heads perfectly formed, four arms, two busts, perfect as far as the navel, but there running into one. There was one imperfect leg sticking out of the side, and only two legs below, yet it was baptized as two persons. It survived for a week. I saw also at Bologna, when I was lecturing there, a ewe which bore a monstrous lamb of like character, with two heads and seven feet. Yet we do not suppose that such creatures exist as a species, but regard them as

filiorum Noe quædam genera hominum monstrosa prodierint?" After mentioning a number of the alleged monsters, such as are detailed here, and some of which he says were painted in mosaic in the *Maritima Platea* at Carthage, he comes to the conclusion cited by Marignolli. (*De Civitate Dei*, xvi, 8.)

[1] According to Ricci in Trigault (*De Christiana Exped. apud Sinas*, 1617, p. 94) many in the southern provinces of China "had two nails upon the little toe of either foot, a thing noticed in all the people of Cochin China, their neighbours, and perhaps an indication that they had all formerly six toes." These six-toed men occur also in India occasionally. I had a servant with this wealth of toes, and his name (Changa) was a sort of punning allusion to the peculiarity. [Cf. *Kiao-chi*, "crossed toes," in *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 119 *n.*]

[2] This is mentioned by Matteo Villani, who says that when the emperor was at Pietra Santa, on his return from his coronation at Rome, there was presented to him a female child of seven, all woolly like a sheep, as if with a wool badly dyed of a red colour, and covered with this to the extremities of the lips and eyelids. The empress, marvelling at such a phenomenon, entrusted the child to her damsels and took her to Germany (*Chron.*, bk. v, ch. 53).

[3] See portrait of the "Hairy Woman" in the *Mission to Ava* in 1855. In that case the phenomenon had appeared in at least three generations. [See II, 168.]

natural monstrosities. So doth God choose to show forth His power among men, that we may render thanks to Him that He hath not created us with such deformities, and that we may fear Him!

But I, who have travelled in all the regions of the Indians, and have always been most inquisitive, with a mind indeed too often addicted more to curious inquiries than to virtuous acquirements, (for I wanted if possible to know everything)—I have taken more pains, I conceive, than another who is generally read or at least well known[1], in investigating the marvels of the world; I have travelled in all the chief countries of the earth, and in particular to places where merchants from all parts of the world do come together, such as the Island of Ormes, and yet I never could ascertain as a fact that such races of men really do exist, whilst the persons whom I met used to question me in turn where such were to be found. The truth is that no such people *do* exist as nations, though there may be an individual monster here and there. Nor is there any people at all such as has been invented, who have but one foot which they use to shade themselves withal. But as all the Indians commonly go naked, they are in the habit of carrying a thing like a little tent-roof on a cane handle, which they open out at will as a protection against sun or rain. This they call a *chatyr*[2]; I brought one to Florence with me. And this it is which the poets have converted into a foot.

[1] "*Qui plus dedi operam, ut pulo, quam alius qui legatur vel sciatur.*" Does this point at Odoric?

[2] *Chatr* (Pers.), an umbrella. It is strange that he should require to give so roundabout a description, for Ibn Batuta says that everybody, gentle and simple, at Constantinople used parasols at this time. I observe that a gilt umbrella is a part of the insignia of high church dignitaries in Italy, as it is in Burma and other Buddhistic countries. When did this originate? [Dobner has *Cyatyr*.]

ANECDOTE CONCERNING A CERTAIN INDIAN WHO WAS BAPTISED.

Here I must relate how when I was staying at Columbum with those Christian chiefs who are called *Modilial*[1], and are the owners of the pepper, one morning there came to me in front of the church a man of majestic stature and snowy white beard, naked from the loins upwards with only a mantle thrown about him, and a knotted cord [crossing his shoulder] like the stole of a deacon. He prostrated himself in reverence at full length upon the sand, knocking his head three times against the ground. Then he raised himself, and seizing my naked feet wanted to kiss them; but when I forbade him he stood up. After a while he sat down on the ground and told us the whole story of his life through an interpreter. This interpreter [strange to say] was his own son, who having been taken by pirates and sold to a certain Genoese merchant, had been baptized, and as it so chanced was then with us, and recognized his father by what he related.

The old man had never eaten flesh, had never but once been in the way of begetting offspring, habitually fasted four months in the year, ate only a little rice boiled in water, with fruit and herbs, and that late in the evening, used to spend his nights in prayer, and before he entered his place of prayer washed his whole body, and put on a dress of spotless linen reserved for this only. He then would go in and worship the devil in his image, with the most single-minded devotion. He was the priest of the whole of his island, which was situated in the remotest region of the Indies.

Now God seeing his purity enlightened him first with

[1] *Mudiliar* (Tamul), a head man. The word is in abundant and technical use in Ceylon, and probably in the south of India also.

wisdom from within; and afterwards the demon was constrained to address him through the idol's mouth, speaking thus: "Thou art not in the path of salvation! God therefore enjoineth thee to proceed to Columbum, a distance of two years voyage by sea, and there shalt thou find the messenger of God who shall teach thee the way of salvation!" "Now, therefore," said he to me, "here am I, come to thy feet and ready to obey thee in all things; and what is more, it was thy face that I saw in my dreams as now I recognize." Then having prayed with tears, and strengthened him in his intent, we assigned his baptized son as his teacher and interpreter. And after three months' instruction I baptized him by the name of Michael, and blessed him, and sent him away, whilst he promised to preach to others the faith that he had acquired[1].

This story serves to exemplify that God (as St. Peter said of Cornelius the centurion) is no respecter of persons, but whosoever keepeth the law that is written in the heart (For the light of Thy countenance hath shone upon us, O Lord!) is accepted of Him, and is taught the way of salvation.

But I did not fail to inquire whether this man, who had for two years been sailing about the unexplored seas and islands of the Indies, had seen or even heard anything of those monsters of which we have been speaking; but he knew nothing whatever about them. Nor could I learn more when I was with the Queen of Saba; though there the sun rises just the opposite of here, and at noon the shadow of a man passes from left to right, instead of from

[1] The old man was evidently a Brahman, accurately described, and it is almost too great a stretch of charity to suppose that he came truly in search of instruction. For certainly the interpreter at least was playing on Marignolli's simplicity and vanity with the stories of the two years voyage, of the miraculous admonition, etc., to make him think he was enacting Peter to this new Cornelius. In fact it looks as if the whole was got up as a trick, in the spirit of those which the Duke and Duchess played on Don Quixote.

right to left, as it does here[1]. The north pole there was six degrees below the horizon, and the south pole as much elevated above it, as has been pointed out to me by Master Lemon of Genoa, a very noble astronomer, besides many other wonderful things in regard to the stars.

Giants do exist, undoubtedly; and I have seen one so tall that my head did not reach above his girdle; he had a hideous and disgusting countenance. There are also wild men, naked and hairy, who have wives and children, but abide in the woods. They do not show themselves among men, and I was seldom able to catch sight of one; for they hide themselves in the forest when they perceive any one coming. Yet they do a great deal of work, sowing and reaping corn and other things; and when traders go to them, as I have myself witnessed, they put out what they have to sell in the middle of the path, and run and hide. Then the purchasers go forward and deposit the price, and take what has been set down[2].

It is a fact also that monstrous serpents exist [in the east], and very like that which our lord the Emperor Charles hath in his park at Prague. There are also certain animals with countenances almost like a man's; more particularly in the possession of the Queen of Saba,

[1] "*Oritur sol modo opposito nobis, et in meridie transit umbra viri ad dextrum, sicut hic ad sinistrum, et occultatur ibi Polus Articus nobis gradibus sex, et antarticus totidem elevatur.*" [Dobner, p. 114.] I presume the man is supposed to be looking at his shadow with his back to the sun. The account is then intelligible.

[2] He may here refer either to the Veddahs of Ceylon (see *ante*, p. 245), or to the Poliars and like tribes of the continent, whom he may have seen during his long stay at Columbum, for both practise this dumb trade. Regarding the Veddahs, and the many authorities for their trading in this fashion from FaHian downwards, see *Tennent*, i, 592, etc.; and regarding the Poliars, see *Markham's Travels in Peru and India*, p. 404. A like fashion of trade is ascribed by Pliny (probably through some mistake) to the Seres; by Ibn Batuta to the dwellers in the Dark Lands of the North (ii, 400, 401); and by Cosmas to the gold-sellers near the Sea of Zingium or Zanzibar (*Montfaucon*, ii, 139). See also *Cadamosto* in *Ramusio*, i, and *Herodotus*, iv, 196, with Rawlinson's note thereon.

and in the cloister at Campsay in that most famous monastery where they keep so many monstrous animals, which they believe to be the souls of the departed[1]. [Not that they really are so] for I ascertained by irrefragable proof that they are irrational animals, except, of course, in so far as the devil may make use of them as he once did of the serpent's tongue. [Such delusions] those unbelievers may deserve to bring upon themselves because of their unbelief. But otherwise I must say that their rigid attention to prayer and fasting and other religious duties, if they but held the true faith, would far surpass any strictness and self-denial that we practise[2]. However [as I was going to say] those animals at Campsay usually come to be fed at a given signal, but I observed that they never would come when a cross was present, though as soon as it was removed they would come. Hence I conclude that these monsters are not men, although they may seem to have some of the properties of men, but are merely of the character of apes[3]; (indeed if we had never seen apes before we should be apt to look upon *them* as men!); unless forsooth they be monsters such as I have been speaking of before, which come of Adam's race indeed, but are exceptional and unusual births.

Nor can we conceive (and so says St. Augustine likewise) that there be any *antipodes*, i.e. men having the soles

[1] This is a very curious and unexceptional corroboration of Odoric's quaint story of the convent garden at King ssé (see, I, p. 202).

[2] So Ricold of Montecroce, who frequented the Mahomedan monastic institutions to study their law with the view of refuting it (he afterwards published a translation of the Koran and an argument against it), expresses his astonishment at finding *in lege tantæ perfidiæ opera tantæ perfectionis.* Who would not be astonished, he goes on, "to see the zeal of the Saracens in study, their devoutness in prayer, their charity to the poor, their reverence for the name of God, for the prophets and the holy places, the gravity of their manners, their affability to foreigners, their loving and peaceable conduct towards each other?" (*Peregrin. Quatuor*, etc., p. 131.)

[3] The argument of the cross would seem to cut the other way!

of their feet opposite to ours. Certainly not[1]. For the earth is founded upon the waters. And I have learned by sure experience that if you suppose the ocean divided by two lines forming a cross, two of the quadrants so formed are navigable, and the two others not navigable at all. For God willed not that men should be able to sail round the whole world.

I *have*, however, seen an hermaphrodite, but it was not able to propagate others like itself. Nor indeed does a mule propagate. Now let us go back to our subject.

The next chapter is one *Concerning the Multiplication of the Human Race, and the Division of the Earth, and the Tower of Babel.* I extract the following:

And they came to the plain of Senaar in the Greater Asia, near to the great River Euphrates. There indeed we find a vast level of seemingly boundless extent, in which, as I have seen, there is abundance of all kinds of fruits, and especially of dates, but also olives and vines in great plenty; so also of all field and garden produce, pumpkins, melons, and watermelons.

Then of Babel and Nimrod:

So he began and taught them to bake bricks to serve instead of stone, and, as there are many wells of bitumen there, they had bricks for stone, and bitumen for mortar. And this bitumen is a kind of pitch, very black and liquid, mixt with oil; and when it is used with bricks in building

[1] See *De Civitate Dei*, xvi, 9. Cosmas also rejects the notion of Antipodes with great scorn. "Scripture says that God made of one (blood) all nations of men for to dwell on the *whole* face of the earth, and not upon EVERY face of the earth" (not ἐπὶ παντὶ προσώπῳ, but ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου). But his clinching argument is, "How could rain at the Antipodes be said to *fall*? Why it would *come up* instead of falling" (pp. 121, 157, 191 of *Montfaucon*). I remember hearing that the Astronomer Royal, on finding fault with an engraver who had prepared the plates for a treatise of his wrongside upward, was met by the argument, "Why, sir, I thought there was no up or down in space!"

it solidifies and sets so hard that it is scarcely possible by any art to separate the joints, as I have myself seen and felt when I was on that Tower; and some of that hardened bitumen I carried away with me. The people of the country are continually demolishing the Tower, in order to get hold of the bricks. And the foundations of the city were laid upon the most extensive scale, so that every side of the square was, they say, eight Italian miles; and from what one sees this seems highly probable. They set the Tower at the extremity of the walls next the river, as if for a citadel, and as they built up the walls they filled the interior with earth, so that the whole was formed into a round and solid mass. In the morning when the sun is rising it casts an immensely long shadow across that wide plain[1].

[1] The ruin here identified by Marignolli with the Tower of Babel appears to be that called by Rich *Mujelibé*, and by Layard *Babel*. It is about half a mile from the present channel of the river. Layard speaks of "a line of walls which, leaving the foot of Babel, stretch inland about two miles and a half from the present bed of the Euphrates." It is generally admitted however that these cannot be the real ramparts of old Babylon, though Rich thought they might be the interior enclosure of the palaces; whilst Rennell took them to be the walls of some more recent city. Layard mentions that the excavation of bricks from the remains is still a trade, and they are sold as far as Baghdad. A like trade has thriven for years at Agra in India, where bricks are never made, but *dug for*.

The excavations at the Mujelibé or Babel showed that the structure was much as Marignolli describes, viz. an exterior of burnt bricks laid in bitumen enclosing the unburnt bricks which form the interior mass. So Nebuchadnezzar himself says in the Birs Nimrud inscription as rendered by Oppert: "The earthquake and the thunder had dispersed its sun-dried clay; the bricks of the casing had been split, and the earth of the interior had been scattered in heaps....In a fortunate month, in an auspicious day, I undertook to build porticoes around the crude brick masses, and the casing of burnt bricks." (*English Cyclop.*, article *Babylon*; *Rich's Memoir on Bab. and Persepolis*, 1839; *Smith's Dict. of the Bible* quoted in *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1864; *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, with a clear plan in vol. ii.) It seems impossible, from his mention of the river and ramparts, etc., that Marignolli should here speak of the Birs Nimrud. (See also next note.) In later times Cæsar Federici, and again Tavernier, describe yet another ruin, that called *Akkerkuf* much nearer Baghdad, as the Tower of Babel.

CONCERNING THE DIVISION OF TONGUES.

Having related that history, and how the greatest part of the Tower was destroyed by lightning, he goes on:

And they attempted, it seems, to build similar towers elsewhere, but were not able. Insomuch that even when a certain soldan erected a great building upon the foundation of such a tower, it was struck down by lightning, and on his several times renewing the attempt it was always struck down. So he took his departure into Egypt, and there built the city of Babylon, and is still called the Soldan of Babylon[1].

. . . . . .

The second son of Nimrod was Belus, and had his residence in Babel after him....Now *Bagbel*, as it is called in their language, is different from Babylon. For the latter means *confusion*, whilst *bag* with the letter *g* means a *garden* or *paradise*. [*Bagbel* therefore means the Garden] of Bel, and it is called also *Bagdag*[2].

[1] This quaint statement of the supposed reason for the removal of the Caliphate to Egypt refers perhaps to the Birs Nimrud. Its lightning-rent aspect has struck all who have seen it, and is referred to even in the inscription quoted in the preceding note.

Babylon of Egypt is close to Old Cairo, and is still known as *Babul*. The name comes down from classic times, being mentioned by several writers from Ctesias to Ptolemy, and Babylon of Egypt was the headquarters of the Roman garrison in the time of Augustus. Cairo and Babylon existed together in the middle ages as two distinct cities; the merchants and artificers chiefly residing at Babylon; the Sultan, his amirs and men-at-arms in Cairo and the *Castrum*, which was, I suppose, the present citadel. But the city of the Egyptian Soldan is very commonly called in those days simply *Babylon*. Edrisi mentions that the city of Misr (which now means Cairo) was called in Greek *Bámblunah*. Pegolotti uses the term *Cairo de Bambillonia*. Mandeville, after carefully distinguishing between the two Babylons, puts the Furnace of the Three Children at the Egyptian Babylon; and yet he had served the Soldan in Egypt. (*Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*; *Marini Sanutii Torselli, Lib. Secret. Fid.*, etc., i, c. 6; *Edrisi*, i, 302; *Pegolotti*, cap. xv; *Mandeville*, p. 144.)

[2] Marignolli gets into a muddle in trying to connect *Babel* and *Baghdad*, building on the Persian *Bágh*, garden.

He then relates how Belus originated idolatry, and finishes with this singular passage:

The Jews however, the Tartars, and the Saracens, consider us to be the worst of idolaters, and this opinion is not confined to Pagans only, but is held also by some of the Christians. For although those Christians show devotion to pictures, they hold in abomination images, carved faces, and alarmingly life-like sculptures such as there are in our churches[1]; as for example on the sepulchre of St. Adalbert at Prague.

Then follow chapters *Concerning Nynus*, and *Concerning the Wife of Nynus.*

Semiramis, the wife of Nynus, the glory of womankind, hearing that her husband was slain, and fearing to entrust the government to her son, who was yet a child, kept him closely concealed. Meanwhile she adopted a dress made after the Tartar fashion, with large folds in front to disguise her bust, long sleeves to hide her lady's hands, long skirts to cover her feet, breeches to maintain her disguise when she mounted on horseback, her head well covered up, and so gave herself out for the son of Nynus, ruled in his name, and ordered that style of dress to be generally followed. She then ordered warlike armaments, and invaded India and conquered it....In India she clandestinely gave birth to a daughter, whom she made when grown up Queen of the finest island in the world, SABA[2] by name. In that

[1] "*Abhominantur larvas, facies, et horrendas sculpturas sicut sunt in ecclesiis.*" [Dobner, p. 118.] Not only the Oriental Christians, but even Jewish Doctors, distinguished between paintings and figures in relief, considering the former to be lawful (*Ludolf., Comment.*, p. 372).

[2] Respecting Saba, see Introductory Notices. In this odd story of Semiramis and her daughter the Queen of Saba, we may perhaps trace the Arab traditions about the birth of Belkis (as they call her), Queen of Sheba or Saba in the time of Solomon. Her mother was said to be a daughter of the *jinns*, called *Umeira*, who falling in love with the Wazir of the tyrant King of Saba, *carried him to the island where she lived*, and married him. Within a year's time she bore

island women always, or for the most part, have held the government in preference to men. And in the palace there I have seen historical pictures representing women seated on the throne, with men on bended knees adoring before them. And so also I saw that actually in that country the women sat in the chariots or on the elephant-chairs, whilst the men drove the oxen or the elephants.

The only points worth noticing in his next chapter *Concerning Abraham*, are his derivation, often repeated, of *Saracen* from *Sarah*; and the remark regarding the Dead Sea, that it can be seen from the dormitory of the Minor Friars on Mount Zion[1].

The following chapter headed *Concerning the Kingdom of the Argives*, ends with a discussion *whether tithes are obligatory on Christians*, and this leads to an anecdote:

As long as the Church and its ministers are provided for in some other way, it may be doubted whether the law of tithe should be imposed; as it certainly was not by the Apostles or by the Fathers for many a day after their time. And a case occurred in my own experience at KAMUL[2], when many Tartars and people of other nations, on their first conversion, refused to be baptized unless we would

him Belkis, with whom the Wazir eventually returned to Saba, and the tyrant father being slain for his misdeeds, Belkis became the wise and glorious Queen who visited Solomon (*Weil's Biblical Legends*, pp. 195–197). Is it accidental that this story of Marignolli's associates Semiramis with the Queen of Sheba, the *Belkis* of the Arabs, whilst from modern researches *Beltis* the chief female deity of the Assyrians, appearing sometimes as the *wife of Nin*, becomes identified with the ancient stories of Semiramis? (see *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, i, 484, 495, 513).

[1] This is remarked also by Mas'udi.

[2] Kamul, Komul, Qomul, or Kamil, the Hámi of the Chinese, and the station at which the routes eastward from the north and the south sides of the T'ien Shan converge, and from which travellers generally start to cross the desert before entering China (see *Polo*, ii, 36; and Benedict Goës, *infra*). The people of Kamil were all Buddhists in Marco Polo's time. In 1419 Shah Rúkh's envoys found there the mosque and Buddhist temple side by side.

swear that after their baptism we should exact no temporalities from them; nay, on the contrary, that we should provide for their poor out of our own means. This we did, and a multitude of both sexes in that city did then most gladly receive baptism. 'Tis a doubtful question, but with submission to the Church's better judgment I would use no compulsion.

After sundry chapters about the *Foundation of Rome* and the like, we come at last to the *Prologue or Preface* (!) viz., to the actual Bohemian history. 'Tis a wonderful specimen of rigmarole, addressed to the emperor, in which the author shows the reluctance of a man entering a shower-bath in January to commit himself to the essential part of his task. The history affords none of the reminiscences which we seek for extract: a few notices of interest remain however to be gathered from his third book, which he calls *Jerarticus.*

Thus, in speaking of circumcision, he says:

Talking on this matter with some of the more intelligent Jews who were friends of mine (at least as far as Jews can be friends with a Christian), they observed to me that the general law in question could never be fulfilled except with a very sharp razor, either of steel or of some nobler metal, such as bronze or gold. And they agreed with the dictum of Aristotle in his book of Problems, when he expressly asserts that cuts made with a knife of bronze or gold are healed more quickly than such as are made with a steel instrument. And this accords with the practice of the surgeons of Cathay, as I have seen.

From the chapter *Concerning Jehoiada* [*Yoyada*] *the Priest.*

At this time God pitying his people caused Elias to appear, who had been kept by God, it is not known where. That may be true which the Hebrews allege (as Jerome

nentions in his comment on 1 Chronicles, xxi), viz., that he is the same as Phineas the son of Eleazar[1]. But it is asserted both by the Hebrews and the Sabæans, i.e., the people of the kingdom of the Queen of Saba, that he had his place of abode in a very lofty mountain of that land which is called Mount Gybeit, meaning the Blessed Mountain. In this mountain also they say that the Magi were praying on the night of Christ's nativity when they saw the Star. It is in a manner inaccessible, for from the middle of the mountain upwards the air is said to be so thin and pure that none, or at least very few, have been able to ascend it, and that only by keeping a sponge filled with water over the mouth. They say however that Elias by the will of God remained hidden there until the period in question.

The people of Saba say also that he still sometimes shows himself there. And there is a spring at the foot of that mountain where they say he used to drink, and I have drunk from that spring myself. But I was unable to ascend that Blessed Mountain, being weighed down with infirmities, the result of a very powerful poison that I had

[1] The Hebrew notions about the identity of Phineas and Elias have been adopted and expanded by the Mahomedans, who also identify in some way with them their mysterious prophet Khidhr. Hermitages or chapels dedicated to Khidhr and Elias appear to have been very numerous in Mussulman countries, especially on *hill-tops* (see *Ibn Batuta* passim). And the oriental Christians and semi-Christians also always associate Elias with mountain tops. There seems to be scarcely a prominent peak in the Greek Archipelago with which the name of Elias is not connected.

I do not know what *Gybeit* is, which he interprets as *Beatus*. *Kubeis* is the name of one of the holy mountains at Mecca of which wonderful things are related, but I find no meaning assigned to the name. There are many mountains in Java (if Java be the Śaba of our author) which might in vast height and sublimity of aspect answer to the suggestions of Marignolli's description; none better perhaps than the Tjerimai, rising in isolated majesty to a height greater than Etna's, in the immediate vicinity of the coast, and close to Cheribon, the earliest seat of Mahomedanism in the island. Little less striking, and still more lofty, though not so isolated, is the Great Sʼlámat, a little further eastward, and by a singular coincidence its name (from the Arabic *Salámat*, Peace or Salvation) might fairly be translated *Mons Beatus*.

swallowed in Columbum, administered by those who wished to plunder my property. Although I was passing pieces of flesh from my intestines with a vast amount of blood, and suffered from an incurable dysentery of the third species for something like eleven months, a disease such as they say no one evêr escaped from with life, yet God had compassion on me and spared me to relate what I had seen. For I did recover, by the aid of a certain female physician of that Queen's, who cured me simply by certain juices of herbs and an abstinent diet.

I frequently saw the Queen, and gave her my solemn benediction I rode also upon her elephant, and was present at a magnificent banquet of hers. And whilst I was seated on a chair of state in presence of the whole city she honoured me with splendid presents. For she bestowed on me a golden girdle, such as she was accustomed to confer upon those who were created princes or chiefs. This was afterwards stolen from me by those brigands in Seyllan. She also bestowed raiment upon me, that is to say one hundred and fifty whole pieces[1] of very delicate and costly stuff. Of these I took nine for our lord the Pope, five for myself, gave three apiece to each of the chief among my companions, with two apiece to the subordinates, and all the rest I distributed in the Queen's own presence among her servants who stood around; that so they might perceive I was not greedy. And this thing was highly commended, and spoken of as very generous. I trust this little anecdote will not displease [His Majesty].

This and the following chapters contain a few incidental allusions to his homeward journey through the Holy Land. Thus he speaks of the entire destruction of the Temple and of the existence of a Mosque of the Saracens upon its site;

[1] "*Pecias integras.*"

he gives a slight description of Bethlehem, with the Fountain of David, and the Cave of the Nativity, and alludes to having visited the Wilderness of the Temptation.

In one passage he quotes as the favourable testimony of an enemy, how

Machomet the accursed, in his Alcoran, in the third *Zora*, speaketh thus: O Mary, God hath purified thee and made thee holy above all women! etc.

The last extract that I shall make is from the same chapter.

Also all the philosophers and astrologers of Babylon and Egypt and Chaldea calculated that in the conjunction of Mercury with Saturn a girl should be born, who as a virgin, without knowledge of men, should bear a son in the land of Israel. And the image of this Virgin is kept in great state in a temple in Kampsay, and on the first appearance of the moon of the first month[1] (that is of February, which is the first month among the Cathayers) that new year's feast is celebrated with great magnificence, and with illuminations kept up all the night.

[1] "*Prima lumina mensis primi*"; perhaps he means up to the full moon of the first month? The Chinese year commences from the new moon nearest to the middle point of Aquarius. The sun would enter Aquarius, according to the calendar in Marignolli's time, about the 28th of January, so that the Chinese first month would correspond in a partial way to February. The feast to which he alludes is the celebrated Feast of Lanterns, which is kept through the first fifteen days of the moon, but especially on the full moon. The image of which he speaks is doubtless that of the Buddhist personage whom the Chinese call *Kwan yin*, and to whom they give the name of "the Virgin" in conversing with Europeans, whilst conversely they apply the name of Kwan yin to the Romish images of the Virgin Mary (see *Davis's Chinese*, ii, 177). It does not appear however, that the Feast of Lanterns is connected with the worship of Kwan yin. Her birth is celebrated on the 19th day of the second moon, and another feast in her honour on the 16th day of the eleventh moon (*Chine Mod.*, ii, 649, 652). [Kwan yin (Avalōkitēçvara) is the Chinese Goddess of Mercy; her chief shrine is at Poo too in the Chusan Archipelago; in the Dalai Lama, of Tibet, the bodhisattwa Avalokiteçvara is believed to appear on earth. The Feast of Lanterns, *Shang yuen tsié*, celebrated on the fifteenth day of the first moon of the year, has nothing to do with Kwan yin.]

CATHAY
AND THE WAY THITHER

BEING A COLLECTION OF
MEDIEVAL NOTICES OF CHINA

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

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WITH A

PRELIMINARY ESSAY

ON THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WESTERN NATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE ROUTE

NEW EDITION, REVISED THROUGHOUT IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES

BY

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VOL. IV

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VI

IBN BATUTA'S TRAVELS IN BENGAL AND CHINA

VI

IBN BATUTA'S TRAVELS IN BENGAL AND CHINA

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

ABU-ABDULLAH MAHOMED, called Ibn Batuta[1], The Traveller (*par excellence*) of the Arab nation, as he was hailed by a saint of his religion whom he visited in India, was born at Tangier on the 24th February, 1304.

The duty of performing the Mecca pilgrimage must have developed the travelling propensity in many a Mahomedan, whilst in those days the power and extension of the vast freemasonry to which he belonged would give facilities for the indulgence of this propensity such as have never been known under other circumstances by any class of people[2]. Ibn Batuta himself tells us how in the heart of China he fell in with a certain Al Bushri[3], a countryman of his own from Ceuta, who had risen to great wealth and prosperity in that far country, and how at a later date (when after a short visit to his

[1] During his travels in the East he bore the name of Shams-uddín (i, 8).

[2] Ricold de Monte Croce is greatly struck with the brotherly feeling among Mahomedans of his day, however strange to one another in blood: "Nam etiam loquendo ad invicem, maxime ad extraneos dicit unus alteri: 'O fili matris meæ!' Ipsi etiam nec occidunt se ad invicem nec expoliant, sed homo Sarracenus securissime transit inter quoscumque extraneos et barbaros Sarracenos" (*Peveg. Quatuor.*, p. 134).

[3] iv, 282. Similar references indicate the French edition and version by Defrémery and Sanguinetti, from which I have translated.

native land the restless man had started to explore Central Africa), in passing through Segelmessa, on the border of the Sahra, he was the guest of the same Al Bushri's brother[1]. "What an enormous distance lay between those two!" the traveller himself exclaims. On another occasion he mentions meeting at Brussa a certain Shaik Abd-Allah of Misr who bore the surname of *The Traveller*. This worthy had indeed made the tour of the world, as some would have it, but he had never been in China nor in the Island of Serendib, neither in Spain nor in Negroland. "I have beaten him," says Ibn Batuta, "for all these have I visited[2]."

He entered on his wanderings at the age of twenty-one (14th June, 1325), and did not close them till he was hard on fifty-one (in January, 1355): his career thus coinciding in time pretty exactly with that of Sir John Mandeville (1322–56), a traveller the compass of whose journeys would be deemed to equal or surpass the Moor's, if we could but believe them to be as genuine[3].

Ibn Batuta commenced his travels by traversing the whole longitude of Africa (finding time to marry twice upon the road) to Alexandria, the haven of which he extols as surpassing all that he saw in the course of his peregrinations, except those of Kaulam and Calicut in India, that held by the Christians at Sudák or Soldaia in the Crimea, and the great port of Zaytún in China. After some stay at Cairo, which was then perhaps the greatest city in the world out of China[4], he ascended

[1] iv, 377. [2] ii, 321.

[3] [See *Marco Polo*, ii, App. L, 13.—Sir John Mandeville, pp. 598–605.]

[4] The traveller reports that the Plague or Black Death of 1348 carried off 24,000 souls in one day (!) in the united cities of Cairo and Misr or Fostat (i, 229); whilst in 1381 the pestilence was said to have carried off 30,000 a day. George Guccio, who heard this at Cairo in 1384, relates also of the visitation of 1348

the valley of the Nile to Syene, and passed the Desert to Aidhab on the Red Sea, with the view of crossing the latter to Mecca. But wars raging on that sea prevented this, so he retraced his steps and proceeded to visit Palestine and the rest of Syria, including Aleppo and Damascus. He then performed the pilgrimage to the holy cities of his religion[1], and afterwards visited the shrine of Ali at Meshed. From this he went to Basra, and then through Khuzistan and Luristan to Ispahan, thence to Shiraz and back to Kufa and Baghdad. After an excursion to Mosul and Diarbakr, he made the pilgrimage for a second time, and on this occasion continued to dwell at Mecca for three years. When that time had elapsed he made a voyage down the Red Sea to Yemen, through which he travelled to Aden, the singular position of which city he describes correctly, noticing its dependence for water-supply upon cisterns preserving the scanty rainfall[2]. Aden was then a place of great trade, and the residence of wealthy merchants; ships of large burden from Cambay, Tana, and all the ports of Malabar, were in its harbour[3]. From Aden, Ibn Batuta continued

that "according to what the then Soldan wrote to King Hugo of Cyprus there were some days when more than 100,000 souls died in Cairo!" (*Viaggi in Terra Santa*, p. 291).

[1] Between Medina and Mecca he mentions an additional instance of the phenomenon spoken of at II, p. 262 *supra*. Near Bedr, he says, "in front of you is the Mount of the Drums (*Jibal-ul-Thabúl*); it is like a huge sand-hill, and the natives assert that in that place every Thursday night they hear as it were the sound of drums" (i. 296). [See *Marco Polo*, i, p. 202 *n*, 207 *n*.]

[2] These cisterns, works of a colossal magnitude, had in the decay of Aden been buried in debris. During the last few years some of them have been cleared out and repaired, and they now form one of the most interesting sights of Aden. [They are said to have been formerly 50 in number, with a capacity of 30 million gallons. Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 440 *n*.]

[3] Aden, one of those places which nature has marked for perpetual revival, is mentioned, both by Marco Polo and by Marino Sanudo his contemporary, as the great entrepôt of that

his voyage down the African coast, visiting Zaila, Makdáshau (Magadoxo of the Portuguese), Mombasa, and Quiloa in nearly nine degrees of south latitude. From this he sailed to the coast of Oman, where, like Marco Polo, he remarks the surprising custom of feeding cattle

part of the Indian commerce which came westward by Egypt, but neither apparently had accurate acquaintance with the route. The former says that "Aden is the port to which the Indian ships bring all their merchandize. It is then placed on board other small vessels *which ascend a river about seven days*, at the end of which it is disembarked, laden on camels, and conveyed thirty days further. It then comes to the river of Alexandria, and is conveyed down to that city." Marino, after speaking of the route by the Persian Gulf, and the three ports of Hormuz, Kis, and Basra, goes on: "The fourth haven is called Ahaden, and stands on a certain little island, joining as it were to the main, in the land of the Saracens; the spices and other goods from India are landed there, loaded on camels, and so carried by a journey of nine days to a place on the river Nile called Chus, where they are put into boats and conveyed in fifteen days to Babylon (Cairo). But in the month of October and thereabouts the river rises to such an extent that the spices, etc., continue to descend the stream from Babylon, and enter a certain long canal, and so are conveyed over the two hundred miles between Babylon and Alexandria." (*Polo*, ii, c. 36; Mar. San. *Liber Fidelium Crucis*, pt. 1, c 1.)

Here we see that Marco apparently took the Red Sea for a river, misled perhaps by the ambiguity of the Persian *Darya*. In the MS. followed by Pauthier, Marco makes no such mistake as is here referred to. See Pauthier's edition, p. 703. And Marino supposes, as his map also shows, Aden to be on the *west* side of the Red Sea, confounding it probably with *Suákin*, which was also a port of embarcation for India *via* Egypt, as I gather from a MS. of the fourteenth century at Florence on the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas. The *Chus* of Marino is *Kús*, the ancient *Cos* or *Apollinopolis Parva*, between Keneh and Luxor, described by Ibn Batuta (i, 106) as in his day a large and flourishing town, with fine bazaars, mosques, and colleges, the residence of the viceroys of the Thebaid. That traveller embarked at Kus to descend the Nile after his first visit to Upper Egypt. It is nearly in the latitude of Kosseir. The *Carta Catalana* calls Kosseir *Chos*, and notes it as the place where the Indian spicery was landed. [At the time of Chau Ju-kua, Aden was perhaps the most important port of Arabia for the African and Arabian trade with India and the countries beyond. It seems highly probable that the Ma-li-pa of the Chinese must be understood as including Aden—of which they make no mention whatsoever, but which was one of "the great commercial centres of the Arabs." Hirth and Rockhill, p. 25 *n.*] [See Ma Huan's *Account of Aden* in *J. R. As. Soc.*, 1896, p. 348; the Chinese Traveller does not mention the cisterns.]

of all sorts upon small fish. After visiting the chief cities of Oman he proceeded to Hormuz, or New Hormuz as he calls the city on the celebrated Island. The rock-salt found here, he observes, was used in forming ornamental vases and pedestals for lamps, but the most remarkable thing that he saw at Hormuz appears to have been a fish's head so large that men entered by one eye and went out by the other[1].

After visiting Kais or Kísh he crossed the Gulf to Bahrain, Al-Kathif, and Hajr or Al-Hasa (or *Al-Ahsa*, v. *supra*, III, p. 65), where dates were so abundant that there was a proverb about carrying dates to Hajr, like ours of coals to Newcastle. Thence he crossed Central Arabia through what is now the Wahabi country, but without giving a single particular respecting it, and made the Mecca pilgrimage again. He then embarked at Jiddah, landed on the opposite coast, and made a journey of great hardship to Syene, whence he continued along the banks of the Nile to Cairo.

After this he revisited Syria, and made an extensive journey through the petty Turkish sultanates into which Asia Minor was then divided[2]. During this tour he tells

[1] Whales (I believe of the Spermaceti genus) are still not uncommon in the Arabian Sea. Abu Zaid mentions that in his time about Siraf their vertebræ were used as chairs, and that houses were to be seen on the same coast, the rafters of which were formed of whale's ribs. (Reinaud, *Relations*, p. 146.) I remember when in parts of Scotland it was not unusual to see the gate-posts of a farm-yard formed of the same.

[2] There were at least eleven of these principalities in Asia Minor, after the fall of the [Seldjukid] kingdom of Iconium in 1308 (Deguignes, iii, pt. ii, p. 76). [Konieh, Iconium, ancient Lycaonia, dynasty of Benu Karaman, 1223–1472; Kastamuni, Paphlagonia, dynasty of Kizil Ahmedlis, 1289–1459; Menteshé, Caria, dynasty of Benu Menteshé, 1300–1426; Aidin, Lydia, dynasty of Benu Sarukhan, 1313–1426; Tekkeh, Lycia, 1300–1427; Hamid, Pisidia, 1300–81; Kermian, Phrygia, 1300–1429; Karasi, Mysia, 1300–36; Abulustein, dynasty of Benu Dhu'lkadr, 1336–1521; Adanah, dynasty of Benu Ramadhan, 1378–1562, and Kingdom of Osmanlis or Othman in Phrygia.]

us how he and his comrade engaged a certain Hajji who could speak Arabic as servant and interpreter. They found that he cheated them frightfully, and one day, provoked beyond measure, they called out to him, "Come now, Hajji, how much hast thou stolen to-day?" The Hajji simply replied, "So much," naming the amount of his plunder. "We could but laugh and rest content," says our traveller.

He then crossed the Black Sea to CAFFA, chiefly occupied, as he tells us, by the Genoese (*Janwiya*), and apparently the first Christian city in which he had found himself, for he was in great dismay at the bell-ringing. He went on by KRIM (or Solghat) and Azov to MAJAR, a fine city on a great river (the Kuma), where he was greatly struck by the consideration with which women were treated by the Tartars; as if, in fact, creatures of a higher rank than men. From this he proceeded to the camp of Sultan Mahomed Uzbek, Khan of Kipchak [1312–40], then pitched at BISHDAGH, a thermal spring, apparently at the foot of Caucasus[1]. He was well received by the Khan, and obtained from him a guide to conduct him to the city of BOLGHAR, which he was anxious to visit in order to witness with his own eyes the shortness of the northern summer night[2]. He

[1] This place, according to Defrémery (*Journ. As.*, July–Sept. 1850, p. 159), still exists as Besh Tau, and was visited by Klaproth.

Bolghar, sometimes called Bolar, is in 54° 54′, nearly the latitude of Carlisle. It stood near the left bank of the Atil or Volga, about fifty miles above the modern Simbirsk and ninety miles south-west of Kazan. It was sometimes the residence of the khans of Kipchak. There was still a village called Bolgari on the site when Pallas wrote; and there are a considerable number of architectural remains. On these Hammer Purgstall refers to Schmidt's '*Architektonische Umrisse der Ruinen Bolgars*, 1832' (Pallas, Fr. Trans., year H, i, 217; *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, p. 8; Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, ii, p. 81; [*Marco Polo*, i, p. 7 *n.*; ii, p. 486 *n.*; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii, p. 82]).

was desirous also to go north from Bolghar to the *Land of Darkness*, of which he had heard still more wonderful things; but this he gave up on account of the many difficulties, and returned to the sultan's camp, which he then followed to HAJ-TARKHAN (Astrakhan).

One of the wives of Mahomed Úzbek was a Greek princess of Constantinople, whom the traveller calls the *Khátún* or Lady Beyálún (*Philumena*? or *Iolanthe*? At iii, 10; it is written *Beilún*), and she was now about to pay a visit to her own people[1]. Ibn Batuta was allowed to join the cortège. Their route seems to have been singularly devious, leading them by UKAK[2] ten days above Sarai, near the "Hills of the Russians," described as a fair-haired, blue-eyed, but ugly and crafty race of Christians, thence to the port of SOLDAIA (perhaps with the intention of going by sea) and then by land the whole way to Constantinople, where they were received in

[1] These marriages appear to have been tolerably frequent as the Greek emperors went down in the world, though the one in question does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. Thus Húlakú having demanded in marriage a daughter of Michael Palæologus, a natural daughter of the emperor, Mary by name, was sent in compliance with this demand: Húlakú was dead when she arrived in Persia, but she was married to his successor, Abaka Khan. The Mongols called her *Despina Khatun* (Δέσποινα). An illegitimate sister of the same emperor, called Euphrosyne, was bestowed on Nagaia Khan, founder of a small Tartar dynasty on the Greek frontier; and another daughter of the same name in 1265 on Tulabuka, who twenty years later became Khan of Kipchak. Andronicus the Elder is said to have given a young lady who passed for his natural daughter to Gházán Khan of Persia, and a few years later his sister Mary to Gházán's successor, Oljaïtu, as well as another natural daughter Mary to Tuktuka Khan of Kipchak. Also in the genealogy of the Comneni of Trebizond we find two daughters of the Emperor Basil married to Turkish or Tartar chiefs, and daughters of Alexis III, Alexis IV, and John IV making similar marriages. (D'Ohsson, iii, 417, and iv, 315, 318; Deguignes, i, 289; Hammer, *Gesch. der Ilchane*; Preface to *Ibn Batuta*, tom. ii, p. x; Art. *Comneni* in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.*)

[2] Ukaka or Ukek and Majár have already been mentioned at III, p. 84, *supra*. The ruins of Majár exist and have been described by Klaproth (Defrémery in *J. As.*, 1850, p. 154).

great state, the emperor (Andronicus the Younger) and empress coming out to meet their daughter, and the whole population crowding to see the show, while the bells rang till the heavens shook with the clangour. He tells us how, as he passed the city gate in the lady's train, he heard the guards muttering to one another *Sarakínú ! Sarakínú !* a name, says he, by which they called Mussulmans.

It is curious to find the name Istambul in use a century and more before the Turkish conquest[1]. Thus he tells us the part of the city CONSTANTINIA, on the eastern side of the river (the Golden Horn), where the emperor and his courtiers reside, is called *Istambul*, whilst the other side is called Galata, and is specially assigned to the dwellings of the Frank Christians, such as Genoese, Venetians (*Banádikah*), people of Rome (*Ahil-Rúmah*), and of France (*Ahil-Afránsah*).

After a short stay at the Greek city, during which he had an interview with the Emperor Andronicus the Elder, whom he calls King George (*Jirjis*), and after

[1] But even in the ninth century Mas'ūdī says that the Greeks never called their city Constantinia but *Bolin* (πόλιν = *Town* of the Londoner), and, when they wished to speak of it as the capital of the empire, *Stanbolin* (εἰς τὴν πόλιν); and he speaks of these as very old appellations. Indeed the name applied by the Chinese to the Roman Empire in the time of Heraclius (*Folin*) argues that the former term was then in familiar use. In the century following Ibn Batuta, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo says that the Greeks called their city, not Constantinople, but *Escomboli* (probably misread for *Estomboli*); and his contemporary Schiltberger tells us the Greeks called it *Istimboli*, but the Turks *Stambol*.

The Orientals found other etymologies for the name. Thus Sadik Isfahani declares that Istanbul signifies in the Turkish language, "You will find there what you will!" And after the capture of the city, some of the sultans tried to change the name to *Islámbul*.

There are several other names in modern use which have been formed in the same way; e.g. *Isnicmid* from εἰς Νικομήδειαν, *Setines* from εἰς Ἀθήνας. (Jacquet in *Jour. As.*, ix, 459, etc.; Markham's *Clavijo*, p. 47; Schiltberger, p. 136; *Geog. Works of Sadik Isfahani* by J. C., 1832, pp. 7, 8, and *note*.)

receiving a handsome present from the princess[1], he went back to Uzbek at Sarai, and thence took his way across the desert to Khwarizm and Bokhara, whence he went to visit the Khan 'Aláuddín Tarmashírín of the Chagatai dynasty. His travels then extended through Khorasan and Kabul, including a passage of the Hindu Kush. This appears to have been by ANDERAB (which he calls *Andar*), and so by PANCHSHIR (see *supra*, II, p. 263) to PARWĀN and CHAREKAR (*Charkh*). It is remarkable that between Anderab and Parwān Ibn Batuta speaks of passing the Mountain of PASHAI, probably the Pascia of Marco Polo, which Pauthier seems thus justified in identifying with a part of the Kafir country of the Hindu Kush (*Livre de M. Pol*, p. 123)[2]. He then proceeded to Sind, reaching the Indus, probably somewhere below Larkhana, according to his own statement, on the 12th September, 1333. Here he terminates the First Part of his narrative.

Proceeding to SIWASTÁN (Sehwán) he there met with a brother theologian, 'Alá-ul-Mulk, who had been appointed governor of the district at the mouth of the Indus, and after having travelled with him to LAHARI, a fine place on the shore of the ocean, he then turned

[1] Part of this consisted of three hundred pieces of gold called *Albarbarah* (Hyperperæ), the gold of which was bad, he observes. It was indeed very bad, for Pegolotti, if I understand him aright, says these "*perperi*" contained only 11 carats of gold to 6 of silver and 7 of copper (p. 23).

[2] [*Marco Polo*, i, pp. 164–6 *n.*] The name appears still more exactly in another passage of Marco Polo, where he describes the invasion of India by the Mongol prince whom he calls Nogodar. ["He left his uncle who was then in Greater Armenia, and fled with a great body of horsemen, cruel unscrupulous fellows, first through Badashan, and then through another province called Pashai-Dir, and then through another called Ariora-Keshemur. There he lost a great number of his people and of his horses, for the roads were very narrow and perilous." *Marco Polo*, i, p. 98.] Remarks on the Passes of Hindu Kush will be found in the introduction to Goës, *infra*

northward to DAKAR, UJAH[1], and MULTAN, where he found assembled a large party of foreigners all bent on seeking their fortunes in India, and waiting at the frontier city for invitations from the liberal sovereign of Hindustan.

This was Mahomet Tughlak, originally called Júna Khan, whose contradictory qualities are painted by Ibn Batuta quite in accordance with the account of Firishta. The latter describes him[2] as the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time; gallant in the field and inured to war; admired for his compositions in prose and verse; well versed in history, logic, mathematics, medicine, and metaphysics; the founder of hospitals for the sick and of refuges for widows and orphans profuse in his liberality, especially to men of learning. But with all this he was wholly devoid of mercy and of consideration for his people; the murderer of his father[3]

[1] *Lahari* is still known as Lāhori or "Larry Bunder," though it has disappeared from our recent maps. It stands on the western or Pitti branch of the Indus delta. *Bakár* is Bakhar or Bukkur, the fort in the Indus between Sakkar and Rohri, where the Indus was bridged for Lord Keane's army by Major George Thomson in 1838. *Ujah* is Uchh [High Place] on [the south bank of the Sutlej opposite its confluence with] the Chenāb, below Bahāwalpúr.

[2] Briggs' *Firishta*, i, 411-12; see also Elphinstone, ii, 60.

[3] As the story is told by Ibn Batuta after the relation of an eyewitness, Mahomed had prepared, for the reception of his father on his return from a campaign, a pavilion on the banks of a stream near Delhi. This pavilion was artfully constructed with the assistance of Ahmed son of Ayas the Inspector of Buildings, so that when approached on a certain side by the weighty bodies of elephants the whole would fall. After the king had alighted and was resting in the pavilion with his favourite son Mahmud, Mahomed proposed that the whole of the elephants should pass in review before the building. When they came over the fatal spot the structure came down on the heads of Tughlak Sháh and his young son. After intentional delay the ruins were removed, and the king's body was found bending over that of his boy as if to shield him [1324]. It was carried to Tughlakábad, and laid in the tomb which he had built for himself. This still stands, one of the simplest and grandest monuments of Mahomedan antiquity, rising from the middle of what is now a swamp, but was then a lake. It is said that the parricide Mahomed is also buried therein. This strange

and of his brother, he was as madly capricious, as cruel, bloodthirsty, and unjust as Nero or Caligula. Incensed at anonymous pasquinades against his oppressions, he on one occasion ordered the removal of the seat of government, and of all the inhabitants of Delhi, to Daulatābād in the Dekkan[1], forty days' journey distant; and after the old city had been gradually reoccupied, and he had himself re-established his court there for some years, he repeated the same mad caprice a second time[2]. "So little did he hesitate to spill the blood of God's creatures, that when anything occurred which excited him to proceed to that horrid extremity, one might have supposed his object was to exterminate the species altogether. No single week passed without his having put to death one or more of the learned and holy men who surrounded him, or some of the secretaries who attended him." Or as Ibn Batuta pithily sums up a part of the contradictions of his character, there was no day that the gate of his palace failed to witness the elevation of some abject to affluence, the torture and murder of some living soul[3]. Mahomed formed great schemes of conquest, and carried out some of them. His mad projects for the invasion of Khorasan and of China came to nothing, or to miserable disaster, but

story of the murder of Tughlak Sháh is said to have been re-enacted in our own day (1841 or 1842), when Nao Nihal Singh, the successor of Ranjít, was killed by the fall of a gateway as he entered Lahore.

Ahmed Bin Ayas, the engineer of the older murder, became the Wazir of Mahomed, under the titles of Malik-Záda and Khwája Jahán. (*Ibn Bat.*, iii, 213–14.)

[1] A description of the prodigious scale on which the new city, which was to be called the *Capital of Islam*, was projected and commenced, is given by an eyewitness in the *Masálak-al-Absár*, translated in *Not. et Extraits*, xiii, 172.

[2] Briggs, pp. 420–2; *Ibn Bat.*, iii, 314. Elphinstone says the move was made three times (ii, 67). If so, I have overlooked it in Briggs.

[3] Briggs, pp. 411–12; *Ibn Bat.*, iii, 216.

within the bounds of India he was more successful, and had at one time subjected nearly the whole of the Peninsula. In the end, however, nearly all his conquests were wrested from him, either by the native king or by the revolt of his own servants. Respecting this king and the history of his reign, Ibn Batuta's narrative gives many curious and probably truthful details, such subjects being more congenial to his turn of mind than the correct observation of facts in geography or natural history, though even as regards the former his statements are sufficiently complicated by his contempt for chronological arrangement.

After a detention of two months at Multān, Ibn Batuta was allowed to proceed, in company with the distinguished foreigners, for whom invitations to the court arrived. The route lay by ABOHAR in the desert, where the Indian, as distinguished from the Sindian provinces commenced; the castle of ABŪ BAKHR, AJUDAHAN, SARSATI, HANSI, MASUDABAD, and PALAM, to DELHI[1]. The city, or group of cities, which then bore

[1] I cannot trace Abū Bakhr. *Ajudin* [Ajodhan] or *Pāk Pattan* (The Pure or Holy Ferry) is a town on the right bank of the Sutlej valley, about half-way between Bahāwalpúr and Firuzpúr, the site of a very sacred Mahomedan shrine [the saint Shaik-ul-Islām, Farīd-ul-Ḥakkwa-ud-Dīn, Shakar Ganj (1173–1265)], for the sake of which Timur on his devastating march spared the few persons found in the town [1398]. *Abohar* is a town in the desert of Bhattiāna, some sixty miles east of Ajudin. [Uboh-har or "the pool of Uboh" after the wife of Jaura, the founder of the town.] The narrative brings Ibn Batuta to Abohar *first*, and then to Abū Bakhr and Ajodin, and I have not ventured to change the order; but this seems to involve a direct retrogression. *Sarsati* [or Sarsūti] is the town now called Sirsa on the verge of the Desert [on the north side of a dry bed of the Ghaggar]. *Hansi* retains its name as the chief town of an English Zillah. Sixty years ago [in 1798] it was the capital of that singular adventurer George Thomas, who raised himself from being a sailor before the mast to be the ruler of a small Indian principality. *Masudabad* I do not know; it must have been in the direction of the modern Bahádargarh. *Palam* still exists, a few miles west of the Delhi of those days, to one of the gates of which it gave its name.

the latter name did not occupy the site of the modern capital built by Sháh Jahán in the seventeenth century, but stood some ten miles further south, in a position of which the celebrated Kutb Minar may be taken as the chief surviving landmark.

The king was then absent at Kanauj, but on hearing of the arrival of Ibn Batuta with the rest, he ordered an assignment in his behalf of three villages, producing a total rent of 5000 silver dinars, and on his return to the capital received the traveller kindly, and gave him a further present of 12,000 dinars, with the appointment of Kazi of Delhi, to which a salary of the same amount was attached[1].

Ibn Batuta continued for about eight years in the service of Mahomed Sháh, though it seems doubtful how far he was occupied in his judicial duties. Indeed, he describes Delhi, though one of the grandest cities in the Mahomedan world, as nearly deserted during his residence there. The traveller's good fortune seems only to have fostered his natural extravagance; for at an early period of his stay at the capital he had incurred debts to the amount of 55,000 dinars of silver, which, after long importunity, he got the Sultan to pay. Indeed, by his own account, he seems to have hung like a perfect horse-leech on the king's bounty.

When Mahomed Tughlak was about to proceed to Maabar to put down an insurrection[2], Ibn Batuta expected

[1] Respecting the value of these dinars, see Note A at the end of this Introduction. The three villages assigned to the traveller lay at sixteen koss from Delhi, he says, and were called *Badlí*, *Basahí*, and *Balarah*. They lay in the *Sadi* or Hundred of *Hindú-but* (or the Hindu Idol; so Defrémery reads it, but the original as he gives it seems rather to read *Hindabat*, and may represent *Indrapat*, the name of one of the old cities of Delhi still existing. Probably the villages could be identified on the Indian Atlas). Two were added later, *Jauzah* and *Malikpúr*.

[2] This must have been on the occasion of the revolt of the Sharíf Jalal-uddín Ahsan in Maabar. The French editors, in

to accompany him, and prepared an outfit for the march on his usual free scale of expenditure[1]. At the last moment, however, he was ordered, nothing loth, to remain behind and take charge of the tomb of Sultan Kutb-uddín, whose servant the Sultan had been, and for whose memory he professed the greatest veneration[2]. He renewed his personal extravagances, spending large sums which his friends had left in deposit with him, and reviling those who were mean enough to expect at least a portion to be repaid! One who scattered his own money and that of his friends so freely was not likely to be backward

the careful chronological table of the events of Mahomed's reign which is embraced in their Preface to the third volume, place this expedition in 1341–2. The sultan fell ill at Warangol [Warangal, 86 miles north-east of Hyderābād City], and returned speedily to Daulatābād [district of Aurangābād, Hyderābād State, or Deogiri, Mohammed Tughlak had the idea of making it his capital] and Delhi.

[1] His account of the outfit required by a gentleman travelling in India shows how little such things have changed there in five hundred years, say from 1340 to 1840. (Now they are changing!) He mentions the set of tents and *saiwáns* (or canvas enclosure walls) to be purchased; men to carry the tents on their shoulders (this is never the practice now); the grass cutters to supply the horses and cattle with grass; the bearers (*kaháron*) to carry the kitchen utensils on their shoulders, and also to carry the traveller's palankin; the *faráshes* to pitch his tents and load his camels; the runners to carry torches before him in the dark. Moreover he tells us he had paid all these people nine months' wages beforehand, which shows that the "system of advances" was in still greater vigour than even now.

The French translators do not recognize the word *kaháron*, putting "*gohars?*" as a parenthetic query. But it is still the ordinary name of the caste of people (*Kahárs*) who bear palankins or carry burdens on a yoke over one shoulder, and the name is one of the few real Indian words that Ibn Batuta shows any knowledge of. I think the only others are *tatú* [*ṭaṭṭu*] for a pony; *Jauthri* (for *Chaodri*), "the Shaikh of the Hindus," as he explains it; *Sáha*, as the appellation of a certain class of merchants at Daulatābād, a name (*Sahá*) still borne extensively by a mercantile caste; *Katri* (*Kshatri*) as the name of a noble class of Hindus; *Jogi*; *morah* [*moṛhā*], a stool; *kishri* [*khichṛī*] (for *kichari*, vulgo *kedgeree*, well known at Indian breakfasts); and some names of fruits and pulses (iii, 415, 427; 207; 388; iv 49, 51; ii, 75; iii, 127–31).

[2] This was Kutb-uddín Mubārak Sháh, son of 'Aláuddín, murdered by his minister Khosrū in 1320.

when his hand had found its way into the public purse. The account he gives of the establishment he provided for the tomb placed under his charge is characteristic of his magnificent ideas. "I established in connexion with it one hundred and fifty readers of the Koran, eighty students, and eight repeaters, a professor, eighty *sufis*, or monks, an imam, muezzins, reciters selected for their fine intonation, panegyrists, scribes to take note of those who were absent, and ushers. All these people are recognized in that country as *alarbáb*, or gentlemen. I also made arrangements for the subordinate class of attendants called *alháshiyah*, or menials[1], such as footmen, cooks, runners, water-carriers, sherbet-men, betel-men, sword-bearers, javelin-men, umbrella-men, hand-washers, beadles, and officers. The whole number of people whom I appointed to these employments amounted to four hundred and sixty persons. The Sultan had ordered me to expend daily in food at the tomb twelve measures of meal and an equal weight of meat. That appeared to me too scanty an allowance; whilst, on the other hand, the total revenue in grain allowed by the king was considerable. So I expended daily thirty-five measures of meal, an equal weight of butcher-meat, and quantities in proportion of sugar, sugar-candy, butter, and pawn. In this way I used to feed not only the people of the establishment, but all comers. There was great famine at the time, and this distribution of food was a great alleviation of the sufferings of the people, so that the fame of it spread far and wide."

Towards the end of his residence in India he fell for a time into great disfavour, the cause of which he relates in this way:

[1] *Rabb*, Dominus, Possessor, pl. *arbáb*; *Hháshíyah*, ora vestis vel alius rei, *inde* domestici, asseclæ (Freytag in vv)

There was at Delhi a certain learned and pious shaikh called Shihab-uddín the son of Aljām the Khorasani, whom Sultan Mahomed was desirous of employing in his service, but who positively refused to enter it. On this the king ordered another doctor of theology, who was standing by, to pull out the shaikh's beard, and on his declining the office, the ruffian caused the beards of both to be plucked out! Shaikh Shihab-uddín retired from the city and established himself in a country place some miles from Delhi, where he amused himself by forming a large cave, which he fitted up with a bath, supplied by water from the Jumna, and with other conveniences. The Sultan several times sent to summon him, but he always refused to come, and at length said in plain words that he would never serve a tyrant. He was then arrested and brought before the tyrant himself, brutally maltreated, and finally put to death.

Ibn Batuta's curiosity had induced him to visit the shaikh in his cavern before this happened, and he thus incurred the displeasure and suspicion of the Sultan. Four slaves were ordered to keep him under constant surveillance, a step which was generally followed before long by the death of the suspected individual. Ibn Bātuta, in his fear, betook himself to intense devotion and multiplied observances, among others to the repetition of a certain verse of the Koran 33,000 times in the day! The surveillance being apparently relaxed, he withdrew altogether from the public eye, gave all that he possessed to darveshes and the poor (he says nothing about his creditors), and devoted himself to an ascetic life under the tutelage of a certain holy shaikh in the neighbourhood of Delhi, called Kamal-uddín Abdallah of the Cave, with whom he abode for five months. The king, who was

then in Sind[1], hearing of Ibn Batuta's reform, sent for him to camp. He appeared before the Lord of the World (as Mahomed was called) in his hermit's dress, and was well received. Nevertheless, he evidently did not yet consider his head at all safe, for he redoubled his ascetic observances. After forty days, however, the king summoned him again, and announced his intention of sending him on an embassy to China. According to Ibn Batuta's dates this appears to have been in the spring of 1342.

The object of the proposed embassy was to reciprocate one which had arrived at court from the Emperor of China. The envoys had been the bearers of a present to Sultan Mahomed, which consisted of 100 slaves of both sexes, 500 pieces of *camnucça*[2], of which 100 were of the fabric of Zaitún and 100 of that of King-sze, five maunds of musk, five robes broidered with pearls, five quivers of cloth of gold, and five swords[3]. And the professed object of the mission was to get leave to rebuild an idol temple (Buddhist, doubtless) on the borders of the mountain of KARACHIL, at a place called SAMHAL, whither the Chinese used to go on pilgrimage, and which had been destroyed by the Sultan's troops[4].

[1] This must have been on the occasion of the revolt of Shahú the Afghan at Multān, who murdered the viceroy of the province and tried to set himself up as king. Though Defrémery's chronological table does not mention that Sultan Mahomed himself marched to the scene of action, and Ibn Batuta only says that "the Sultan made preparations for an expedition against him," as the revolt is placed in this very year 1342, it is probable that he had advanced towards Multān (iii, pp. xxi and 362), which according to the view of Ibn Batuta was a city of Sind.

[2] See note, III, p. 155, *supra*.

[3] ["A hundred Mamlūks, fifty slave girls, five hundred dresses of El Kamanjah, five hundred maunds of musk, five dresses wrought with jewels, five quivers wrought with gold, and five swords with jewels." (Lee, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 153.)]

[4] It is interesting to find this indication that perhaps the pilgrimages of the Chinese Buddhists to the ancient Indian holy places were still kept up, but it may have been only the Tibetan subjects of the Great Khan who maintained the practice.

Mahomed's reply was that it was not admissible by the principles of his religion to grant such a demand, unless in favour of persons paying the poll-tax as subjects of his Government. If the Emperor would go through the form of paying this he would be allowed to rebuild the temple[1]

The embassy, headed by Ibn Batuta, was to convey this reply, and a return present of much greater value than that received. This was composed of 100 high-bred horses caparisoned, 100 male slaves, 100 Hindu girls accomplished in song and dance, 100 pieces of the stuff called *bairami* (these were of cotton, but matchless

In our own day I have seen such at Hardwār, who had crossed the Himalaya, from *Mahachin* as they said, to visit the holy flame of Jawálamukhi in the Punjab. *Karachil* is doubtless a corruption of the Sanskrit *Kuverachal*, a name of Mount Kailás, where lies the city of Kuvera the Indian Plutus, and is here used for the Himalaya. In another passage the author describes it as a range of vast mountains, three month's journey in extent, and distant ten days from Delhi, which was invaded by M. Tughlakis army in a most disastrous expedition (apparently the same which Firishta describes as a project for the invasion of China, though Ibn Batuta does not mention that object). He also speaks of it as the source of the river which flowed near Amroha (in the modern district of Morādābād, probably the Ramgunga; iii, 326; ii, 6; iii, 437). The same name is found in the form *Kalárchal*, applied to a part of the Himalaya by Rashíd, or rather perhaps by Al-Birúni, whom he appears to be copying. This author distinguishes it from *Harmakút* (*Hema-Kuta*, the Snow Peaks, one form of the name Himalaya), in which the Ganges rises, and says that the eternal snows of Kalarchal are visible from *Tákas* (Taxila?) and Lahore (Elliot's *Mah. Historians*, p. 30). *Samhal* is probably *Sambhal*, an ancient Hindu city of Rohilkhand (perhaps the *Sapolus* of Ptolemy?), also in Zillah Morādābād. From other passages I gather that the *province* was called Sambhal at that time, and indeed so it was up to the time of Sultan Baber, when it formed the government of his son Humāyūn I do not find that Sambhal itself has been recognized as the site of Buddhist remains, but very important remains of that character have been examined by Major-Gen. Cunningham, following the traces of Hiuen Tsang, at various places immediately to the north of Sambhal, and one of these may have been the site of the temple in question.

[1] The *Jezia* or "poll-tax...was imposed, during the early conquests, on all infidels who submitted to the Mahomed rule, and was the test by which they were distinguished from those who remained in a state of hostility" (Elphinstone, ii, 457). Its abolition was one of the beneficent acts of Akbar, but Aurangzib imposed it again.

in quality)[1], 100 pieces of silk stuff called *juz*, 100 pieces of stuff called *salatuyah*, 100 pieces of *shirinbaf*, 100 of *shanbaf*, 500 of woollen stuff (probably shawls), of which 100 were black, 100 white, 100 red, 100 green, 100 blue; 100 pieces of Greek linen, 100 cloth dresses, a great state tent and six pavilions, four golden candlesticks and six of silver, ornamented with blue enamel; six silver basins, ten dresses of honour in brocade[2], ten caps, of which one was broidered with pearls; ten quivers of brocade, one with pearls; ten swords, one with a scabbard wrought in pearls; gloves broidered with pearls; and fifteen eunuchs.

His colleagues in this embassy were the Amir Zahír-uddín the Zinjani, a man of eminent learning, and the Eunuch Káfúr (Camphor) the Cup-bearer, who had charge of the presents. The Amír Mahomed of Herat was to escort them to the place of embarcation with 1000 horse, and the Chinese ambassadors, fifteen in number, the chief of whom was called Tursi[3], joined the party with about 100 servants.

[1] Probably Dacca muslins. *Beirami* is a term for certain white Indian cloths we find used by Varthema, Barbosa, and others, and in Milburn's *Oriental Commerce* we have the same article under the name *Byrampaut* (i, 268). The *Shanbaf* is no doubt the Sinabaffi of Varthema, but more I cannot say. ["1609. A sort of cloth called *Byramy* resembling Holland cloths." (F. C. Danvers and W. Foster, *Letters received by the E. I. Co.*, i, 29.)

Shirinbaf, Pers. *Shírínbaf*, "sweet wool," a fine light stuff or cotton whereof the Moors make their cabayes or clothing. (Danvers, *l. c.*, i, 29.)

Shanbaf, Sinabaffs [Varthema] is identified by Badger, quoted by Sir G. Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, p. 153, with *sina-bafta*, "China-woven" cloths.]

[2] Mahomed Tughlak maintained an enormous royal establishment (analogous to the Gobelins) of weavers in silk and gold brocade, to provide stuffs for his presents, and for the ladies of the palace (*Not. et Extraits*, xiii, 183).

[3] ["With whom there was a great Emir," Lee, p. 155.] A statesman called *Turshi* was chief minister in China with great power, a few years after this, in 1347–8 (De Mailla, ix, 584). It is, however, perhaps not probable that this was the same

The king had apparently returned to Delhi before the despatch of the party, for the latter set out from that city on the 22nd July, 1342. Their route lay at first down the Doab as far as Kanauj, but misfortunes began before they had got far beyond the evening shadow of the Kutb Minar. For whilst they were at KOL (Koel or Alīgarh, eighty miles from Delhi), having complied with an invitation to take part in relieving the neighbouring town of JALĀLÍ from the attack of a body of Hindus[1], they lost in the fight twenty-five horsemen and fifty-five foot-men, including Kāfūr the Eunuch. During a halt which ensued, Ibn Batuta, separating from his companions, got taken prisoner, and though he escaped from the hands of his captors, did not get back to his friends for eight days, during which he went through some curious adventures. The party were so disheartened by these inauspicious beginnings that they wished to abandon the journey; but, in the meantime, the Sultan had despatched his Master of the Robes, the Eunuch Sanbul (*Spikenard*), to take the place of Kāfūr defunct, and with orders for them to proceed.

From KANAUJ they turned southwards to the fortress of GWALIOR, which Ibn Batuta had visited previously, and had then taken occasion to describe with fair accuracy. At PARWAN, a place which they passed through on leaving Gwalior, and which was much harassed by lions (probably tigers rather), the traveller heard that certain malignant Jogis were in the habit of assuming the form

person. as the Indo-Chinese nations do not usually employ statesmen of a high rank on foreign embassies.

[1] That work of this kind should be going on so near the capital shows perhaps that when Firishta says Mahomed's conquest of the distant provinces of Dwara-Samudra, Maabar, and Bengal, etc, had incorporated them with the empire "as completely as the villages in the vicinity of Delhi," this may not have amounted to very much after all (Briggs, i, 413).

of those animals by night. This gives him an opportunity of speaking of others of the Jogi class who used to allow themselves to be buried for months, or even for a twelve-month together, and afterwards revived. At Mangalore he afterwards made acquaintance with a Mussulman who had acquired this art from the Jogis[1]. The route continued through Bundelkhand and Mālwā to the city of DAULATĀBĀD, with its celebrated fortress of DWAIGIR (Deogiri), and thence down the Valley of the Tapti to KINBAIAT (Cambay)[2].

[1] This art, or the profession of it, is not yet extinct in India. A very curious account of one of its professors will be found in a '*Personal Narrative of a Tour through the States of Rajwāra*' (Calcutta, 1837, pp. 41–4), by my lamented friend Major-General A. H. E. Boileau, and also in the *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, by Captain Osborne, an officer on Lord Auckland's staff, to which I can only refer from memory. [See *Marco Polo*, ii, 365, 369 *n.*]

[2] I will here give the places passed through by Ibn Batuta on his route from Delhi to Cambay, with their identifications as far as practicable.

DELHI.

Tilbat, 2½ parasangs from the city . . .	This is perhaps *Tilputa*, a village in the Dadri Parganah, though this is some 17 miles from old Delhi. [Mžik, p. 249, criticizes Yule but does not himself throw any new light on the subject.]
Aú . .	Possibly *Aduh*, a Pargana town 8 miles west of Bulandshahr. [Mžik, p. 249, says it should be *Adha* or *Edha*.]
Hilú?	
Beiána, "a great place," with fine markets, and of which one of the chief officers of state had been lately governor	I believe no such name is now traceable. Biana, west of Agra, was a very important city and fortress in the middle ages, but is quite out of place here. [Mžik, p. 249, has Bayāna, 24 English miles west of Koil.]
KÓL, a fine city in a plain surrounded by mango orchards.	*Koel* [or *Koil*], commonly now known as Alīgarh, from the great fort in the vicinity taken by Lord Lake [1803]. *Jalālī* still exists, 10 m. E. of Koel.
(Jalālī, the town relieved)	
Burjbúrah . . .	There is a village *Birjpúr* N.E. of Mainpúri, on the line between Koel and Kanauj.

From Cambay they went to KAWE, a place on a tidal gulf belonging to the Pagan Raja Jaiansi, and thence to KANDAHAR, a considerable city on another estuary, and belonging to the same prince, who professed loyalty

Ab-i-Siyah . . .	A Persian rendering of the name of *Kali-Nadi* (Black River), which enters the Ganges near Kanauj. Shari-uddín gives the same name in a Turkish version, *Kara Su* (*H. de Timur Bec*, iii, 121).
KANAUJ	Well known.
Hanaul, Wazirpúr . .	Not traced. The last a very common name.
Bajálisah . . .	Must have been a place of some note as it gave a name to one of the gates of Delhi (iii, 149, and note, p. 461). I should suppose it must have been near the Jumna, *Etâwa* perhaps, or at *Bateswar* Ferry.
City of Maori, Marh	If the last was Etāwa, Maori may be *Umrî* near Bhind.
Alāpúr, ruled by an Abyssinian or Negro giant who could eat a whole sheep at once. A day's journey from this dwelt Katam the Pagan King of Jambil . . .	There is a place, *Jaurasa Alapur*, to the W.N.W. of Gwalior, where Sir Robert Napier gained a brilliant victory over the Gwalior insurgents in 1858, but it seems too much out of the line. The Pagan king is perhaps the Rajah of Dholpúr on the *Chambal*.
GALIÚR	*Gwalior*.
Parwān, Amwari . .	The first may be *Panwári* in the Hamirpúr Zillah, which would be in the line taken, if the next identification be correct.
Kajarrá. Here there was a lake about a mile long surrounded by idol temples, and with buildings in the water occupied by long-haired Jogis	Appears to be mentioned as *Kajrâha* by Rasuid, quoted by Elliot (p. 37), who identifies both names with *Kajrái*, on the banks of the Ken river in Bundelkhand, between Chattarpúr and Panna, which has ruins of great antiquity and interest. If so, the route followed must have been very devious, owing perhaps to the interposition of insurgent districts.
Chanderī, a great place with splendid bazaars .	A well known ancient city and fortress on the borders of Bundelkhand and Mālwā, captured by Sir Hugh Rose in 1858. According to the *Ayin Akbari* (quoted by Rennell) it contained 14,000 stone houses.

to Delhi, and treated them hospitably. Here they took ship, three vessels being provided for them. After two days they stopped to water at the Isle of BAIRAM, four miles from the main. This island had been formerly peopled, but it remained abàndoned by the natives since its capture by the Mahomedans, though one of the king's officers had made an attempt to re-settle it, putting in a small garrison and mounting mangonels for its defence. Next day they were at KUKAH, a great city with extensive bazaars, anchoring four miles from the shore on account of the vast recession of the tide. This city belonged to another pagan king, Dunkul, not too loyal to the Sultan. Three days' sail from this brought the party abreast of the Island of SINDÁBUR, but they passed on and anchored under a smaller island near the mainland, in which there was a temple, a grove, and a piece of water. Landing here, the traveller had a curious adventure with a Jogi, whom he found by the

ZIHAR, the capital of Mālwā. There were inscribed milestones all the way from Delhi to this.

Dhār, say the French Editor. But apparently the next station should have come first in that case.

UJJAIN . . . . Well known ancient city, N.E. of Dhār.

(Amjari, where he tells us (iii, 137) he witnessed a Suttee.)

Amjhera, a few miles S.W. by W. of Dhār?

DAULATĀBĀD . . . Retains its name. It appears in Fra Mauro's map as *Deuletabet*, and in the *C. Catalana* as *Diogil* (Deogiri).

Nadharbár. The people here and of the Daulatābād territory *Marhatahs* (iv, 48, 51).

Naderbar of Rennell, or *Nandarbár*, on the south bank of the Tāpti

Sāghar, a great town on a considerable river.

Saunghar on the Tāpti.

KINBAIAT, a very handsome city full of foreign merchants, on an estuary of the sea in which tl e tide rose and fell in a emarkable manner

Cambay [Khambāyat]. We find the *t* expressed by several of the old authors, by Marino Sanudo (*Cambeth*), by Fra Mauro (*Combait*); and much later the Jesuits of Akbar's time have *Camoaietta*.

wall of the temple[1]. Next day they came to HUNAWUR (or Onore), a city governed by a Mahomedan prince with great power at sea; apparently a pirate, like his successors in later times, but an enlightened ruler, for Ibn Batuta found in his city twenty-three schools for boys and thirteen for girls, the latter a thing which he had seen nowhere else in his travels[2].

After visiting several of the northern ports of Malabar, then very numerous and flourishing, they arrived at CALICUT, which the traveller describes as one of the finest ports in the world, frequented for trade by the people of China, the Archipelago, Ceylon, the Maldives, Yemen, and the Persian Gulf[3]. Here they were honourably received by the king, who bore the title of *Samari*[4] (the Zamorin of the Portuguese), and made their landing in great state. But all this was to be followed by speedy grief, as the traveller himself observes.

[1] For the identification of the places from Cambay to Hunawúr I must refer to Note B at the end of this Introduction. Assuming, as there argued, that Sindábúr was Goa [see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.], the small island was probably *Anchediva*, a favourite anchorage of the early Portuguese. "In the middle of it is a large lake of fresh water; but the island is deserted; it may be two miles from the mainland; it was in former times inhabited by the Gentoos, but the Moors of Mecca used to take this route to Calicut, and used to stop here to take in wood and water, and on that account it has ever since been deserted." (*Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral*, Lisbon, 1812, p. 118.)

[2] He says the Sultan of Hunawúr was subject to a Pagan monarch called *Hariab*, of whom he promises to speak again, but does not do so, unless, as is probable, he was the same as Bilal Deo (the Raja of Karnata), of whom he speaks at iv, p. 195.

[3] [Ma Huan describes Calicut (*Ku-li*) as "a great emporium of trade frequented by merchants from all quarters. It is three days' sail from Cochin, by which it is bordered on the south; on the north it adjoins Cannanore (K'ân-nu-urh); it has the sea on the west; and on the east, through the mountains, at a distance of 500 *li* (167 miles), is the kingdom or city of K'an-pa-mei." (*J. R. A. S.*, 1896, p. 345.)]

[4] [The word is Malayāl. *Sāmūtiri, Sāmūri, Tāmātiri, Tāmūri*, a *tadbhava* (or vernacular modification) of Skt. *Sāmundri*, "the Sea-King." *Hobson-Jobson*.]

At Calicut they abode for three months, awaiting the season for the voyage to China, viz., the spring All the communication with that country, according to Ibn Batuta (the fact itself is perhaps questionable), was conducted in Chinese vessels, of which there were three classes: the biggest called *Junk*, the middle-sized *Zao*, and the third *Kakam*[1]. The greater ships had from three to twelve sails, made of strips of bamboo woven like mats. Each of them had a crew of 1000 men, viz., 600 sailors and 400 soldiers, and had three tenders attached which were called respectively the *Half*, the *Third*, and the *Quarter*, names apparently indicating their proportionate size. The vessels for this trade were built nowhere except at ZAITÚN and SÍNKALÁN, the city also called SÍN-UL-SÍN[2], and were all made with triple sides, fastened with enormous spikes, three cubits

[1] The French editors derive these three words from Chinese terms, said to be respectively, *Ch'wen*, *Sao* or *Seu*, and *Hoa-hang* (M. Pauthier corrects these two last to *Tsao* or *Chéu*, and *Hoa-ch'wen*, "merchant-vessel," *M. Polo*, p. 656). I may venture at least to suggest a doubt of this derivation. *Junk* is certainly the Malay and Javanese *Jong* or *Ajong*, "a great ship" (v. Crawfurd's *Malay Dict.* in *vocib.* and *Hobson-Jobson*); whilst *Zao* may just as probably be the *Dhao* or *Dao*, which is to this day the common term on all the shores of the Indian Ocean, I believe from Malabar westward, for the queer old-fashioned high-sterned craft of those coasts, the *Tava* of Athanasius Nikitin's voyage from Hormuz to Cambay. "*Dow*," says Burton, "is used on the Zanzibar coast for craft generally." (*J. R. G. S.*, xxix, 239.) [It is quite possible that this word *Kakam* is only a corruption of the old Italian *Cocca*, a kind of ship. There has always been great interchange of words connected with navigation. Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, 252 *n.*]

[2] We have already seen that *Sínkalán* [Ferrand, *l.c.* i, p. xi, remarks that the Persian صين كلان *Čín kelān*=Skr. *Mahācīna*, Great China] is Canton (*supra*, II, p. 179 and III, p. 126), and Ibn Batuta here also teaches us to identify it with the *Sínia-ul-Sín* of Edrisi, which that geographer describes as lying at one extremity of the Chinese empire, unequalled for its size, edifices and commerce, and crowded with merchants from all the parts of India towards China. It was the residence, he says, of a Chinese Prince of the Blood, who governed it as a vassal of the *Faghfur* (the *Facfur* of Polo, *i.e.*, the *Sung* Emperor of Southern China; see Jaubert's *Edrisi*, i, 193, and *Marco Polo*, ii, 148 *n.*).

in length. Each ship had four decks, and numerous private and public cabins for the merchant passengers, with closets and all sorts of conveniences[1]. The sailors frequently had pot-herbs, ginger, etc., growing on board in wooden tubs. The commander of the ship was a very great personage[2], and, when he landed the soldiers belonging to his ship marched before him with sword and spear and martial music.

The oars or sweeps used on these great junks were more like masts than oars, and each was pulled by from ten to thirty men. They stood to their work in two ranks, facing each other, pulling by means of a strong cable fastened to the oar (which itself was, I suppose, too great for their grasp), and singing out to the stroke, *La, La! La, La!*

The only ports of Malabar frequented for trade by the China vessels were KAULAM, Calicut, and Hili[3];

[1] This account of the great Junks may be compared with those given by M. Polo (ii, p. 249), and F. Jordanus (p. 54).

[2] Because Ibn Batuta says the skipper "was like a great *Amír*," Lassen assumes that he was an *Arab*. For this there seems no ground Further on Ibn Batuta calls Kurtai the Viceroy of King-sze, who is expressly said to be a Pagan, "a great Amír." All that he means to say of the captain might be most accurately expressed in the vulgar term "a very great swell."

Whilst referring to Lassen's remarks upon Ibn Batuta towards the end of the fourth volume of his *Indian Antiquities*, I am constrained to say that the carelessness exhibited in this part of that great work makes one stand aghast, coming from a man of such learning and reputation. Such a statement needs support, and I refer for it to Note C at the end of this Introduction.

[3] Scarcely any change in India, since the days of our travellers, is more remarkable than the decay of the numerous ports, flourishing with foreign as well as domestic trade, which then lined the shores of the country; and the same remark applies in degree also to the other countries of Southern Asia, both eastward and westward of India. The commencement of this decay appears to date nearly from the arrival of the Portuguese, for at that time most of the ports were found still in an active and prosperous state. Somewhat similar circumstances have had course in our own country. The decay of the Cinque Ports can plead natural deterioration, but a more striking parallel

but those which intended to pass the Monsoon in India, used to go into the harbour of FANDARAINA for that purpose[1]. Thirteen of these ships, of different sizes, were lying at Calicut when Ibn Batuta's party were there.

The Zamorin prepared accommodation on board one of the junks for the party from Delhi; but Ibn Batuta, having ladies with him, went to the agent for the vessel, a Mahomedan called Suleiman ul-Safadi-ul-Shámi, to obtain a private cabin for them, having, it would seem, in his usual happy-go-lucky way, deferred this to the last moment. The agent told him that the cabins were all taken up by the Chinese merchants, who had

occurs on the shores of the Firth of Forth, once lined with sea-ports which each sent out its little squadron of merchant-vessels, the property of local owners, to the Continental trade; ports which now, probably, can boast only a few fishing-boats, and "merchants" only in the French and old Scotch sense of the term.

The decay of the Malabar ports may have begun in forcible monopoly and in devastating wars, from which the country had previously long enjoyed a comparative exemption, but it has been kept up no doubt by that concentration of capital in the hands of large houses, which more and more characterizes modern commerce, and is in our days advancing with more rapid strides than ever, whilst this cause is being reinforced by that concentration of the streams of produce which is induced by the construction of Trunk Railways. Whatever be the causes, it seems to me impossible to read these old travellers without at least an impression that wealth, prosperity, and probably happiness, were then far more generally diffused on the shores of India than they are now. Is there any ground for hope that the present state of things may be one of transition, and that at a future day the *multiplication* of railways will diminish this intense concentration, and again sow the coasts of India with seats of healthy trade and prosperity? If so, it will not be done by railways of wide gauge and heavy cost like those now made in India.

In a note (D) at the end of this Introduction, I propose to append a review of the Ports of Malabar as they were known from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

[1] [In the *Yuen Shi*, ch. 94, fol. 11 r° the "three barbarian kingdoms of *Ma-pa-eul* (Ma'abar), *Pei-nan* (corr. *Kiu-nam*, *Coilam*) and *Fan-ta-la-yi-na*" are mentioned. No doubt the last kingdom refers to the *Fandaraina* of Ibn Batuta, and Prof. Pelliot who gives me this information believes it is also, in the middle of the fourteenth century, *Pan-ta-li* of the *Tao yi chi lio*.]

(apparently) "return tickets." There was one, indeed, belonging to his own son-in-law, which Ibn Batuta could have, but it was not fitted up, however if he took that now, probably he would be able to make some better arrangement on the voyage; (it would seem from this that shipping agency in those days was a good deal like what it sometimes is now). So one Thursday afternoon our traveller's baggage and slaves, male and female, were put on board, whilst he stayed ashore to attend the Friday service before embarking. His colleagues, with the presents for China, were already on board. But the next morning early, the Eunuch Hilal, Ibn Batuta's servant, came to complain that the cabin assigned to them was a wretched little hole, and would never do. Appeal was made to the captain, but he said it could not be helped; if, however, they liked to go in a *kakam* which was there, they might pick and choose. Our traveller consented, and had his goods and his women-kind transferred to the kakam before public prayer time. In the afternoon the sea rose (it always did in the afternoon, he observes), and it was impossible to embark. By this time the China ships were all gone except that with the presents, another junk which was going to stop over the monsoon at Fandaraina, and the kakam, on which all the Moor's property was embarked. When he got up on Saturday morning the junk with his colleagues, and the kakam, had weighed, and got outside the harbour. The junk bound for Fandaraina was wrecked inside. There was a young girl on board, much beloved by her master, a certain merchant. He offered ten pieces of gold to any one who would save her. One of the sailors from Hormuz did save her, at the imminent risk of his life, and then refused the reward. "I did it for the love of God,"

said this good man. The junk with the presents also was wrecked on the reefs outside, and all on board perished. Many bodies were cast up by the waves, among others those of the Envoy Zahir-uddín, with the skull fractured, and of Malik Sunbul the eunuch, with a nail through his temples. Among the rest of the people who flocked to the shore to see what was going on, there came down the Zamorin himself, with nothing on but a scrap of a turban and a white cotton *dhoti*, attended by a boy with an umbrella. And, to crown all, when the kakam's people saw what had befallen their consort, they made all sail to seaward, carrying off with them our traveller's slaves, his girls and gear, and leaving him there on the beach of Calicut gazing after them, with nought remaining to him but his prayer-carpet, ten pieces of gold, and an emancipated slave, which last absconded forthwith!

He was told that the kakam *must* touch at Kaulam, so he determined to go thither. It was a ten days' journey, whether by land or water, so he set off by the lagoons with a Mussulman whom he had hired to attend on him, but who got continually drunk, and only added to the depression of the traveller's spirits. On the tenth day he reached Kaulam, the Columbum of our friars, which he describes as one of the finest cities of Malabar, with splendid bazaars, and wealthy merchants, there termed *Suli*[1], some of whom were Mahomedans.

[1] *Chūliā* is a name applied to the Mahomedans in Malabar. The origin of it seems to be unknown to Wilson (*Glossary*, in v.). The name is also applied to a particular class of the "Moors" or Mahomedans in Ceylon (*J. R. A. S.*, iii, 338). It seems probable that this was the word intended by the author. ["The word is by some derived from Skt. *chūḍā*, the top-knot which every Hindu must wear, and which is cut off on conversion to Islam.... According to Sonnerat the Chulias are of Arab descent and of Shia profession. The *Madras Gloss.* takes the word to be from the kingdom of *Chola* and to mean a person in S. India." *Hobson-Jobson.*]

There was also a Mahomedan Kazi and Shabandar (Master Attendant), etc. Kaulam was the first port at which the China ships touched on reaching India, and most of the Chinese merchants frequented it. The king was an Infidel, called *Tirawari*[1], a man of awful justice, of which a startling instance is cited by Ibn Batuta. One day when the king was riding with his son-in-law, the latter picked up a mango, which had fallen over a garden wall. The king's eye was upon him; he was immediately ordered to be ripped open and divided asunder, the parts being exposed on each side of the way, and a half of the fatal mango beside each!

The unfortunate ambassador could hear nothing of his kakam, but he fell in with the Chinese envoys who had been wrecked in another junk. They were refitted by their countrymen at Kaulam, and got off to China, where Ibn Batuta afterwards encountered them.

He had sore misgivings about returning to tell his tale at Dehli, feeling strong suspicion that Sultan Mahomed would be only too glad to have such a crow to pluck with him. So he decided on going to his friend the Sultan Jamal-uddín at Hunawúr, and to stop with him till he could hear some news of the missing kakam. The prince received him, but evidently with no hearty welcome. For the traveller tells us that he had no servant allowed him, and spent nearly all his time in the mosque—always a sign that things were going badly with Ibn Batuta—where he read the whole Koran through daily, and

[1] This title *Tirawari* may perhaps be *Tirubadi*, which Fra Paolino mentions among the sounding titles assumed by the princes of Malabar. "which were often mistaken for the proper names of families or individuals." He translates it *sua Maestà*, but literally it is probably *Tiru* (Tamul) "Holy," and *Pati* (Sansc.) "Lord. (See *V. alla Indie Orientali*, Roma, 1796, p. 103.)

by and bye twice a day. So he passed his time for three months.

The King of Hunawúr was projecting an expedition against the Island of Sindábúr. Ibn Batuta thought of joining it, and on taking the *Sortes Koranicæ* he turned up xxii, 41, "Surely God will succour those who succour Him"; which so pleased the king that he determined to accompany the expedition also. Some three months after the capture of Sindábúr the restless man started again on his travels, going down the coast to Calicut. Here he fell in with two of his missing slaves, who told him that his favourite girl was dead; that the King of Java (probably Sumatra) had appropriated the other women, and that the rest of the party were dispersed, some in Java, some in China, some in Bengal. So there was an end of the kakam.

He went back to Hunawúr and Sindábúr, where the Mussulman forces were speedily beleaguered by the Hindu prince whom they had expelled. Things beginning to look bad, Ibn Batuta, after some two months' stay, made his escape and got back to Calicut. Here he took it into his head to visit the DHĪBAT-UL-MAHAL or Maldive [*Male dīva*] Islands, of which he had heard wonderful stories.

One of the marvels of these islands was that they were under a female sovereign[1], Kadija, daughter of the late Sultan Jalál-uddín Omar, who had been set up as queen on the deposition of her brother for misconduct Her husband, the preacher Jamal-uddín, actually governed, but all orders were issued in the name of the princess, and she was prayed for by name in the Friday Service.

[1] As to the occasional prevalence of female rule in the Maldive Islands see introduction to Marignolli, III, p. 192.

Ibn Batuta was welcomed to the islands, and was appointed Kazi, marrying the daughter of one of the Wazirs and three wives besides. The lax devotion of the people and the primitive costume of the women affected his pious heart; he tried hard but in vain to reform the latter, and to introduce the system that he had witnessed at Urghanj, of driving folk to mosque on Friday with the constable's staff.

Before long he was deep in discontent, quarrels and intrigues, and in August 1344 he left the Maldives for Ceylon.

As he approached the island he speaks of seeing the Mountain of Serendib (compare Marignolli's *Mons Seyllani*) rising high in air "like a column of smoke.' He landed at Batthálah (PATLAM), where he found a Pagan chief reigning, a piratical potentate called Airi Shakarwati, who treated him civilly and facilitated his making the journey to Adam's Peak, whilst his skipper obligingly promised to wait for him[1].

In his journey he passes MANAR MANDALI[2], and the

[1] *Arya Chakravarti* is found in Ceylonese history as the name of a great warrior who commanded an army sent by Kulasaikera, who is called King of the Pandyans or people of the Madura country, which invaded Ceylon in 1314. The same name reappears as if belonging to the same individual in or about 1371, when he is stated to have erected forts at Colombo, Negombo and Chilaw, and after reducing the northern division of Ceylon, to have fixed the seat of government at Jaffnapatam. It is probable of course that these were two different persons, and indeed one authority speaks of the first Arya as being captured and put to death in the reign of Prakrama Bahu III (1314–19). The second must have commenced his career long before the date in the Ceylonese annals, as Ibn Batuta shows him established with royal authority at Patlam in 1344 (Turnour's *Epitome of the History of Ceylon*, Cotta Ch. M. Press, 1836. p. 47; Pridham, pp. 77–8; Upham's *Rajavali*, 264–9). Tennent supposes the Pandyan invaders to have come from Jaffnapatam, where they were already established, and not from the continent. Indeed we see from Ibn Batuta that the original Pandyan territory was now in Mussulman hands.

[2] *Minneri Mandel* of Tennent's Map, on the coast immediately abreast of Patlam.

port of SALAWAT[1], and then crosses extensive plains abounding in elephants. These however did no harm to pilgrims and foreigners[2], owing to the benignant influence exercised over them by the Shaikh Abu Abdallah, who first opened the road to the Holy Footmark. He then reached KUNAKÂR[3] as he calls it, the residence of the lawful King of Ceylon, who was entitled Kunar, and possessed a white elephant. Close to this city was the pool called the Pool of Precious Stones, out of which some of the most valuable gems were extracted. His description of the ascent to the summit is vivid and minute, and probably most of the sites which he speaks of could be identified by the aid of those who act as guides to Mahomedan pilgrims, if such there still be. He descends on the opposite side (towards Ratnapura), and proceeds to visit DINWAR, a large place on the sea, inhabited by merchants (Devi-neuera or Dondera), where a vast idol temple then existed, GALLE (which he calls *Kálí*), and COLUMBO (*Kalanbu*), so returning by the coast to Patlam. Columbo is described as even then one of the finest cities of the island. It was the abode of the "Wazir and Admiral Jalasti," who kept about him a body of 500 Abyssinians. This personage is not

[1] *Chilaw* of our maps.

[2] See *Odoric*, II, p. 172.

[3] Sir J Emerson Tennent considers this to be *Gampola*, called classically *Ganga-sri-pura*, the name which he supposes to be aimed at in Ibn Batuta's *Kunakâr*. With all respect for such an authority I think that it more probably represents *Kurunaigalla* or Kornegalle, which was the capital of the lawful sovereigns of Ceylon from about 1319 till some year after 1347. During this period the dynasty was in extreme depression, and little is recorded except the names of the kings, Bhuwaneka Bahu II, Pandita Prakrama Bahu IV, Wanny Bhuwaneka Bahu III, Wijayabahu V. It must have been in the reign of one or other of the two last that Ibn Batuta visited the capital. The name *Kunár* applied to him by the traveller is perhaps the Sanskrit *Kunwar*, "The Prince." (See Turnour's *Epitome*, quoted above.)

impossibly the same with the Khwaja Jahan, who so politely robbed John Marignolli (*ante*, III, p. 231). It is not said whose Wazir and Admiral he was.

At Patlam he took ship again for Maabar, but as he approached his destination he again came to grief, the ship grounding some six or eight miles from the shore. The crew abandoned the wreck, but our hero stuck by it, and was saved by some pagan natives.

On reaching the land, he reported his arrival to the *de facto* ruler of the country. This was the Sultan Ghaiás-uddín of Damghán, recently invested with the government of Maabar, a principality originally set up by his father-in-law, the Sherif Jalál-uddín. The latter had been appointed by Mahomed Tughlak to the military command of the province, but about 1338–9 had declared himself independent, striking coin in his own name, and proclaiming himself under the title of Ahhsan Sháh Sultan. Ibn Batuta, during his stay at Delhi, had married one of the Sherif's daughters, named Hhurnasab. She was a pious woman," says her husband, "who used to spend the night in watching and prayer. She could read, but had not learned to write. She bore me a daughter, but what is become of either the one or the other is more than I can tell!" Thus Ibn Batuta was brother-in-law to the reigning Sultan, who, on receiving the traveller's message, sent for him to his camp, two days' journey distant. This brother-in-law was a ruffian, whose cruel massacres of women and children excited the traveller's disgust and tacit remonstrance. However, he busied himself in engaging the Sultan in a scheme for the invasion of the Maldives, but before it came to anything the chief died of a pestilence. His nephew and successor, Sultan Nasir-uddín, was ready to take up the project, but Ibn Batuta got a fever at the capital,

MUTTRA (Madura), and hurried off to FATTAN[1], a large and fine city on the sea, with an admirable harbour, where he found ships sailing for Yemen, and took his passage in one of them as far as Kaulam.

Here he stayed for three months, and then went off for the fourth time to visit his friend the Sultan of Hunawúr. On his way, however, off a small island between Fakanúr and Hunawúr (probably the Pigeon Island of modern maps), the vessel was attacked by pirates of the wrong kind, and the unlucky adventurer was deposited on the beach stript of everything but his drawers! On this occasion, as he mentions elsewhere incidentally, he lost a number of transcripts of epitaphs of celebrated

[1] This *Fattan* of Maabar is also mentioned by Rashíd, in conjunction with *Malifattan* and *Káïl*, in a passage quoted at III, p. 68 *supra* (see also p. 70). I am not able to identify it. It *may* have been *Negapatam*, but from the way in which our traveller speaks of it, it would seem to have been the port of the city of Madura, and therefore I should rather look for it in the vicinity of Ramnad, as at Devi-patam or Killikarai, which have both been ports of some consideration. A place also called *Periapatan*, near Ramanancor, is mentioned by the historians of the Jesuit missions as much frequented for commerce, and as the chief town of the Paravas of the Fishery coast, but I do not find it on any map (Du Jarric, i, 628). Pattan or Fattan was probably the *Mabar* city of John Montecorvino and Marco Polo (see III, p. 65), and may be that which Abulfeda (probably by some gross mistranscription) calls *Biyardáwal*, "residence of the Prince of Mabar, whither horses are imported from foreign countries." There is indeed a place ealled *Ninarkovil*, near Ramnad, celebrated for a great temple (*J. R. A. S.*, iii, 165), which may be worth mentioning, because the difference between these two rather peculiar names (Bíyardáwal and Nínarqáwal) would be almost entirely a matter of diacritical points; Kail and Malifattan (or Molephatam) are both to be sought in the vicinity of Tuticorin (see *Fr. Jordanus*, p. 40). [The Rev. Dr Caldwell, quoted by Sir Henry Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 372 *n.*, writes. "The Cail of Marco Polo, commonly called in the neighbourhood *Old Káyal*, and erroneously named *Koil* in the Ordnance Map of India, is situated on the Tâmraparnî River, about a mile and a half from its mouth... Káyal stood originally on or near the sea-beach, but it is now about a mile and a half inland, the sand carried down by the river having silted up the ancient harbour, and formed a waste sandy tract between the sea and the town...."] Malifattan is no doubt the *Manifattan* of Abulfeda, "a city of Maabar on the sea shore" (see Gildemeister, p. 185).

persons which he had made at Bokhara, along with other matters, not improbably including the notes of his earlier travels[1]. Returning to Calicut he was clothed by the charity of the Faithful. Here also he heard news of the Maldives; the Preacher Jamal-uddín was dead, and the Queen had married another of the Wazirs; moreover one of the wives whom he had abandoned had borne him a son[2]. He had some hesitation about returning to the Islands, as he well might, considering what he had been plotting against them, but encouraged by a new cast of the Sortes he went and was civilly received. His expectations however, or his caprices, were disappointed, for he seems to have staved but five days and then went on to Bengal.

Ibn Batuta's account of what he saw in Bengal, and on his subsequent voyage through the Archipelago, will be given in extracts or in more detailed abstract, in connexion with the full text of his travels in China. We now therefore take up this short account of his adventures from the time of his return from the latter country.

After coming back from China he proceeded direct from Malabar to the coast of Arabia, visiting again Dhafar, Maskat, Hormuz, Shiraz, Ispahan, Tuster, Basrah, Meshid Ali and Baghdad, and thence went to Tadmor and Damascus, where he had left a wife and

[1] See iii, 28.

[2] He says this boy was now two years old. As the child was not born when Ibn Batuta left the Maldives in August 1344, his second visit must have been (according to this datum) at least as late as August 1346, and perhaps some months later. He goes to China (at the earliest) during the succeeding spring, and yet his book tells us that he is back from his China expedition and in Arabia by May 1347. There is here involved an error one way or the other of at least one year, and of two years if we depend on Ibn Batuta's own details of the time occupied by his expedition to China. See a note on this towards the end of his narrative (*infra*).

child twenty years before, but both apparently were now dead. Here also he got his first news from home, and heard of his father's death fifteen years previously. He then went on to Hamath and Aleppo, and on his return to Damascus found the Black Death raging to such an extent that two thousand four hundred died in one day. Proceeding by Jerusalem to Egypt he repeated the Mecca pilgrimage for the last time, and finally turned his face away from the East. Travelling by land to Tunis he embarked in a ship of Catalonia. They touched at Sardinia (*Jazírah Sardániah*), where they were threatened with capture, and thence proceeded to Tenes on the Algerine coast, whence he reached Fez, the capital of his native country, on the 8th November 1349, after an absence of twenty-four years.

Here he professes to have rejoiced in the presence of his own Sultan, whom he declares to surpass all the mighty monarchs of the East; in dignity him of Irák, in person him of India, in manner him of Yemen, in courage the king of the Turks, in long-suffering the Emperor of Constantinople, in devotion him of Turkestan, and in knowledge him of Java![1], a list of comparisons

[1] In another passage he names as the seven greatest and most powerful sovereigns in the world: (1) His own master, the Commander of the Faithful, viz., the King of Fez; (2) The Sultan of Egypt and Syria; (3) The Sultan of the two Iraks; (4) The Sultan Mahomed Uzbek of Kipchak; (5) The Sultan of Turkestan and Mā-warā-n-Nahr (Chagatai); (6) The Sultan of India; (7) The Sultan of China (ii; 382). Von Hammer quotes from Ibn Batuta also (though I cannot find the passage) the following as the characteristic titles of the seven great kings of the earth. The list differs from the preceding. (1) The *Takfúr* of Constantinople; (2) The *Sultán* of Egypt; (3) The *King* (Malik?) of the Iraks; (4) The *Khákán* of Turkestan; (5) The *Maharaja* of India; (6) The *Faghfúr* of China; (7) The *Khan* of Kipchak (*Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, p. 300).

The King of Fez in question, Ibn Batuta's lord, was Faris Abu Imán, of the house of Beni Merin of Fez, who usurped the throne during his father's lifetime in 1348, and died miserably, smothered in bed by some of his courtiers, November 1358. In a rescript of his granting certain commercial privileges to the

so oddly selected as to suggest the possibility of irony. After all that he had seen, he comes, like Friar Jordanus, to the conclusion that there is no place like his own WEST[1]. "'Tis the best of all countries You have fruit in plenty; good meat and water are easily come at, and in fact its blessings are so many that the poet has hit the mark when he sings:

> Of all the Four Quarters of Heaven the best
> (I'll prove it past question) is surely the West!
> 'Tis the West is the goal of the Sun's daily race!
> 'Tis the West that first shows you the Moon's silver face!

"The dirhems of the West are but little ones 'tis true, but then you get more for them!"—just as in the good old days of another dear Land of the West, where, if the pound was but twenty pence, the pint at least was two quarts!

After a time he went to visit his native city of Tangier, thence to Ceuta, and then crossed over into Spain (*al Andalús*), going to see Gibraltar, which had just then been besieged "by the Latin tyrant, Adfunus" (Alphonso XI)[2]. From the Rock he proceeded to Ronda

Pisans, 9th April, 1358, he is styled King of Fez, Mequinez, Sallee, Morocco, Sus, Segelmessa, Teza, Telemsen, Algiers, Bugia, Costantina, Bona, Biskra, Zab, Media, Gafsa, Baladt-ul-Jarid, Tripoli, Tangier, Ceuta, Gibraltar and Ronda, *i.e.*, of the whole of Barbary from Tripoli to the Atlantic coast facing the Canary Islands. But his claim to the eastern part of this territory must have been titular only, as his father had just lost it when Abu Imán seized the government. (Amari, *Diplomi Arabi del R. Arch. Fiorentino*, pp. 309, 476.)

[1] *Fr. Jord.*, p. 55.

[2] *Thághiah-ul-Rúm.* Amari remarks (*op. cit.*, pp. ix–x): "The early Mahomedans used to call all the Christians of Europe *Rúm, i.e.*, Romans but at a later date chose to distinguish between the Greek and German races, the subjects of the two empires, by applying the term *Farang, i.e.*, Franks, to the Western Christians, and *Rúm* to the Byzantines; whilst not well knowing what to make of the Latin race, *headless* as it was, they called the Italians and Spanish Christians sometimes *Rúm* and sometimes *Farang*." The same author says elsewhere that *Thágiah* was applied to Christian princes almost in the Greek sense of *Tyrannus, i.e.*, as impugning the legality rather than the abuse of their power.

and Malaga, Velez, Alhama and Granada, and thence returned, by Gibraltar, Ceuta, and Morocco, to Fez. But his travels were not yet over. In the beginning of 1352 he set out for Central Africa, his first halt being at SEGELMESSA, where the dates in their abundance and excellence recalled but surpassed those of Basra[1]. Here it was that he lodged with the brother of that Al Bushri who had treated him so handsomely in the heart of China.

On his way south he passed TAGHAZA, a place where the houses and mosques were built of rock-salt, and roofed with camel-hides[2], and at length reached MALLI, the capital of Sudan[3]. Here he abode eight months, after which he went to TIMBUKTU, and sailed down the Niger

[1] Segelmessa was already ruined and deserted in the time of Leo Africanus. ["The citie of Segelmesse was destroied, and till this day remaineth desolate." Dr. R. Brown, in Hak. Soc. ed., iii, p. 780.] ["Sejelmasah is a town of middling size, belonging to the territories of Tahouth. One cannot enter Sejelmasah but by the way of the desert, which the sand renders difficult. This town is situated near the gold mines, between them and the land of the Blacks, and the land of Zouilah. These mines are said to be of the most pure and excellent gold; but it is difficult to work them, and the way to them is dangerous and troublesome. They say that the district of Tahouth is reckoned as belonging to Africa." (Sir W. Ouseley, *Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal*, Lond., 1800, p. 21.)] According to Reinaud it was in the same valley with the modern *Tafilelt*, if not identical with it. I think dates from the latter place (Tafilat) are exhibited in the windows of London fruiterers. [Sijilmásiyah, Medina ul Amira, the capital of Tafilet; it had been subjugated by the Omeyyads of Spain in 976. Cf. Brown's ed. of *Leo Africanus*, iii, p. 806: "The ruins are in the district of Wad Ifli; and bear evidence to the city having been a large one."]

[2] *Taghazai* is an oasis in the heart of the Sahra, on the caravan route from Tafilelt to Timbuktu, near the Tropic. On the salt-built houses of the Sahra Oases see Herodotus, iv, 185, and notes in Rawlinson's edition. [Ibn Batuta's Tegaza (Tekkada) lies to the S.W. of Agadez. Cf. Brown's ed. cf *Leo Africanus*, p. 1101. Teghâzza is the name of a salt mine situated at two days north of Teodeni. Cf. *Tarikh es-Soudan*, p. 22 *n.*]

[3] In passing the great Desert beyond Taghaza he gives us another instance of the legends alluded to at II, p. 262, *supra*. "This vast plain is haunted by a multitude of demons; if the messenger is alone they sport with him and fascinate him, so that he strays from his course and perishes" (iv, 382).

to KAUKAU, whence he travelled to TAKADDA. The Niger he calls the Nile, believing it to flow towards Dongola, and so into Egypt, an opinion which was maintained in our own day shortly before Lander's discovery, if I remember rightly, by the *Quarterly Review*. The traveller mentions the hippopotamus in the river.

He now received a command from his own sovereign for his return to Fez, and left Takadda for TAWAT, by the country of HAKKAR[1], on the 12th September, 1353, reaching Fez, and the termination of those at least of his wanderings which are recorded, in the beginning of 1354, after they had lasted for eight and twenty years, and had extended over a length of at least 75,000 English miles[2].

Soon after this the history of his travels was committed to writing under orders from the Sultan, but not by the traveller's own hand. It would appear, indeed, that he had at times kept notes of what he saw, for in one passage he speaks of having been robbed of them. But a certain Mahomed Ibn Juzai, the Sultan's Secretary, was employed

[1] *Melle*, south of *Timbuktu*, *Gogo* or *Gago*, on the Niger, south-east of the same, *Takadda*, *Hogar*, and *Tawat*, are all I think to be found in Dr. Barth's Map in the *J. R. G. S.* for 1860. [Gaó, Gógó or Kâgho, on the Niger, is marked in Barth's Map but the other places are not to be found in it.—Gógó was the capital of the Songhai Empire. See Brown's ed. of *Leo Africanus*, p. 845; *Tarikh es-Soudan*, p. 6. Ibn Batuta sailed from Kabara, the port of Timbuktu to Gógó. The Kingdom of Melli is also mentioned in *Leo Africanus*: "This region extending it selfe almost three hundred miles along the side of a river which falleth into Niger" (*l. c.*, p. 823). Mansa Sleiman was Sultan at the time of Ibn Batuta's visit, and in 1336 he occupied Timbuktu; in A.D. 1433 the Meli empire began to decline (*l. c.*, p. 841). Sultan Kankan Musa was the first king of Melli who made the conquest of Songhai. Cf. *Tarikh es-Soudan*, transl. by O. Houdas, pp. 12–13, 18–21.] It is remarkable that the Catalan Map of 1375 contains most of these Central African names, viz., Tagaza, Melli, *Tenbuch*, *Geugeu*. The first three are also mentioned by Cadamosto.

[2] This is the result of a rough compass measurement, without any allowance for deviations or for the extensive journeys he probably made during his eight years' stay in India, etc.

to reduce the story to writing as Ibn Batuta told it (not however without occasionally embellishing it by quotations and pointless anecdotes of his own), and this work was brought to a conclusion on the 13th December, 1355, just about the time that John Marignolli was putting his reminiscences of Asia into a Bohemian Chronicle. The editor, Ibn Juzai, concludes thus:

"Here ends what I have put into shape from the memoranda of the Shaikh Abu Abdallah Mahomed Ibn Batuta, whom may God honour! No person of intelligence can fail to see that this Shaikh is the Traveller of Our Age; and he who should call him the Traveller of the whole Body of Islam would not go beyond the truth."

Ibn Batuta long survived his amanuensis, and died in 1377–8, at the age of seventy-three.

The first detailed information communicated to Europe regarding his travels was published in a German periodical, about 1808, by Seetzen[1], who had obtained an abridgment of the work in the East, with other MSS. collected for the Gotha library. In 1818 Kosegarten published at Jena the text and translation of three fragments of the same abridgment. A Mr. Apetz edited a fourth, the description of Malabar, in 1819. In the same year Burckhardt's Nubian Travels were published in London, the appendix to which contained a note on Ibn Batuta, of whose work the Swiss traveller had procured a much fuller abridgment than that at Gotha. Three MSS. of this abridgment were obtained by Cambridge University, after Burckhardt's death, and from these Dr. Lee made his well-known version for the Oriental Translation Fund (London, 1829).

[1] The proper title of the book is, "*A Gift for the Observing, wherein are set forth the Curiosities of Cities and the Wonders of Travel.*"

It was not, however, until the French conquest of Algiers, and capture of Constantina, that manuscripts of the unabridged work became accessible. Of these there are now five in the Imperial Library of Paris, two only being complete. One of these two, however, has been proved to be the autograph of Ibn Juzai, the original editor.

P. José de St. Antonio Moura published at Lisbon, in 1840, the first volume of a Portuguese translation of the whole work, from a manuscript which he had obtained at Fez in the end of the last century. I believe the second volume also has been issued within the last few years[1].

The part of the Travels which relates to Sudan was translated, with notes, by Baron McGuckin de Slane, in the *Journal Asiatique* for March, 1843; that relating to the Indian Archipelago, by M. Ed. Dulaurier, in 1847; that relating to the Crimea and Kipchak, by M. Defrémery, in 1850; and the chapter on the Mongol Sultans of the Iraks and Khorāsān, also by Defrémery, in 1851, all in the same journal. M. Defrémery also published the Travels in Persia and Central Asia in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* for 1848, and the Travels in Asia Minor in the same periodical for 1850–1. In it also M. Cherbonneau, Professor of Arabic at Constantina, put forth, in 1852, a slightly abridged translation of the commencement of the work, as far as the traveller's departure for Syria, omitting the preface[2].

Finally, the whole work was most carefully edited in the original, with a translation into French by M. Defrémery and Dr. Sanguinetti, at the expense of the Asiatic Society of Paris, in four volumes, with an

[1] [I have never seen it.—H. C.]

[2] All these bibliographical particulars are derived from the preface of the French translators.

admirable index of names and peculiar expressions attached (1858–9) From their French the present version of Ibn Batuta's voyage to China has been made. The plan of the Asiatic Society appears to have precluded a commentary; but a few explanatory notes have been inserted by the editors among the various readings at the end of each volume, and valuable introductions have been prefixed to the first three. In the fourth volume, which contains the whole of the traveller's history from the time of his leaving Delhi on the ill-fated embassy to China, this valuable aid is no longer given; for what reason I know not.

There can be no question, I think, as to the interest of this remarkable book. As to the character of the traveller, and the reliance to be placed on him, opinions have been somewhat various. In his own day and country he was looked upon, it would seem, as a bit of a Münchausen[1], but so have others who little deserved it.

His French editors, Defrémery and Sanguinetti, are disposed to maintain his truthfulness, and quote with approbation M. Dozy of Leyden, who calls him "this honest traveller." Dulaurier also looks on him very favourably. Reinaud again, and Baron McGuckin de Slane, accuse him either of natural credulity, or of an

[1] See in the App. to vol. iii, at p. 466, an extract from the *Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldún*. It mentions how our t veller, having returned from his long wanderings, was admitted to the court of his native sovereign. The wonderful stories which he related of the wealth and boundless liberality of Mahomed Tughlak excited incredulity. "Those who heard him relate these stories and others of the same kind at the court, whispered to one another that they were a parcel of lies and that the narrator was an impostor." Ibn Khaldún having expressed this view to the Wazir, received a caution against over-incredulity, backed by an apophthegm, which seems to have led him on reflection to think that he had been wrong in disbelieving the traveller [There does not seem any doubt that Ibn Batuta has borrowed some of his descriptions from the writings of his predecessors; for instance, part of what he says about Mecca is taken from Ibn Iubair.]

inclination to deal in marvellous stories, especially in some of his chapters on the far East; whilst Klaproth quite reviles him for the stupidity which induces him to cram his readers with rigmaroles about Mahomedan saints and spiritualists, when details of the places he had seen would have been of extreme interest and value.

Though Klaproth was probably acquainted only with the abridgment translated by Lee, and thus had not the means of doing justice to the narrative, I must say there is some foundation for his reproaches, for, especially when dealing with the Saracenic countries, in which Islam had been long established, his details of the religious establishments and theologians occupy a space which renders this part of the narrative very dull to the uninitiated. It seems to me that the Mahomedan man of the world, soldier, jurist, and theologian, is, at least in regard to a large class of subjects, not always either so trustworthy, or so perspicacious as the narrow-minded Christian friars who were his contemporaries, whilst he cannot be compared with the Venetian merchant, who shines among all the travellers of the middle age like the moon among the lesser lights of heaven. There seems to be something in the Mahomedan mind that indisposes it for appreciating and relating accurately what is witnessed in nature and geography.

Of the confused state of his geographical ideas, no instance can be stronger than that afforded by his travels in China, where he jumbles into one great river, rising near Peking, and entering the sea at Canton, after passing King-sze and Zaitún, the whole system of Chinese hydrography, partly bound together by the Great Canal and its branches[1]. These do indeed extend from north to south, but in travelling on their waters he must,

[1] See 1, 79, and hereafter in his travels through China.

once at least, and probably twice, have been interrupted by portages over mountain ranges of great height. So, also, at an earlier period in his wanderings, he asserts that the river at Aleppo (the Koïk, a tributary of Euphrates) is the same as that called Al' Asi, or Orontes, which passes by Hamath[1]. In another passage he confounds the celebrated trading-places of Siraf and Kais, or Kísh[2]: and in his description of the Pyramids, he distinctly ascribes to them a conical form, *i.e.*, with a circular base[3]. Various other instances of the looseness of his observation, or statements, will occur in that part of his travels which we are about to set forth in full. Sometimes, again, he seems to have forgotten the real name of a place, and to have substituted another, as it would seem, at random, or perhaps one having some resemblance in sound. Thus, in describing the disastrous campaign of the Sultan's troops in the Himalaya, he speaks of them as, in the commencement, capturing *Warangal*, a city high up in the range. Now, Warangal was in the Dekkan, the capital of Telingana, and it seems highly improbable that there could have been a city of

[1] See i, 152, and French editors' note, p. 432. It is a remarkable feature in the Nile, according to Ibn Batuta, that it flows from south to north, *contrary to all other rivers*. This fact seems to have impressed the imagination of the ancients also, as one of the Nile's mysteries, and Cosmas says it flows slowly, because, as it were, *up hill*, the earth according to his notion rising towards the north.

[2] See ii, 244, and French editors' note, p. 456. [*Supra*, i, p. 144 *n.*; ii, p. 107 *n.*]

[3] See p. 81. He gives a curious story about the opening of the great pyramid by the Khalif Mámún, and how he pierced its solid base with Hannibal's chemistry, first lighting a great fire in contact with it, then *sluicing it with vinegar*, and battering it with shot from a mangonel. Another parallel is found in the Singhalese tradition of the destruction of the great Dam at Padivil by fire and *sour milk* (see Tennent's *Ceylon*, ii, 504). Though Ibn Batuta passes the site of Thebes three times, and indeed names Luxor as one of his halting places, "where is to be seen the tomb of the pious hermit Abu'l Hajáj Alaksori," he takes no notice of the vast remains there or elsewhere on the Nile.

the name in the Himalaya. (See iii, 326.) One suspects something of the same kind, when he identifies *Kataka* (Cuttack?) with the Mahratta country (*ib.*, p. 182), but in this I may easily be wrong; even if I be right, however, the cases of this kind are few.

Of his exaggeration we have a measurable sample in his account of the great Kutb Minár at Delhi, which we have still before our eyes, to compare with his description: "The site of this mosque [the Jama Masjid, or Cathedral Mosque of old Delhi] was formerly a *Budkhánah*, or idol-temple, but after the conquest of the city it was converted into a mosque. In the northern court of the mosque stands the minaret, which is without parallel in all the countries of Islam. It is built of red stone, in this differing from the material of the rest of the mosque, which is white; moreover, the stone of the minaret is wrought in sculpture. It is of surpassing height; the pinnacle is of milk-white marble, and the globes which decorate it of pure gold. *The aperture of the staircase is so wide that elephants can ascend, and a person on whom I could rely, told me that when the minaret was a-building, he saw an elephant ascend to the very top with a load of stones.*" Also, in speaking of the incomplete minaret, which was commenced by one of the Sultans (I forget which) in rivalry of the Kutb Minár, he tells us that its staircase was so great that *three elephants* could mount abreast, and though only one-third of the altitude was completed, that fraction was already as high as the adjoining minaret (the Kutb)! These are gross exaggerations, though I am not provided with the actual dimensions of either staircase to compare with them[1]. This test I can offer, however, in reference

[1] The total diameter of the Kutb Minár at the base is 47 feet 3 inches, and at the top about 9 feet. The doorway is a small

to a third remarkable object in the court of the same mosque, the celebrated Iron *Láth*, or column: "In the centre of the mosque there is to be seen an enormous pillar, made of some unknown metal. One of the learned Hindus told me that it was entitled *haft-júsh*, or 'the seven metals,' from being composed of an amalgam of so many. A portion of the shaft has been polished, about a finger's length, and the sheen of it is quite dazzling. Iron tools can make no impression on this pillar. *It is thirty cubits in length, and when I twisted my turban-cloth round the shaft, it took a length of eight cubits to compass it.*" The real height of the pillar above ground is twenty-two feet, and its greatest diameter a little more than sixteen inches[1].

one, not larger at most I think than an ordinary London street-door, though I cannot give its dimensions. The uncompleted minaret is certainly not half the height of the Kutb; it is 82 feet in diameter. It was begun by 'Alá-uddín, the penultimate predecessor of Mubárik Sháh. For this note, as for much other assistance, I have to thank my friend Col. R. Maclagan, R.E.—H. Y.] Ibn Batuta was no doubt trying to communicate from memory the impression of vastness which these buildings had made upon his mind, and if he had not been so specific there would have been little fault to find.

In justice to him we may quote a much more exaggerated contemporary notice of the Kutb in the interesting book called *Masálak-al-Absár*. The author mentions on the authority of Shaik Burhan-uddín Bursi that the minaret of Delhi was 600 cubits high! (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii, p. 180.)

On the other hand, the account given by Abulfoda is apparently quite accurate. "Attached to the mosque (of Delhi) is a tower which has no equal in the whole world. It is built of red stone with about 360 steps. It is not square but has a great number of angles, is very massive at the base, and very lofty, equalling in height the Pharos of Alexandria" (Gildemeister, p. 190). I may add that Ibn Batuta was certainly misinformed as to the date and builder of the Kutb. He ascribes it to Sultan Muizz-uddín (otherwise called Kaikobād), grandson of Balban (A.D. 1286–90). But the real date is nearly a century older. It was begun by Kutb-uddín Eibék when governing for Shahab-uddín of Ghazni (otherwise Mahomed Bin Sam, A.D. 1193–1206), and completed by Altamsh (1211–36). Ibn Batuta ascribes the rival structure to Kutb-uddín Khilji (Mubárik Sháh, 1316–20), and in this also I think he is wrong, though I cannot correct him.

[1] The pillar looks like iron, but I do not know if its real composition has been determined. It was considered by James

As positive fiction we must set down the traveller's account of the historical events which he asserts to have taken place in China during his visit to that country, as will be more precisely pointed out in the notes which accompany his narrative. I shall there indicate reasons for doubting whether he ever reached Peking at all[1]. And his account of the country of Tawalisi, which he visited on his way to China, with all allowance for our ignorance of its exact position, seems open to the charge of considerable misrepresentation, to say the least of it. He never seems to have acquired more than a very imperfect knowledge even of Persian, which was then, still more than now, the *lingua franca* of Asiatic travel, much less of any more local vernacular; nor does he seem to have been aware that the Persian phrases which he quotes did *not* belong to the vernacular of the countries which he is describing, a mistake of which we have seen analogous instances already in Marignolli's account of Ceylon. Thus, in relating the circumstances of a suttee which he witnessed on his way from Delhi to the

Prinsep to date from the third or fourth century. I should observe that the shaft has been recently ascertained to descend *at least* twenty-six feet into the earth, and probably several feet more, as with that depth excavated the pillar did not become loose. But there is no reason to believe that it stood higher above ground in Ibn Batuta's time than now, and I gather from the statement that the diameter below ground does not increase. I am indebted for these last facts, and for the dimensions given above, to my friend Major-General Cunningham's unpublished archæological reports, and I trust he will excuse this slight use of them, as no other measurements were accessible to me that could be depended upon.

[1] When the traveller (iv, 244) tells us that the people of Cathay or Northern China used elephants as common beasts of burden in exactly the same way that they were used by the people of Mul-Jawa on the shores of the Gulf of Siam [see note, II, pp. 163, 164] he somewhat strengthens the suspicion that he never was in Northern China, where I believe the elephant has never been other than a foreign importation for use in war or court pomps. [M. Ferrand, *Textes*, ii, p. 433, has come to the conclusion that Ibn Batuta never went to Indo-China and China and that the narrative of his travels in these countries is a mere invention.]

coast, after eight years' residence in Hindustan, he makes the victim address her conductors in *Persian*, quoting the words in that language as actually used by her, these being no doubt the *interpretation* which was given him by a bystander[1]. There are many like instances in the course of the work, as, when he tells us that an ingot of gold was called, in China, *barkálah*; that watchmen were there called *baswánán*, and so forth, all the terms used being Persian. Generally, perhaps, his explanations of foreign terms are inaccurate; he has got hold of *some* idea connected with the word, but not the real one. Thus, in explaining the name of *Hájí-Tarkhán* (Astrakhan) he tells us that the word *Tarkhán*, among the Turks, signified a *place* exempt from all taxes, whereas it was the title of certain privileged *persons*, who, among other peculiar rights, enjoyed exemption from taxes[2]. Again, he tells us that the palace of the Khans at Sarai was called *Altún-Thásh*, or "Golden Head"; but it is *Básh*, not *Thásh*, that signifies *head* in Turkish, and the meaning of the name he gives is *Golden Stone*[3].

[1] The story is related on his first entrance into Hindustan *àpropos* of another suttee which then occurred. But he states the circumstance to have happened at a later date when he was at the town of *Amjeri*, and I suppose this to have been the town of *Amjhera* near Dhar, which he probably passed through on his way from Dhar to Daulatābād in 1342 (iii, 137).

[2] *Tarkhan* is supposed to be the title intended by the *Τουρχανthus* of the Byzantine Embassy of Valentine (see note near end of Ibn Batuta's narrative, *infra*).

[3] See remark by Tr., ii, 448. Ibn Batuta tells us that it was the custom in India for a creditor of a courtier who would not pay his debts to watch at the palace gate for his debtor, and there assail him with cries of "*Daruhai Ús-Sultán!* O enemy of the Sultan! thou shalt not enter till thou hast paid." But it is probable that the exclamation really was that still so well known in India made by any individual who considers himself injured, "*Duhai* Maharáj! *Duhai* Company Bahádur!" Justice! Justice!

There are some remarkable chronological difficulties in his narrative, but for most of these I must refer to the French editors, to whom I am so largely indebted. Others, more particularly relating to the Chinese expedition, will be noticed in detail further on.

After all that has been said, however, there can be no doubt of the genuine nature and general veracity of Ibn Batuta's travels, as the many instances in which his notices throw light upon passages in other documents of this collection, and on Marco Polo's travels (see particularly M. Pauthier's [and Yule's] notes), might suffice to show. Indeed, apart from cursory inaccuracies and occasional loose statements, the two passages already alluded to are the only two with regard to which I should be disposed positively to impugn his veracity. The very passages which have been cited with regard to the great edifices at Delhi are only exaggerated when he rashly ventures on positive statements of dimension; in other respects they are the brief and happy sketches of an eye-witness. His accounts of the Maldive islands, and of the Negro countries of Sudan (of which latter his detail is one of the earliest that has come down to us) are full of interesting particulars, and appear to be accurate and unstrained. The majority of the names even, which he attaches to the dozen great clusters of the Maldives, can still be identified[1], and much, I believe,

[1] The names attributed by Ibn Batuta to twelve of the Maldive clusters are (1) Pálipúr, (2) Kannalúš, (3) Mahal, the Royal Residence, (4) Taládíb, (5) Karáidu, (6) Taim, (7) Taladumati, (8) Haladumati, (9) Baraidu, (10) Kandakál, (11) Mulúk, (12) Suwaid, which last he correctly describes as being the most remote. The names corresponding to these as given in a map accompanying an article in the *J. R. Geog. Soc.* are, (1) Padypolo, (2) Colomandus? (3) Malé, the Sultan's Residence, (4) Tillada, (5) Cardiva, (6) ——? (7) Tilladumatis, (8) Milladumadue, (9) Palisdus, (10) ——? (11) Molucque, (12) Suadiva. M. Defrémery had already made the comparison with those given in Pyrard's voyage of 1619.

of his Central African narrative is an anticipation of knowledge but recently regained. The passage in which he describes at length his adventures near Koel in India, when accidentally separated for many days from his company, is an excellent example of fresh and lively narrative. His full and curious statements and anecdotes regarding the showy virtues and very solid vices of Sultan Mahomed Tughlak are in entire agreement with what is told by the historians of India, and add many new details. The French editors have shown, in a learned and elaborate tabular statement, how well our traveller's account of the chief events of that monarch's reign (though told with no attention to chronological succession) agrees with those of Khondemir and Firishta. The whole of the second part of his narrative indeed seems to me superior in vivacity and interest to the first; which, I suppose, may be attributed partly to more vivid recollection, and partly perhaps to the preservation of his later notes.

Ibn Batuta has drawn his own character in an accumulation of slight touches through the long history of his wanderings, but to do justice to the result in a few lines would require the hand of Chaucer, and something perhaps of his freedom of speech. Not wanting in acuteness nor in humane feeling, full of vital energy and enjoyment of life; infinite in curiosity; daring, restless, impulsive, sensual, inconsiderate, and extravagant; superstitious in his regard for the saints of his religion, and plying devout observances, especially when in difficulties, doubtless an agreeable companion, for we always find him welcomed at first, but clinging, like one of the Ceylon leeches which he describes, when he found a full-blooded subject, and hence too apt to disgust his patrons and to turn to intrigues against them. Such are the impressions

which one reader, at least, has gathered from the surface of his narrative, as rendered by MM. Defrémery and Sanguinetti[1].

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[1] In preparing this paper I have to regret not being able to look over Lee's abridgement, though I have had before me a few notes of a former reading of it. [Seen in the present edition.] If I can trust my recollection, there are some circumstances in Lee which do not appear at all in the French translation of the complete work. This is curious. I may add that in the part translated by M. Dulaurier I have on one or two occasions ventured to follow his version where it seemed to give a better sense, though disclaiming any idea of judging between the two as to accuracy. [Yule added this note since: "I now have a copy of Lee's Ibn Batuta, and I find that the circumstances here alluded to as resting in my memory of that version arose only out of a difference of translation and reading. Compare the story of the man taught by the Jogis in Lee, p. 159, with the same in Defrémery, iv, p. 35."]

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NOTE A. (See Page 13.)

ON THE VALUE OF THE INDIAN COINS MENTIONED BY IBN BATUTA.

Though I have not been able to obtain complete light on this perplexed question, I will venture a few remarks which may facilitate its solution by those who have more knowledge and better aids available, and I am the more encouraged to do so because the venerable and sagacious Elphinstone, in his remarks on the subject, has certainly been led astray by a passage in the abridgment of our traveller translated by Lee. He observes (*H. of India*, ii, 208): "In Ibn Batuta's time a western dínár was to an eastern as four to one, and an eastern dínár seems to have been one-tenth of a tankha, which, even supposing the tankha of that day to be equal to a rupee of Akber, would be only 2¼*d.* (*Ibn Batuta*, p. 149)."

But the fact deducible from what Ibn Batuta really says is, that what he calls the silver dínár of India *is* the tangah of other authors, corresponding more or less to the coin which has been called rupee (*Rúpiya*) since the days of Sher Sháh (1540–5), and that this *silver* coin was equal to one-fourth of the *gold* dínár of the West (*Maghrib*, *i.e.* Western Barbary); whilst it was one-tenth of the gold coin of India, to which alone *he* gives the name of Tangah. Thus he says: "The *lak* is a sum of 100,000 [Indian silver] dínárs, an amount equal to 10,000 Indian gold dínárs" (iii, 106), with which we may compare the statement in the contemporary *Masálak-al-Absár* that the *Red* Lak was equal to 100,000 gold Tangah, and the *White* Lak equal to 100,000 silver Tangah (*Not. et Ext.*, xiii, 211–12). We may also refer to his anecdote about Sultan Mahomed's sending 40,000 *dínárs* to Shaikh Burhán-uddín of Ságharj at Samarkand, which appears also in the *Masálak-al-Absár* as a present of 40,000 *Tangahs*. But the identity of Ibn Batuta's Indian silver dínár and the silver Tangah will be seen to be beyond question when this note has been read through.

The late Mr. Erskine, in his *H. of India under Baber and Humayún* (i, 54), says that the Tangah under the Khiljis (the immediate predecessors of the Tughlaks on the throne of Delhi) was a *tola* in weight (*i.e.* the weight of the present rupee), and probably equal in value to Akbar's rupee, or about two shillings. And this we should naturally suppose to be about the value of

the Tangah or silver dínár of Mahomed Tughlak, but there are statements which curiously diverge from this in contrary directions.

On the one hand, Firishta has the following passage: "Nizamood-deen Ahmed Bukhshy, surprised at the vast sums stated by historians as having been lavished by this prince (M. Tughlak), took the trouble to ascertain from authentic records that these Tankas were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each Tanka only exchanged for sixteen copper pice," making, says Briggs, the tanka worth only about fourpence instead of two shillings (Briggs' *Firishta*, i, 410).

I doubt however if this statement, or at least the accuracy of the Bakshi's researches, can be relied on, for the distinct and concurring testimonies of Ibn Batuta and the *Masālak-al-Absār* not only lend no countenance to this depreciation, but seem on the other hand greatly to enhance the value of the Tangah beyond what we may call its normal value of two shillings.

Thus Ibn Batuta tells us repeatedly that the *gold* Tangah (of 10 silver dínárs or Tangahs) was equal to 2½ gold dínárs of Maghrib (see i, 293; ii, 65, 66; iii, 107, 426; iv, 212). The *Masālak-al-Absār* says it was equal to three *mithcals* (ordinary dínárs?). The former says again that the silver dínár of India was equivalent to eight dirhems, and that "this dirhem was absolutely equivalent to the dirhem of silver" (iv, 210).

The *Masālak-al-Absār* also tells us, on the authority of a certain Shaikh Mubarak who had been in India at the court of M. Tughlak, that the silver Tangah was equal to eight dirhems called *hashtkání*, and that these were of the same weight as the dirhem of Egypt and Syria (*o. c.* xiii, 211); though in another passage the same work gives the value as six dirhems only (p. 194). [Ma Huan in his account of Bengal has: 'The currency of the country is a silver coin called Tang-ka, which is two Chinese mace in weight, is one inch and two-tenths in diameter, and is engraved on either side; all large business transactions are carried on with this coin, but for small purchases they use a sea-shell called by foreigners *kao-li*" [cowry].—*J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 530. Mr. John Beames, *l.c.*, p. 899, remarks that "the Tang-ka is the ordinary silver coin now more generally known as the rupee. The Bengalis, however, still use the term *ṭaṅká* or *ṭáká* for rupee."]

The only estimate I can find of a Barbary dínár is Amari's report from actual weight and assay of the value of the dínár called *Múmihi* of the African dynasty Almohadi, current at the end of the twelfth century. This amounts to *fr.* 16·36 or 12*s.* 11·42*d.* (*Diplomi Arabi del R. Archiv. Fiorent.* p. 398). We have seen that ten silver dínárs of India were equal to two and

a half gold dínárs of Barbary, or, in other words, that four of the former were equal to one of the latter. Taking the valuation just given we should have the Indian silver dínár or Tangah worth 3*s.* 2·855*d.*...(A).

Then as regards the dirhem. The dínár of the Arabs was a perpetuation of the golden solidus of Constantine, which appears to have borne the name of denarius in the eastern provinces, and it preserved for many hundred years the weight and intrinsic value of the Roman coin, though in the fourteenth century the dínár of Egypt and Syria had certainly fallen below this. The dirhem more vaguely represented the drachma, or rather the Roman (silver) denarius, to which the former name was applied in the Greek provinces (see Castiglione, *Monete Cufiche*, lxi *seqq.*).

The dínár was divided originally into 20 dirhems, though at certain times and places it came to be divided into only 12, 13, or 10. In Egypt, in Ibn Batuta's time, according to his own statement, it was divided into 25 dirhems. His contemporary, Pegolotti, also says that 23 to 25 *diremi* went to the *Bizant* or dínár. In Syria in the following century we find Uzzano to state that the dínár was worth thirty dirhems; and perhaps this may have been the case in Egypt at an earlier date. For Frescobaldi (1384) tells us that the *daremo* was of the value of a Venice grosso (of which there went twenty-four to the sequin), and also that the bizant was worth a *ducato di zecca* (or sequin) and a quarter; hence there should have been thirty grossi or dirhems to the bizant (Amari in *Journ. Asiat.*, Jan. 1846, p. 241, and in *Diplomi Arabi* u.s.; *Ibn Bat.*, i, 50; *Della Decima*, iii, 58, iv. 113; *Viag. in Terra Santa di L. Frescobaldi e d' altri*, Firenze, 1862, p. 43). The estimates of the dínár also are various. Quatremère assumes the dínár in Irak at the beginning of the fourteenth century to be 15 francs, or 11*s.* 10½*d.*; Defrémery makes 100,000 dirhems of Egypt equal to 75,000 francs, which, at Ibn Batuta's rate of 25 to the dínár, would make the latter equal to 14*s.* 10*d.*, or at 20 dirhems (which is probably the number assumed) 11*s.* 10½*d.* Pegolotti says the bizant of Egypt (or dínár) was worth 1⅛ florin, but makes other statements from which we must deduce that it was 1⅛[1], valuations which would respectively make the dínár equal to 10*s.* 11·66*d.*, and 11*s.* 3·82*d.* Frescobaldi and his companion Sigoli both say that it was worth a sequin (or a florin) and a quarter, *i.e.*, 11*s.* 8·35*d.*, or 11*s.* 9·06*d.* Uzzano says its value varied (in exchange apparently) from 1 florin

[1] For he tells us (p. 77) that 1 oz. Florence weight was equal to 6 bizants and 16½ carats, the bizant being divided into 24 carats; and in another place (p. 202) that 96 gold florins of Florence were equal to one Florence pound. The resulting equation will give the bizant almost exactly equal to 1⅛ florin.

to $1\frac{1}{8}$, or even $1\frac{1}{3}$; giving respectively values of 9*s.* 4·85*d.* 10*s.* 6·9*d.*, and 12*s.* 6*d.* But he also tells us that its excess in weight over the florin was only $1\frac{1}{4}$ carat (or $\frac{5}{81}$), which would make its intrinsic value only 9*s.* 11*d.* MacGuckin de Slane says in a note on Ibn Batuta that the dínár of his time might be valued at 12 or 13 francs, *i.e.*, from 9*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* $3\frac{1}{2}$*d.*; and Amari that the dínár of Egypt at the beginning of the fourteenth century was equal to the latter sum (Quat., *Rashideddin*, p. xix; *Ibn Bat.*, i, 95; *Della Decima*, iii, 58, 77· iv, 110 *seq.*; *Viaggi in Terra Santa*, pp. 43, 177; *Journ. Asiat.*, March, 1843, p. 188; *Diplomi Arabi*, p. lxiv). On the whole I do not well see how the dínár of Egypt and Syria in our author's time can be assumed at a lower value than 10*s.* 6*d.*

Taking the dínár of Egypt and Syria at 10*s.* 6*d.*, and 25 dirhems to the dínár (according to our author's own computation) we have the dirhem worth 5·04*d.*, and the Indian dínár or Tangah, being worth eight dirhems, will be 3*s.* 4·32*d.*...(B).

Or, if neglecting the whole question as to the value of the dínár and number of dirhems therein, we take Frescobaldi's assertion that the dirhem was worth a Venetian groat as an accurate statement of its value, we shall have the dirhem equal to $\frac{1}{24}$ of a sequin or 0*s.* 4·68*d.*, and the Tanga worth 3*s.* 1·44*d.*...(C).

But even this last and lowest of these results is perplexingly high, unless we consider how very different the relation between silver and gold in India in the first half of the fourteenth century is likely to have been from what it is now in Europe; observing also that all the values we have been assigning have been deduced from the value of gold coins estimated at the modern English mint price, which is to the value of silver as fifteen and a fraction to one.

The prevalent relation between gold and silver in Europe, for several centuries before the discovery of America took effect on the matter, seems to have been about twelve to one; and it is almost certain that in India at this time the ratio must have been considerably lower. Till recently I believe silver has always borne a higher relative value in India than in Europe, but besides this the vast quantities of gold that had been brought into circulation in the Delhi Empire since the beginning of the century, by the successive invasions of the Deccan and plunder of the accumulated treasures of its temples and cities, must have tended still more to depreciate gold, and it is very conceivable that the relative value at Delhi in 1320–50 should have been ten to one, or even less[1].

[1] For some account of the enormous plunder in gold, etc., brought from the south by Malik Kafur in 1310–11 see Briggs' *Firishta*, i, pp. 373–4. See also *supra*, III, p. 68, for a sample of the spoil in gold

On the hypothesis of its being ten to one we should have to reduce the estimates of the dínár (A), (B), (C), by one third in order to get the real results in modern value. They would then become respectively 2*s.* 1·9*d.*, 2*s.* 2·9*d.*, and 2*s.* 0·96*d.*, and the Tangah or silver dínár thus becomes substantially identified with the modern rupee.

The fact that the gold Tangah was coined to be worth ten silver ones may slightly favour the reality of the supposed ratio between gold and silver, as there seems to have been often a propensity to make the chief gold and chief silver coin of the same weight. I think that the modern gold mohur struck at the Company's Indian Mints is or was of the same weight as the rupee. See also (*supra*, II, p. 197) the statement in Wassaf that the *balish* of gold was just ten times the *balish* of silver.

I do not know whether the existence of coins of Mahomed Tughlak in our Museums gives the means of confirming or upsetting the preceding calculations.

In making them the twenty-franc piece has been taken at the value of 15*s.* 10·5*d.* English, and therefore the franc in gold at 0*s.* 9·69*d.* (*Encycl. Brit.*, article *Money*). The Florentine gold florin has been taken at *fr.* 11·8792, or 9*s.* 4·8516*d.* English, and the Venetian sequin at *fr.* 11·82, or 9*s.* 4·284*d.* (Cibrario, *Pol. Economia del Medio Evo*, iii, 228, 248).

* * *

Shortly after this note had been printed I saw from the *Athenæum* (February 3rd, 1866) that Mr. Edward Thomas, the eminent Indian numismatologist, had been treating of the Bengal coinage of this period before the Royal Asiatic Society, and on my application to him for certain information, he was kind enough to send me a copy of a pamphlet containing his paper ("*The Initial Coinage of Bengal*") as well as of some

appropriated by one of the minor Mahomedan buccaneering chiefs in the Peninsula. The treasures accumulated by Kalesa-Dewar, the Rajah of Maabar, in the end of the thirteenth century, are stated in the Persian History of Wassaf at 12,000 crores of gold, a crore being = 10,000,000! (see Von Hammer's work quoted *supra*, III, pp. 68–9). Note also that there was according to Firishta at this time none but gold coinage in the Carnatic, and this indeed continued to be the prevalent currency there till the present century (Elphinstone, ii, 48). We may observe too that even when the emperor assigns to Ibn Batuta a large present estimated in silver dínárs, it is paid in gold Tangahs (iii, 426). I may add a reference to what Polo tells us of the frontier provinces between Burma and China, that in one the value of gold was only eight times that of silver, in another only six times, and in a third (that of the Zardandan or Gold-Teeth—*supra*, III, p. 131) only five times that of silver; "by this exchange," quoth he, "merchants make great profit" (pt. i, ch. 46, 47, 48). Difficult of access as those provinces were, such an exchange must in some degree have affected neighbouring countries.

former papers of his on the coinage of the Patan Sovereigns of Hindustan.

It appears to me that these papers fairly confirm from numismatic history the conclusions arrived at in Note A from the passages in Ibn Batuta and the *Masálak-al-Absár*.

The chief points, as far as that note is concerned, to be gathered from Mr. Thomas's researches are these:

(1) That the capital coins of Delhi, from the time of Altamsh (A.D. 1211–36) to the accession of Mahomed Tughlak (A.D. 1325), were a gold and silver piece of equal weight, approximating to a standard of 175 grains Troy[1] (properly 100 *Ratis*).

(2) That Mahomed Tughlak in the first year of his reign remodelled the currency, issuing gold pieces under the official name of *dínár*, weighing two hundred grains, and silver pieces under the name of *'adalí*, weighing one hundred and forty grains.

(3) That the coinage of silver at least was gradually and increasingly debased till A.D. 1330, when Mahomed developed his notable scheme of a forced currency consisting entirely of copper tokens (alluded to at III, p. 150, *supra*). This threw everything into confusion, and it was not till six years later that any sustained issues of ordinary coin recommenced[2].

(4) From this time the old standard (175 grains) of Mahomed's predecessors was readopted for gold, and was preserved to the

[1] These coins appear to have been officially termed respectively *Sikkah* and *Fizzat*; but both seem eventually to have had the popular name of *Tankah*.

The word *Sikkah* just mentioned involves a curious history. Originally it appears to mean a *die*; then it applies to the coin struck, as here. In this application (in the form of Sicca Rupees) it still has a ghostly existence at the India Office. Going off in another direction at an early date, the word gave a name to the *Zecca*, or *Cecca*, or Mint, of the Italian Republics; thence to the *Zecchino* or *Cecchino* which issued therefrom. And in this shape the word travelled back to the East, where the term *Chickeen* or *Chick* survived to our own day as a comprehensive Anglo-Indian expression for the sum of Four Rupees.

We see how much the commerce and marine of Italy must have owed to Saracen example in the fact that so many of the cardinal institutions of these departments of affairs drew names from Arabic originals; *e.g.*—The Mint (*Zecca*, as above), the Arsenal (*Darsena*), the Custom-House (*Dovana*, *Dogana*), the Factory (*Fondaco*, see III, p. 229, *supra*), the Warehouse (*Magazzino* from *Makhzan*), the Admiral (from *Amír*), the Broker (*Sensale* from *Simsár*), the Caulker (*Calafato* from *Kiláfat*), to say nothing of the *Cantaro* and the *Rotolo*. It has been doubted whether *Darsena* is of Arabic origin. I see, however, that Mas'údí uses *Dár Sinà'at* (House of Craftsman's work) in speaking of the Greek Arsenal at Rhodes (*Prairies d'Or*, ii, 423; iii, 67). And at III, p. 144, *supra*, a note speaks hesitatingly about the derivation of dogana from *Diwán*. But in Amari's *Diplomi Arabi* the word *Diwán* frequently occurs as the equivalent of Dogana (*op. cit.*, pp. 76, 88, 90, 91).

[2] It is said (July 1866) that the Italian Government is about to issue copper tokens to represent the different silver coins current in the kingdom (*Absit omen!*).

time of Sher Shah. It does not appear that the old standard was resumed for silver. For though Mr. Thomas alludes to one example of a coin of A.H. 734 (A.D. 1334, and therefore previous to the resumption of a systematic coinage) as containing 168 grains of pure silver, his examples show in the reign of Mahomed's successor Firuz Sháh the gold coin of 175 grain standard running parallel with continued issues of the silver (or professedly silver) coin of 140 grains.

(5) During this time in Bengal the local coinage of silver retained an approximation at least to the old standard of 175 grains, though from about 1336 this seems to descend to a standard of 166. But one gold coin of Bengal *of this period* is quoted in the papers. It is a piece of inferior execution weighing 158 grs.

(6) The old standard silver tankah of 175 grains represented 64 of a coin or value called *kani*, or *gani*.

In applying these facts to the interpretation of Ibn Batuta I conceive that the coin which he calls *Tangah* was the 175 grain gold piece, and not the new dínár of 200 grains, and that what he calls *dínár* was the old 175 grain silver piece, and not the new *'adali* of 140 grains, *i.e.* it was the coin of which the modern rupee is the legitimate representative and nearly the exact equivalent[1].

[1] I considered that the passages referred to in Note A showed sufficiently the sense in which Ibn Batuta uses the terms *tangah* and *dínár*, and also that the tangah was equal to ten dínárs. But as there seems some doubt about this I will here quote all the passages in which the terms are used so as to be of any value.

(I) Tangah *always means with Ibn Batuta a gold coin. Sometimes he calls it a gold dínár.*

1. Locality, *Delhi*. "The weight of the tangah in dínárs of Maghrib is two dínárs and a half" (i, 293)

2. Locality, *Sind*. "The lak is 100,000 dínárs, and this is equal to 10,000 dínárs in gold of India, and the dínar of India is equal to 2½ dínárs of gold of Maghrib" (iii. 106)

3. Locality, *Delhi*. "1000 tangahs = 2500 dínárs of Maghrib" (iii, 187).

4. Locality, *Delhi*. "2000 tangans of gold" (iii, 264).

5. Locality, *Delhi*. Ibn Batuta receives 6233 *tangahs* as the equivalent of 67,000 – 6700 *dínárs* (iii, 426).

6. Locality, *Delhi*. The tangah = 2½ dínárs of Maghrib (*Ibid.*).

7. Locality, *Bengal*. The dínár of gold = 2½ dínárs of Maghrib (iv, 212).

(II) Dínár, *though sometimes applied by Ibn Batuta to an Indian gold coin, as we have just seen, is the only name he uses for the standard Indian silver coin.* Sometimes the term used is *Dinár Dirdham*, which Defrémery in some instances renders "Dínárs of Silver," and in others "Dínárs in Dirhems." Sometimes the term used is *Dinánir fizzat* (see ii, 373).

8. Locality, *Shiraz*. 10,000 dínárs of silver changed into gold of Maghrib would be 2500 dínárs of gold (ii, 65).

9. Locality, *Delhi*. 100 dínárs of silver = 25 dínárs of gold, presumably of Maghrib (ii, 76).

This, as regards the silver coin, seems tolerably clear from a comparison of Ibn Batuta's statement (as rendered by Defremery) that "a silver dínár (in Bengal) was worth eight dirhems, and their dirhem was exactly equivalent to *the* dirhem of silver," with the statement of the *Masálak-al-Absár* that "the silver tangah of India was equivalent to eight of the dirhems called *Hashtkání* (*eight-káni*), these hashtkani dirhems being of the same weight with the dirhems of Egypt and Syria[1]." For it was the 175 grain piece that represented 64 kánis (and was therefore equivalent to 8 *hashtkanis*) and not the 140 grain piece

Mr. Thomas has also considered the question, to which I was necessarily led, as to the relative values of gold and silver at that day in India. His conclusions are in the same direction to which my remarks (at p. 62) point in the words, "it is very conceivable that the relative value at Delhi should have been ten to one, or even less," but they go much further, for he estimates it at eight to one.

It seems probable that ten to one or thereabouts was the normal relation in the civilised kingdoms of Asia during the thirteenth century, but it is reasonable to suppose that the

10. Locality, *Upper India*. 100 dínárs = 25 dínárs in gold of Maghrib (ii, 374).

11. Locality, *Upper India*. "1000 dínars, the change of which in gold of Maghrib is equal to 250 dínárs" (ii, 401).

12. Locality, *Sind*. Passage about the lak, quoted under No. 2.

13. From *Delhi*. Mah. Tughlak sends Burhán-uddín of Ságharj a present of 40,000 *dínárs* (iii, 255). *Masálak-al-Absár* says 40,000 *tangahs*.

14. Loc., *Delhi*: Mahom. Tughlak sends the Khalif's son on arrival 400,000 *dínárs* (iii, 262); and assigns Ibn Batuta a salary of 12,000 *dínárs* (iii, 398). These are evidently silver coins.

15. Locality, *Bengal*. Passage about the dínár being worth 8 dirhems, quoted in text (iv, 210).

No. 2 asserts in reference to Sind that the gold dínár was equal to 10 silver dínárs.

Nos. 9, 10, 11, show that the silver dínár of Delhi was worth one-fourth of the gold dínár of Maghrib.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, show that the tangah of India was a gold coin equal to 2½ gold dinars of Maghrib, and that Ibn Batuta asserts this equally in reference to Sind, Delhi, and Bengal. And, from the combination of these last two deductions, again the gold tangah = ten silver dínárs.

[1] Mr. Thomas warns me that the passage from Ibn Batuta about the dirhem of silver is very obscure; and indeed he has interpreted it in his pamphlet on the Bengal coinage in quite a different sense. But the passage from the *Masálak-al-Absár* appears to be free from obscurity, and to have substantially the same meaning as the version of Defrémery; which is surely an argument of some weight in favour of the latter.

[2] Yet the existence of the latter piece perhaps explains the alternative statement (alluded to at p. 55) that the silver dínár of India was equivalent to 6 dirhems only. The 140 grain piece would in fact be equivalent to 6·4.

enormous plunder of gold in the Dekkan during the reign of Mahomed Tughlak himself and his immediate predecessors must for a time at least have diminished the relative value of gold considerably[1].

[1] Some illustration of the popular view of this influx of gold is given at p. 57. Another anecdote bearing on the subject is quoted at II, p. 144 (*supra*). And the *Masālak-al-Absār* says that Mahomed Bin Yusuf Thakafi found in the province of Sind 40 *bahar* of gold, each *bahar* equal to 333 *mann*, *i.e.*, in all some 333,000 pounds of gold.

Mr. Thomas seems to be of opinion that 8 to 1 was about the *normal* relation of gold to silver in Asia during the time of Mahomed Tughlak and the preceding age, and he quotes in support of this the statement of Marco Polo, which I have referred to in a different view at p. 57, that gold in Caraian (part of Yun-nan) bore that relation to silver. But this was a remote province immediately adjoining still more secluded regions producing gold in which the exchange went down to 6 and 5 to 1. I understand Polo as mentioning the exchange of even 8 to 1 as something remarkable.

The relation between the two metals has followed no constant progression. American silver raised the value of gold in the sixteenth and succeeding centuries, whilst recent gold discoveries are now lowering it again. Minor influences of like kind no doubt acted before. Such authorities as I have been able to refer to say that in the time of the early Roman Empire the relation was 12½ to 1; under the Lower Empire, about the time of Justinian, a little more than 14 to 1; in the early Mahomedan times it varied from 13⅓ to 15 to 1. In the "dark ages" of Europe it sunk in some countries as low as 10 to 1; in the time of Charles the Bald in France (843–77) it was 12 to 1. In Florence in 1356 it was 12 to 1; in England about the same time 12 to 1; and this seems to have been the prevailing relation till the American discoveries took effect. But it seems improbable that 8 to 1 could have been maintained *for many years* as the relation in India and other kingdoms of Asia whilst the relation in Europe was so different. The former relation was maintained I believe in Japan to our own day, but then there was a wall of iron round the kingdom.

Supposing, as I do, that Ibn Batuta's tangah and dínár were the old standard gold and silver coins of 175 grs each, then the fact that the tangah was worth 10 dinars is in my view an indication of what *had been* at least the relative value of the two metals. And the statement of the *Tárikh-i-Wassaf* (see pp. 116, 442) that the gold *balish* was worth ten times the silver *balish* comes in to confirm this.

It has occurred to me as just possible that the changes made by Mahomed Tughlak in the coinage may have had reference to the depreciation of gold owing to the "Great Dekkan Prize-money" of that age. Thus, previous to his time, we have the gold and silver coins of equal weight and bearing (according to the view which has been explained) a nominal ratio of 10 to 1. Mahomed on coming to the throne finds that in consequence of the great influx of gold the relative value of that metal has fallen greatly, say to something like 7 to 1, which as a local result where great treasure in gold had suddenly poured in, is, I suppose, conceivable. He issues a coinage which shall apply to this new ratio, and yet preserve the relation of the pieces as 10 to 1. This accounts for his 200 gr. gold and 140 gr. silver pieces. Some years later, after the disastrous result of his copper tokens, the value of gold has risen, and he reverts to the old gold standard of 175 grs., leaving (as far as I can gather) the silver piece at its reduced weight. At the exchange of ten silver pieces for one of

NOTE B. (See Page 24.)

ON THE PLACES VISITED BY IBN BATUTA BETWEEN CAMBAY AND MALABAR.

I dissent entirely from Dr. Lee and others as to the identification of the places named by our traveller between Cambay and Hunáwúr.

Kawe or *Kāwa* is by Lee taken for Gógó. But I have no doubt it is the place still bearing the same name, Cauvey in Arrowsmith's great map, Gongway or Conwa of Ritter (vi, 645–6), on the left bank of the Mahi's estuary over against Cambay. It is, or was in Forbes' time (*Oriental Memoirs*, quoted by Ritter), the seat of a great company of naked Sanyasis.

Kandahār is evidently the corruption of some Indian name into a form familiar to Mahomedan ears. It occurs also as the name of a maritime city near the Gulf of Cambay in the early wars of the Mahomedans of Sind, and in the *Ayin Akbari* (Reinaud in *J. As.*, s. iv, tom. v, 186). Starting from the point just identified, we should look for it on the *east* side of the Gulf of Cambay, and there accordingly, in Arrowsmith's map, on a secondary estuary, that of the Dhandar or river of Baroda between the Mahi and the Nerbudda, we find Gundar. We shall also find it in old Linschoten's map (*Gandar*), and the place is described by Edward Barbosa under the name of *Guindarim* or *Guandari*, as a good enough city and sea-port, carrying on a brisk trade with Malabar, etc. De Barros also mentions it as *Gendar*, a port between Cambay and Baroch (see *Barbosa and De Barros* in Ramusio, i; and also the Lisbon Barbosa, p. 277). The title, *Jálansi*, given by Ibn Batuta to the King of Gandar, probably represents the surname of the Rájpút tribe of *Jhálás*, which acquired large fragments of the great Hindu kingdom of Anhilwara on its fall in the beginning of the century, and whose name is still preserved in that of the district of Gujarat called

gold this now represents a relative value of 8 to 1. Bengal, meanwhile, has not shared in the plunder of the south, and there the old relations remain, nominally at least, unaffected. This is a mere speculation, and probably an airy one. Indeed, I find that Mr. Thomas is disposed to think that the object of Mahomed Tughlak's innovations was to ensure a double system of exchange rates, reviving the ancient local weight of 80 Ratis (140 grs.), and respecting the Hindu ideal of division by 4, with which was to be associated the Mahomedan preference for decimals.

Thus the 64 gani silver piece of 175 gr. was reduced to a 50 gani piece of 140 gr., 10 of which went to the current 175 gr. gold Tangah, while the new 200 gr. gold Dínár was intended to exchange against sixteen 50 gani pieces.

Jhálawár (see Forbes' *Rás-Málá*, i, 285–6, and 292 *seq.*) The form heard by Ibn Batuta may have been *Jhálábansí* or *-vaŋsi*. The tribe of *Khwaja Bohrah* who paid their respects to the envoys here must have been the race or sect calling themselves *Ismailiah*, but well known as traders and pedlars, under the name of *Bohrahs*, all over the Bombay presidency. The headquarters of the sect is at Burhánpúr in the east of Khandesh, but they are chiefly found in Surat and the towns of Gujarat (see Ritter, vi, 567).

Bairam I take to be the small island of PERIM [Pe·am], near the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay It is, perhaps, the Βαιώνης of the Periplus. This island was the site of a fortress belonging to Mukheraji Gohil, Raja of Gógo and Perim, which was destroyed by the Mahomedans apparently in this very reign of M. Tughlak, and never afterwards restored (Forbes, *op. cit.*). This quite agrees with the statements of Ibn Batuta[1].

Kukah is then the still tolerably flourishing port of Cógó on the western side of the gulf, which has already been indicated as the *Caga* of Friar Jordanus (*supra*, III, p. 78). I ee identified Kukah with *Goa*, whilst Gildemeister, more strangely though not without misgiving, and even Defrémery, identify the *Kawe* of our author with that city. The traveller's repeated allusions to t tides point distinctly to the Gulf of Cambay as the position of all the places hitherto named; the remarkable rise and fall of the tide there have been celebrated since the date of the *Periplus*.

The Pagan king Dunkúl or Dungól, of Kukah, was doubtless one of the "*Gohils*, Lords of Gogo and Perum, and of the sea-washed province which derived from them its name of *Gohilwár*" (Forbes, p. 158), and possibly the last syllable represents this very name *Gohil*, though I cannot explain the prefix.

Sindábúr or Sandábúr is a greater difficulty, though named by a variety of geographers, Europeans as well as Arabs. Some needless difficulty has been created by Abulfeda's confounding it more or less with *Sindán*, which was quite a different place. For the latter lay certainly to the north of Bombay, somewhere near the Gulf of Cambay. Indeed, Rawlinson (quoted in *Madras Journal*, xiv, 198) says it has been corrupted into the *St. John* of modern maps, on the coast of Gujarat. I presume this must be the *St. John's Point* of Rennell between Daman and Mahim, which would suit the conditions of Sindán well.

The data which Abulfeda himself quotes from travellers show that Sandábúr was three days south of Tana, and reached (as Ibn Batuta also tells us) immediately before Hunáwúr.

[1] I find, that memory misled me here as to Lee's interpretations. He appears (by writing *Goa* for *Kawé* or *Káwa*) to identify the latter name with the modern *Goa*, not with Gógó, and he attempts no identification of Kuka.

Sandábúr is mentioned by Mas'údí, thus: "Crocodiles abound in the *ajwán* or bays formed by the Indian Sea, such as the Bay of SANDABURA in the Indian kingdom of *Bághrah*." I cannot discover what *Bághrah* represents. (*Prairies d'Or*, i, 207.). Rashid also names it as the first city reached on the Malabar Coast. The *Chintabor* of the Catalan map, and the *Cintabor* of the Portulano Mediceo agree with this fairly.

I do not know any European book since the Portuguese discoveries which speaks of Sandábúr, but the name appears in Linschoten's map in the end of the sixteenth century as *Cintapor* on the coast of the Konkan below Dabul. Possibly this was introduced from an older map without personal knowledge. It disagrees with nearly all the other data.

Ibn Batuta himself speaks of it as the *Island* of Sandábúr, containing thirty-six villages, as being one of the ports from which ships traded to Aden, and as being about one day's voyage from Hunáwúr. The last particular shows that it could not be far from GOA, as Gildemeister has recognized, and I am satisfied that it was substantially *identical* with the port of Goa. This notion is supported (1) by its being called by Ibn Batuta, not merely an island, but an island surrounded by an estuary in which the water was salt at the flood tide but fresh at the ebb, a description applying only to a Delta island like Goa; (2) by his mention of its thirty-six villages, for De Barros says that the island of Goa was called by a native name [*Tísvádí*] signifying "Thirty Villages"; and (3) by the way in which Sandábúr is named in the Turkish book of navigation called the *Mohith*, translated by V. Hammer in the *Bengal Journal*. Here there is a section headed "24th Voyage; from *Kuwai Sindabur* to Aden." But the original characters given in a note read *Koah* (*i.e.* Goa) *Sindabur*, which seems to indicate that Sindabur is to be looked for either in Goa Island, or on one of the other Delta islands of its estuary. The sailing directions commence: "If you start from Goa Sindabur at the end of the season take care not to fall on Cape Fal," etc. If we could identify this *Rás-ul-Fál* we might make sure of Sandábúr. [Yule gives other proofs of the identity of Sindábúr with Goa in *Hobson-Jobson*.]

The *name*, whether properly Sundapúr or Chándapúr (which last the Catalan and Medicean maps suggest), I cannot trace. D'Anville identifies Sandábúr with Sunda, which is the name of a district immediately south of Goa territory. But Sunda city lies inland, and he probably meant as the port *Sedasheogarh*, where we are now trying to reestablish a harbour. (D'Anville, *Anliq. de l'Inde*, pp 109–111; Elliot, *Ind. to Hist. of Mah. India*, p. 43; Jaubert's *Edrisi*, i, 179; Gildemeister (who also refers to the following), pp. 46, 184, 188; *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, v. p. 464.)

The only objection to these identifications appears to be the

statement of our author that he was only three days in sailing from Kukah to Sándabúr, which seems rather short allowance to give the vessels of those days to pass through the six degrees of latitude between Gógó and Goa. After all however it is only an average of five knots.

NOTE C. (See Page 26.)

REMARKS ON SUNDRY PASSAGES IN THE FOURTH VOLUME OF LASSEN'S *INDISCHE ALTERTHUMSKUNDE*.

The errors noticed here are those that I find obvious in those pages of the volume that I have had occasion to consult. None of them are noticed in the copious Errata at pp. 982 and (App.) 85.

a. P. 888. "*Ma'âber*, which name (with Marco Polo) indicates the southernmost part of the Malabar coast." The same is said before at p. 156.

Remarks.

a. The most cursory reading of Marco Polo shows that, whatever Maabar *properly* means, it *cannot* mean this with that author, including as it does with him the tomb of St. Thomas near Madras. But see *supra*, II, p. 141 and III, p. 68. If Maabar ever was understood to *include* a small part of the S.W. coast, as perhaps the expressions of Rashid and Jordanus (p. 41) imply, this would seem to be merely because the name expressed a *country*, i.e., a superficies, and not a *coast*, i.e., a line. The name of Portugal would be most erroneously defined as "indicating the south coast of the Spanish peninsula," though Portugal does *include* a part of that coast.

I find that the Arabs gave a name analogous to that of *Ma'bar* (or the Passage) to the Barbary coast from Tunis westward, which was called *Bar-ul-Adwah*, Terra Transitûs, because thence they used to pass into

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	Spain (Amari in *Journ. Asiat.*, Jan. 1846, p. 228). And it is some corroboration of the idea that the name *Ma'bar* was given to the coast near Ramnad as the place of passage to Ceylon, that a town just opposite on the Ceylonese coast was called *Mantotte*, because it was the *Mahatotta*, the "Great Ferry" or point of arrival or departure of the Malabars resorting to the island (Tennent, i, 564).
b. P. 889. "From *Kâlikodu* or Kalikut, the capital of the Zamorin, he (Ibn Batuta) visited the Maldives.... On this voyage he met the ships on their voyage from *Zaitún*.... On their decks were wooden huts for the crew, which consisted of *five and twenty men*."	*b.* Nothing is said by Ibn Batuta of meeting these ships on his voyage to the Maldives. He describes them at Calicut, where they were in port. He speaks of the crew as consisting of *one thousand* men.
c. "The captains were *Amírs*, i.e., Arabs."	*c.* See *supra*, p. 26.
d. "This kind of ship was only built in *Zaitún*."	*d.* These ships are distinctly stated to have been built in Zaitún, *and in Sín-kalán*.
e. "From the Malabar coast Ibn Batuta sailed to Ceylon."	*e.* On the contrary, he sailed *from the Maldives*.
f. "The next land that he mentions is Bengal. Our traveller visited this country (about 1346) and found that between it and the southernmost part of the Dekkan *a most active traffic had sprung up, and also with China*."	*f.* I can find no ground for this statement in the narrative, except that Ibn Batuta got a passage somehow from the Maldives to Bengal, and afterwards in a junk which was going from Bengal to *Java* (Sumatra). At the latter place the sultan provided a vessel to carry him on to China.
g. Pp. 889–890. "From this (Bengal) he directed his travels to Java, as the name of that island is here given according to the more modern pronunciation; the island of	*g.* From this we should gather (1) that Ibn Batuta calls Java by *that name*, and (2) calls Sumatra *Jaonan*, whilst (3) Lee introduces a name, *Mul-Java*, unknown to the correct narra-

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Sumatra he calls *Jáonah*, which, we should rather have expected to be *Jávonah*, as it is known to be called by Marco Polo *Java Minor*." (*In a note*): "The port where Ibn Batuta landed is called in the correct reading *Sumathrah*... in Lee's translation the name is given incorrectly as *Mul-Jâva*."	tive, as that of the port of Sumatra. The fact is that Defrémery (whom Lassen cites) and Lee are in perfect accordance here. Sumatra Island is called *Java*; some other country, which both those translators take for Java Proper, is called *Mul-Java*, and *Jaonah* is found *absolutely nowhere* except in Lassen's page.
h. P. 890. "Passing hence (from Sumatra) our traveller *visited some of the Moluccas*; this is rendered certain by the fact that the author of these travels gives a pretty accurate description of the spice plants."	*h*. There is *not one word* in the narrative about any such visit, or anything that can be so interpreted. As for the accuracy of his description of the spice plants, look at it!
i. *Ib*. "On his further travels Ibn Batuta after *seven days* arrived at the kingdom of *Tualiçeh*....	*i*. The time in the narrative amounts to *seventy-one days* from Mul-Java, the last point of departure, to Tawalisi. There is nothing about seven days, any more than there is about the visit to the Spice Islands.
j. *Ib*...."By which name only *Tonkin* can be meant. The inhabitants of this kingdom, on account of their vicinity, had many relations, both hostile and peaceful, with the Chinese."	*j*. It is easy to settle difficult questions with a "can only," but there is nothing to make it clear that Tonkin is meant, and strong reasons arise against that view. And absolutely *nothing* is said in the narrative about vicinity to the Chinese. It is only said that the king had frequent *naval* wars with the Chinese, a fact which rather argues an insular position.
k. *Ib*. "In the Middle Kingdom, next to Zaitún the most important place of trade was the Port of *Sin-ossin* or *Sin-kalan*; this name must indicate Canton, which city stands on the river *Tshing-Kuang*, the form of which is	*k*. Sinkilan is indeed Canton, but it is by sounder reasons than this that it is proved to be so. One does not see why foreigners should call Canton by the name of its river, if Tshing-Kuang *be* the name [the name is Chu Kiang, the "Pearl River"],

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tolerably echoed in the second reading of the name."	neither is there any great resemblance in the words. But we have seen that *Sín-kalán* is merely the Persian translation of *Mahá-chín*, and has nothing to do with Chinese words. Moreover Sín-kalán is not an alternative reading (*Lesart*) of Sin-ossin (*Sin-ul-Sin*), but an alternative *name*.

It may be said that these errors are of trifling moment, and belong to a mere appendage of the subject of the book. But *noblesse oblige*; a work of such reputation as the *Indian Archaeologia* is referred to with almost as much confidence as the original authorities, and instances of negligence so thickly sown are a sort of breach of trust. Those already quoted are, all but one, within two pages. Going further we find others as remarkable:

l. P. 896. The name of one of the pepper ports on the coast of Malabar is quoted from Cosmas Indico-pleustes (with a reference to Montfaucon, p. 337) as *Pandapattana*, a form which is made the basis of an etymology (as from the *Pandiya* kings).	*l.* The real name in Cosmas (as found in Montfaucon) is however not *Pandapattana* but *Pudopatana* (Πουδοπάτανα), which is much more likely to be "*New-city*," from the Tamul *Pudu*, "New," as in *Pudu-cheri*, commonly called Pondicherry. The port existed by the same name for a thousand years after Cosmas; see List of Malabar Ports, *infra*.
m. P. 911. Lassen quotes the name applied to the Chinese by Theophylactus Simocatta (see the Essay in volume I) as *Tengast*, citing the Bonn edition, p. 288.	*m.* The name at p. 283 of the Bonn edition is not *Tengast*, but *Taugast* (Ταυγαστ). I have no longer access to the book, and I cannot say whether it is so differently written at p. 288. This change again (if it is such) favours an identification. The identification may probably be right, but would stand better on a sound bottom. In the *Corpus Byzant. Histor.* the word is written Ταυγάς, though the Latin version of the same has *Taugast*.
n. In the appended tract on the Chinese and Arab know-	*n.* (1) Sultan Mahomed's name was not *Togrul* but *Tughlak*

ledge of India, we have at p. 31 a statement that Ibn Batuta acquired the high favour of the then reigning Emperor of India, Muhammed *Toghrul*, of the *Afghan* dynasty of *Lodi*.

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Neither (2) was he in any sense of *Afghan* lineage; nor (3) did he belong to the *dynasty of Lodi*, which came a century after his time, with the Deluge between in the shape of Timur's invasion.

o. P. 84. "I will not omit to remark that *Wilhelm von Rubruck, Jean du Plan Carpin*, and *Benedictus Polonus* establish the fact that also, during the wide sway of the Mongol Emperor Jingis Khan and his successors, a commercial interchange existed between several of their provinces and India. The first of these pious envoys of the Roman court visited the Emperor Mangu Khan, who in 1248 was recognized as Supreme Khan of the whole empire; the second visited Kúblái Khan, who from 1259 to 1296 wielded with vigorous hand the sceptre of his forefathers; the third belonged to that branch of the (Franciscan) order which is termed *Fratres Minores* or *Mindern Brüder*; he was the comrade of the second, and joined him in Poland on a journey to Rome undertaken in 1245. He reached in his company the court of the founder of the Mongul empire at *Karakorum*."

σ. There are six errors in these few lines. (1) The mission of Rubruquis *followed* and did not *precede*, as is distinctly implied here, that of John of Plano Carpini. The former took place in 1253. (2) Rubruquis was not sent by the *Roman Court*, but by St. Lewis. (3) Plano Carpini and Bennet the Pole did not visit *Kúblái Khan*, but *Kuyuk Khan*, and their travels took place in 1245–7, not after 1259 as is here implied. (4) All the three monks (and all other Franciscans) were *Fratres Minores*, and not Bennet only as is here implied. (5) Bennet did not join Plano Carpini *on a journey to Rome*, but was picked up at Breslau as an interpreter by the latter when on his way from the Pope at Lyons to the Khan at Karakorum. (6) In whatever manner the three travellers may "establish the fact" in question, it is not by saying anything on the subject in their narratives. As far as I can discover not one of the three contains a single word directly or indirectly as to commercial intercourse between the Mongol provinces and India.

p. Turning back; at p. 402. In speaking of the practice of writing on the palm-leaves with style, Lassen notes: 'The leaves of the *Zwergpalme*

p. *Phœnix Fructifera* is, I presume, the same as *Phœnix Dactylifera*, the date tree. If it *be* called dwarf-palm in Germany (which I doubt) it is very

	Remarks
(i.e. dwarf-palm) or *Phœnix Fructifera* are especially used for that purpose."	badly named; but in any case it would puzzle any Dwarf out of Lilliput to write upon its leaves. The leaf most commonly used for the purpose is that of the Palmyra (*Borassus Flabelliformis*), and, in Ceylon and the peninsula adjoining, that of the Talipat (*Corypha Umbraculifera*), a gigantic palm.

q. P. 511. In his description of the *Chandi Sewu* or "Thousand Temples" at Brambanan in Java, he adopts without question Mr. Crawfurd's view (formed fifty years ago when little was known about Buddhism), that these essentially Buddhist edifices have been each crowned with a lingam. Even if the temples were not Buddhist, who ever saw a lingam on the top of a temple? But in fact the objects in question are no more lingams than the cupolas over St. Paul's facade are *dagobas*. Indeed in the latter case the resemblance is much more striking.

r. P. 546. Here, in dealing with the Malay history as derived partly from the native chronicles cited by Marsden, and partly from the early Portuguese writers, Lassen meets with the name of a chief given by the latter as *Xaquem Darxa*. This hero he supposes to be the son of a certain Iskandar or Sikandar Shâh mentioned in the Malay legends, and devises for his odd name a Sanscrit original "Çâkanadhara, d. h. Besitzer Kräftiger Besitzungen"; accordingly he enters this possessor of strong possessions as an ascertained sovereign in the dynastic list under the name of Çâkanadhara. Yet this *Xaquem Darxa* (*Xaquemdar Xa*) is only a corrupt Portuguese transcript of the name of *Sikandar Shah* himself (see Crawfurd's *Dict. Ind. Islands*, p. 242). King Çâkanadhara is therefore as purely imaginary as the Pandyan city ascribed to Cosmas or the Island of Jaonah for which Ibn Batuta is wrongly made responsible.

NOTE D. (See Page 27.)

THE MEDIEVAL PORTS OF MALABAR.

It seems worth while to introduce here a review of the Ports of Malabar as they are described to have existed from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Many of these have now altogether disappeared, not only from commercial lists but from our maps, so that their very sites are sometimes difficult to identify. Nor are the books (such as F. Buchanan's *Journey*[1] and others) which might serve to elucidate many points, accessible where this is written. But still this attempt to illustrate a prominent subject in the Indian geography of those centuries will I trust have some interest.

We shall take the Goa River as our starting point, though Malabar strictly speaking was held to commence at Cape Delly. Had we taken the whole western coast from Gujarat downwards, the list would have been enlarged by at least a half.

The authorities recurring most frequently will be indicated thus: B stands for Barbosa (beginning of the sixteenth century) in Ramusio; BL for the Lisbon edition of Barbosa; DEB for De Barros (to whom I have access only in an Italian version of the two first Decades, Venice, 1561, and in Ramusio's extracts); IB for Ibn Batuta; S for the anonymous *Sommario dei Regni* in Ramusio.

Sandábúr, Chintabor, etc., see Note B, *supra*.

Bathecala, a flourishing city on a river, a mile from the sea (Varthema); Beitkul, in the now again well-known bay of Sedasheogarh [Sedásiva-ghur, Buchanan, iii, p. 178] I do not find it mentioned by any other of the early travellers, but in the seventeenth century it was the seat of a British factory under the name of Kārwār, the name (Kārwār Head) still applied to the southern point of the bay. [Kārwār, in North Kanara District.]

Anjediva (Varth.); Anchediva, an island 5 miles south-west of Kārwār Head, which was a favourite anchorage of the early Portuguese, the island affording shelter and good water. [It forms part of the Portuguese Possessions in Western India; see Buchanan, iii, p. 178.]

Cintacola (B), Cintacora (BL), Centacola (Varthema), Ancola? (DEB); Ankolah? a fortress on a rock over the river Aliga, belonging to the *Sabaio* of Goa (B), the residence of many Moorish

[1] [The title of the work is: *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*....by Francis Buchanan, M.D., ...London, 1807, 3 vol. 4to. I have made use of it. H. C.]

merchants (Varth.). ["Ancola is a ruinous fort, wit. small market near it." Buchanan, iii, p. 176.]

Mergeo River (B), Mergeu (BL and DEB), Mirgeo (S) A great export of rice; the river north of KUMTA, on the estuary of which is still a place called MIEJĀN, the Meerjee or Meerzah of Rennell. Of late years I believe the trade has revived at Kumta, chiefly in the export of Dhārwār cotton. ["This traffic has been much affected by the railway through Portuguese territory." *Gaz. India.*]

Honor (B), Onor (DEB and Cesar Federici), Hináwar (IB), Hannaur (Abulfeda), Manor and Hunāwūr of Abdurrazzak, probably Nandor of the Catalan Map, HUNĀWŪR or ONORE (properly *Hunúr*?). A fine place with pleasant gardens and a Mahomedan population (Abul. and IB); a great export of rice and much frequented by shipping (B), but long a nest of pirates ["Honawera, or Onore, as we call it, was totally demolished by Tippoo after he had recovered it by the treaty of Mangalore. It was formerly a place of great commerce." Buchanan, iii, p. 137.]

Battecala (B), Baticala (BL and DEB), Batigala of Fr. Jordanus, BATKUL. A great place with many merchants, where ships of Hormuz and Aden came to load sugar and rice, but destroyed by the rise of Goa. (An English Factory in the seventeenth century). [Bhatkal, North Kanara District—"Batuculla means the *round town*; stands on the north bank of a small river, the *Sancada-holay*." Buchanan, iii, p. 120.]

Mayandur, on a small river (B), Bendor (DEB); perhaps the port of BEDNUR, which itself lies inland.

Bracalor (BL), Brazzalor (B, and A. Corsali), Bracelor (DEB), Bacelor (S), Abúsaror (IB), Basarúr (Abulf.); BARCELOR. A small city on a gulf, abounding in coco-trees (IB). (A Dutch Factory in the seventeenth century.)

Bacanor (BL, DEB, S), Bracanor (B), Fakanúr, a large place on an estuary, with much sugar cane, under a pagan prince called Basadewa (IB), Fagnúr (Rashíd), Jai-faknúr (Firishta) probably the Maganúr of Abdurrazzak, and the Pacamuria of N. Conti; BACCANOR. There was a great export of rice in ships of Hormuz, Aden, Sohar and Malabar from both Barcelor and Baccanor (B). [Bārkūr, South Kanara District.]

Carcara and Carnate (DEB), Carnati (P. Vincenzo).

Mangalor (B, DEB, S, Abdurrazzak), Manjarúr (IB and Abul.), Manganor of the *Catalan Map*, MANGALORE. Probably Mangaruth, one of the pepper-ports of Cosmas, but the Mandagara of Ptolemy and the Periplus must have been much further north. (It is curious that Ptolemy has also a Manganor, but it is an inland city.) On a great estuary called Al-Dunb, the greatest on the coast; hither came most of the merchants from Yemen and Fars; pepper and ginger abundant; under a king called

Ramadewa (IB). A great place on a great river; here the pepper begins; the river bordered with coco groves; a great population of Moors and Gentiles; many handsome mosques and temples (B). Fifty or sixty ships used to load rice here (Varthema). Fallen off sixty years later, when C. Federici calls it a little place of small trade, but still exporting a little rice. [South Kanara District; to-day coffee is the chief article of export. See Buchanan, iii, p. 22.]

Maiceram (S), Mangeiron (DEB), Mangesairam (Linschoten), MANJESHWARAM. Nancaseram of Rennell? [Manjéswara, of Buchanan, iii, p. 20.]

Cumbala (B, DEB), Cumbola (BL), Cambulla (S), Coloal of Rennell? KUMBLAH. Exported rice, especially to the Maldives. [Cumly? of Buchanan, iii, p. 15, "situated on a high peninsula in a salt water lake, which is separated from the sea by a spit of sand."].

Cangerecora, on a river of the same name (DEB), CHANDRAGIRI? ["Chandra-giri is a large square fort, situated high above the river on its southern bank. It was built by Sivuppa Nayaka, the first prince of the house of Ikeri that established his authority in this part of Canara." Buchanan, iii, p. 15.]

Cote Coulam (S), Cota Coulam (DEB), Cote Colam (BL).

Nilexoram (S), Nilichilam (DEB), Ligniceron (P. Vincenzo), probably Barbosa's "port on the Miraporam River," which he describes as the next place to Cote Coulam, "a seaport of Moors and Gentiles, and a great place of navigation." Though the name has been excluded by the defects and caprices of our modern maps, this is the NILESHWERAM, NELISURAM, or NELLISEER of Rennell and others, which has been identified by Rennell with the *Nelcynda* of the Ancients. [Is it represented to-day by the village of Nileshwar, south of Kasaragod, South Kanara District?] There can be little doubt that the river on which it stands was that on which was situated the kingdom of Ely of Marco Polo, Hili of Rashíd and Ibn Batuta, Elly of the *Carta Catalana* (which marks it as a Christian city), and Helly or Hellim of *Conti*, who is, as far as I know, the last author who mentions a city or country of this name. We have perhaps another trace of *Eli* or *Hili* in the *Elima* of the Ravenna Geographer, which he puts in juxtaposition with *Nilcinna*. (*Berlin* ed., 1860 p. 42.) The name has continued to attach itself to a remarkable isolated or partially isolated mountain and promontory on the coast, first in the forms of Cavo de Eli (Fra Mauro), Monte d'Ili (Fra Paolino), Monte de Lin (DEB), Monte di Li (P. Vincenzo), and then in the corruption Mount Delly, or, as Pennell has it, Dilla. The name was also, perhaps, preserved in the RAMDILLY of Rennell, a fort on the same river as Nileshwaram, but lower in its course, which, before debouching

near the north side of the mountain, runs parallel to the coast for ten or twelve miles. There is also a fort of Deela mentioned by P. Vincenzo and Rennell, immediately *north* of Nileshwæram. But all these features and names have disappeared from our recent maps, thanks, probably, to the Atlas of India, in which, if I am not mistaken, Mount Delly even has no place. However correct may be the trigonometrical skeleton of those sheets of that publication which represent the coast in question, I think no one can use them for topographical studies of this kind without sore misgivings as to the filling in of details. The *mountain* is mentioned by Abulfeda as "a great hill projecting into the sea, visible to voyagers a long way off, and known to them as Rás Haili," but he does not speak of the city or country. Barbosa says "Monte D'Ely stands in the low country close by the shore, a very lofty and round mountain, which serves as a beacon and point of departure for all the ships of Moors and Gentiles that navigate the Indian sea. Many springs run down from it, which serve to water shipping. It has also much wood, including a great deal of wild cinnamon" (BL). Marco Polo [see Yule-Cordier's ed., ii, pp. 385, 386*n.*] calls Ely an independent kingdom, 300 miles west of Comari (C. Comorin); it had no harbour but such as its river afforded; the king was rich, but had not many people; the natives practised piracy on such ships as were driven in by stress of weather; the ships of Manzi (S. China) traded thither, but expedited their lading on account of the insufficiency of the ports Ibn Batuta speaks of Hili as a large city on a great estuary, frequented by large ships, and as one of the three (four) ports of Malabar which the Chinese junks visited. Pauthier observes in his *Marco Polo*, "Ely est nomée par Ptolemée 'Αλόη." But the Aloe of Ptolemy is an inland city, which must make the identification very questionable. If Nileshweram be Nelcynda, then probably we have a trace of Ely in the ELA*bacare* of the Periplus. But the passage seems defective (see Hudson, i, 33).

Mount Delly is mentioned by several authors as in their time the solitary habitat of the true cardamom. Can there be a connexion between the name Hili, Ely, and the terms Elachi, Ela, and Hil (the form in Gujarat and the Deccan according to Linschoten) by which the cardamom is known in India? ["The correct name is Mount d'Eli (the Monte d'Ely of the Portuguese), from the ancient Malabar State of Ely or Heli, belonging to the Kolattiri Rājās, one of whose seats is near the northern slopes of the hill." 885 feet in height. *Gaz. India.*]

Maranel, a very old place, peopled with Moors, Gentoos, and Jews, speaking the country language, who have dwelt there for a very long time (BL), Marabia (DEB, P. Vincenzo). The Heribalca of (S) appears to be the same place, but the name looks corrupt. It is probable that the *balca* (for Balea) belongs to the next

name, and then the *Heri* may be a trace of the lost *Hili*. [See *Marco Polo*, II, p. 387.]

Balaerpatam, where the King of Cananor resided and had a fortress (BL), Bolepatam (DEB), Patanam (S, but, if the conjecture under the last head be correct, *Balea*patanam), BALEAPATNA of Rennell. Fra Paolino will have it to be the Balipatna of Ptolemy, and the Palaepatma of the Periplus. It would seem, however, that the ancient port must be sought much further north. (An English Factory in the seventeenth century.) [Valya-pattanam of Buchanan, ii, p. 555?]

CANANOR (B, DEB, S). Export trade to Cambay, Hormuz, Coulon, Dabul, Ceylon, Maldives, etc. Many merchants and infinity of shipping (B). A great and fine city, of great trade; every year two hundred ships of different countries took cargoes here (Varthema). Probably the Jurfattan of Ibn Batuta three parasangs from Manjarur (and therefore the Jarabattan of Edrisi, though misplaced by him, and perhaps the Harrypatan, for Jaripatan, of Firishta in Briggs, iv, 532), the residence of the King called *Kowil*, one of the most powerful in Malabar, who possessed many ships trading to Aden, Hormuz, etc. The identification is confirmed by the fact that the Rajas of Cananor were really called *Kola-tiri* and their kingdom *Kola-nada* (Fra Paolino, pp. 90–1). In the time of C. Federici it had become "a little city," but one from which were exported the whole supply of cardamoms, with a good deal of pepper, ginger, areca, betel, coco-nuts, molasses, etc. [Canura, see Buchanan, ii, p. 553.]

Tarmapatana (B, S), Tramapatam (DEB), Tremopatam (BL), Tromapatam (Varth.), DHARMAPATAM; Darmaftun (for Darmafattan) of Rowlandson's *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen* (p. 52). A great city of Moors who are very rich merchant and have many great ships; many handsome mosques (BL). Probably the Darapattan of Firishta (U.S.) and the Dehfattan of IB, which he represents as a great town with gardens, etc., on an estuary, under the same king as Jurfattan.

Terivagante (B), Firamuingate (BL), Tirigath (P. Vincenzo); TELLICHERRI? (Eng. Factory in seventeenth century) across the river from the last place (B), as were also Manjaim and Chamobai. ["Tellichery, Mahé, and Durmapatam (Dharma-pattam), form a circle under the management of Mr. Strachy." Buchanan, ii, p. 517.]

Manjaim and Chamobai (BL), Mazeire and Chemobai (B), Maim and Chomba (DEB), Mulariam and Camboa (S), Maino and Somba (P. Vincenzo), both places of the Moors, and of much navigation and trade (B), viz., MAHE and CHOMBE.

Pudripatam (B), Pedirpatam (BL), Pudipatanam (S), Puripatanam (DEB), the Peudifetania and Buffetania of Conti, the Budfattan of IB, and probably the Pudopatana of Cosmas (see

preceding note). In Ibn Batuta's time it was under the same prince as Jurfattan (which we have identified with Cananor), was a considerable city on a great estuary, and one of the finest ports on the coast. The inhabitants were then chiefly Brahmins, and there were no Mahomedans. In Barbosa's time again it is still a place of much sea trade, but is become "a place of Moors." The name is not found in modern maps, but it must have been near the WADDAKARRE of Keith Johnston's.

Tircori (B), Tericori (S); TIKODI; Corri of Rennell?

Panderani (B), Colam Pandarani (S), Pandarane (DEB and Varthema), Pandanare (BL), Fandaraina (Edrisi and IB), Fenderena (Fra Mauro), Fundreeah of Rowlandson (u.s., p. 51), Fundarene of Emmanuel King of Portugal (in a letter quoted in Humboldt's *Exam. Critique*, v. 101), Fantalaina of the Chinese under the Mongals (Pauthier's *Polo*, p. 532) Bandinana (for Bandirana) of Abdulrazzak, Banderana of Balthazar Spinger (*Iter Indicum*, 1507, in *Voyage Littéraire* de deux Bénedictins, 1724, p. 364), Flandrina of Odoric (*supra*, II, p. 133). A great and fine place with gardens, etc., and many Mahomedans, where such Chinese junks as stayed over the monsoon in Malabar were wont to lie (IB). A place entirely of Moors, and having many ships (B). But then in decay, for Varthema calls it "a poor enough place, and having no port." Opposite, at about three leagues distance, was an uninhabited island. This must have been the Sacrifice Rock of the maps. The place itself is not mentioned, to my knowledge, after Barbosa's time.

Coulete (DEB), Coulandi (P. Vincenzo), Coilandy (Rennell); KOILANDI. [Coilandy of Buchanan, ii, p. 515.]

Capucar (B), Capocar (S), Capocate (DEB), Capucate (BL and P. Vincenzo), Capogatto, where there was a fine palace in the old style (Varthema). It has disappeared from our maps

CALICUT (B, S, DEB), Cholochut of Fra Mauro, Kálikút, one of the great ports frequented by the Chinese junks, and the seat of the Samuri King (IB). From Spinger, quoted above, we learn that the Venetian merchants up to 1507 continued to frequent Calicut for the purchase of spices to be carried by the Red Sea, though the competition of Portuguese and *Germans* by the Cape was beginning to tell heavily against them. ["The proper name of the place is Colicodu," or the cock-crowing. Buchanan, ii, p. 474.]

Chiliate (BL), Chalia or Calia (S), Chale (DEB and Linschoten), Ciali (P. Vincenzo), Shaliyat (Abulfeda and IB). Ibn Batuta stopped here some time and speaks of the stuffs made there which bore the name of the place. This stuff was probably *shali*, the name still given in India to a soft twilled cotton, generally of a dark red colour. The Portuguese had a fort at Shalia.

Beypúr, [for some years] the terminus of the Madras Railway

[on the west coast], is not mentioned by any of the old travellers that I know of, till Hamilton (about 1700). Tippu Sultan tried to make a great port of it. (See Fra Paolino, p. 87.)

Pareimporam (S), Purpurangari (B), Propriamguari (BL), Parangale (DEB), Berengari (P. Vincenzo); PEREPEN ANGARRY of some maps, Perpenagarde of Rennell.

Paravanor (B), Parananor (BL); Parone of Rennell?

Ytanor (B), Banor (BL), Tanor (S and DEB), TANORE or Tannúr. These two places had great trade and were the residence of great merchants (B). This was an ancient city with many Christian inhabitants, and the seat of an independent Raja, but in the end of last century had become a poor village.

Panamè (B), Panane (S and DEB), PONANI. Many rich merchants owning many ships; the place paid the King of Calicut a large revenue from its customs (B). (French and English Factories, seventeenth century.)

Beliamcor (S), Baleancor (DEB), BALLIANGOT of Rennell, and probably the Meliancota or Maliançora of Conti, "quod nomen magnam urbem apud eos designat, viii milliaribus patens."

Chatua (BL and DEB), Catua (B), Chetua (S), Chitwa (Rennell), Cettuva (F. Paolino); CHAITWA.

PALUR mentioned here by P. Vincenzo and F. Paolino. I do not know if this is Parúr, mentioned by Claudius Buchanan as the site of the oldest church in Malabar; but it is probably the Paliuria of Conti.

Aykotta, at the mouth of the river of Cranganor, was pointed out by tradition of the native Christians as the place where St. Thomas first set foot in India.

CRANGANOR (BL, S, DEB), Crangalor (B), said to be properly Kodangulor; Carangollor of P. Alvarez, where dwelt Christians, Moors, Jews and Cafirs, the Shikali of Abulfeda, Cyngilin of Odoric, etc. (*v. supra*, II, p. 133); according to some accounts one of the oldest royal cities in Malabar, one of the greatest centres of trade and the first place of settlement successively of Jews, Christians, and Mahomedans on this coast. It would seem to have been already in decay as a port in the time of Barbosa, who only says that the King of Cochin drew some duties from it. Sixty years later Federici speaks of it as a small Portuguese fort, a place of little importance. In 1806 Cl. Buchanan says: "There was formerly a town and fort at Cranganore... but both are now in ruins." It continued, however, to be the seat of a R. C. Archbishop.

COCHIN (B, S, DEB), Cochim (BL), Gutschin of Spinger, Cocchi of G. Balbi; properly Kachhí. ["The tradition is that Cochin was originally a small town on the banks of a small river (*Kocchi*, 'little')." *Gaz. India.*] It was not a place of any trade previous to the fourteenth century. In the year 1341 an extra-

ordinary land-flood produced great alterations in the coast at Cochin, and opened a capacious estuary, but the place seems to have continued of no great consideration till the arrival of the Portuguese, though now it is the chief port of Malabar. It is the Cocym of Conti, the first author, as far as I know, who mentions it. The circumstances just stated render it in the highest degree improbable that Cochin should have been the *Cottiara* of the Ancients, as has often been alleged.

Porca (B, DEB), Porqua (DL); PARRAKAD. Formerly the seat of a small principality. Barbosa says the people were fishermen and pirates. Fra Paolino in the last century speaks of it as a very populous city full of merchants, Mahomedan, Christian, and Hindu. (Dutch Factory in seventeenth century.)

Calecoulam (B and DEB), Caicolam (S), KAYAN KULAM. A considerable export of pepper; the residence of many Christians of St. Thomas (B). A very populous town sending produce to Parrakad for shipment (F. Paolino). (Dutch Factory in seventeenth century.)

Coilam (BL), Coulan (B), Colam (S), Colom (G. d'Empoli), Colon (Varthema and Spinger), Kaulam (Abulfeda and IB), Coilon or Collun (M. Polo), Coloen (Conti); Kaulam-Male of the merchant *Suleiman* (A.D. 851), (see II, p. 129 *supra*); the Columbum, Columbum, Colombo, Colonbi of Jordanus and Marignolli, Pegolotti, *Carta Catalana*, Fra Mauro, etc.; the modern QUILON.

Polo speaks of the Christians, the brazil-wood and ginger, both called *Coiluny* after the place (compare the *gengiovo Colombino* and *verzino Colombino* of Pegolotti and Uzzano), the pepper, and the traffic of ships from China and Arabia. Abulfeda defines its position as at the extreme end of the pepper country towards the east ("at the extremity of the pepper-forest towards the south," says Odoric), whence ships sailed direct to Aden; on a gulf of the sea, in a sandy plain adorned with many gardens; the brazil tree grew there, and the Mahomedans had a fine mosque and square. Ibn Batuta also notices the fine mosque, and says the city was one of the finest in Malabar, with splendid markets, rich merchants, etc. It continued to be an important place to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Varthema speaks of it as a fine port, and Barbosa as a "very great city," with a very good haven, with many great merchants, Moors, and Gentoos, whose ships traded to all the eastern ports as far as Bengal, Pegu, and the Archipelago. But after this its decay must have been rapid, and in the following century it had sunk into entire insignificance. Throughout the middle ages it appears to have been one of the chief seats of the St. Thomas Christians.

There were several ports between Quilon and Cape Comorin, but my information about them is too defective to carry the list further.

THE TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA IN CHINA,

PRECEDED BY EXTRACTS RELATING TO BENGAL AND HIS VOYAGE THROUGH THE ARCHIPELAGO.

HAVING sailed at last (from the Maldives) we were at sea for forty-three days, and then we arrived in Bengal. This is a country of great extent, and one in which rice is extremely abundant. Indeed I have seen no region of the earth in which provisions are so plentiful, but the climate is muggy, and people from Khorásán call it *Dúzakhast búr ni'amat*[1], which is as much as to say, *A Hell full of good things!*

He then proceeds to give a number of details as to the cheapness of various commodities, from which we select a few:

Mahomed al Masmúdí the Moor, a worthy man who died in my house at Delhi, had once resided in Bengal. He told me that when he was there with his family, consisting of himself, his wife and a servant, he used to buy a twelvemonth's supply of food for the three of them for eight dirhems. For he bought rice in the husk at the rate of eight dirhems for eighty rothl, Delhi weight; and when he had husked it he still had fifty rothl of rice or ten kantárs[2].

[1] Should be (*Pers.*) *Dúzakh ast pur-i ni'amat!* "*It is* a Hell full of wealth." This is much the way in which Sultan Baber speaks of India, concluding with the summary that "the chief excellence of Hindustan is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver" (p. 333), and such I fear have been the sentiments of many others from further west.

[2] In a passage omitted he explains that an Indian dínár was equal to eight dirhems of silver (see Note A *preceding*), and that

I have seen a milch cow sold in Bengal for three silver dínárs (the cattle of that country are buffaloes). As for fat fowls, I have seen eight sold for a dirhem, whilst small pigeons were to be had at fifteen for a dirhem. ...A piece of fine cotton cloth of excellent quality, thirty cubits in length, has been sold in my presence for two dínárs (of silver). A beautiful girl of marriageable age I have also seen sold for a dínár of gold, worth two and a half gold dínárs of Barbary. For about the same money I myself bought a young slave girl called Ashura, who was endowed with the most exquisite

a rothl of Delhi was equal to twenty rothl of Barbary. The editors in a note on a previous passage say that a rothl and a half of Barbary was equal to a kilogramme, which (taken exactly) would make the Delhi rothl of that day equal to 28·78 *lbs. avoir-dupois*. In another place (ii, 74) he applies the more appropriate term *mann* (or *maund*, as in Anglo-India) to the Delhi weight, and says it was equal to twenty-five rothl of Egypt. The former calculation is corroborated with an exactness which must be partly fortuitous by a deduction from a statement in the *Masálak-al-Absár*. According to this work the current weights of Delhi were the *sir*, and the *mann* of forty *sirs*, precisely the terms and rates now current in Hindustan, but with different values. For the *sir* it is said was equal to seventy *mithkáls*. According to Amari the mithkal is 4·665 *grammes*, a datum which gives the *sir* = ·72 *lb.*, and the *mann* = 28·80 *lbs*. The modern "Indian maund" is a little over 82 lbs., and all the local maunds in the Bengal Presidency at this day approximate to that. We have seen (Note A, p. 58 *supra*) that the dínár probably represents the rupee. The quantity of unhusked rice purchased for the rupee in Ibn Batuta's time would therefore be about 2,300 lbs., equal to 28 modern maunds, about nine times as much for the money as I can remember ever to have heard of in our own time.

Mr. Thomas in one of his pamphlets referred to above (*Coins of the Patan Sultans*, etc., p. 137) gives the maund of that day as consisting of forty sirs of twenty-four tolas each. Taking these tolas even at the present rate of 180 grains (and they were probably less, see *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, p. 10) this would give the maund of that day as equivalent to 24·680 lbs., instead of 28·8 as deduced from the data quoted here.

With regard to Bengal cheapness I may add that Hamilton, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, says that an acquaintance of his bought at Sundiva (an island near Chittagong) 580 lbs. of rice for a rupee, eight geese for the same money, and sixty good tame poultry for the same. (*New Account of the East Indies*, ed. 1744, ii, 23.)

beauty. And one of my comrades bought a pretty little slave, called Lúlú (*Pearl*), for two golden dínárs[1].

The first city of Bengal which we entered was called SADKÁWAN, a big place on the shore of the Great Sea[2]. The river GANGES, to which the Hindus go on pilgrimage, and the river JUN[3] unite in that neighbourhood before

[1] [Marco Polo writes "The people have oxen as tall as elephants, but not so big. They live on flesh and milk and rice. They grow cotton, in which they drive a great trade, and also spices such as spikenard, galingale, ginger, sugar, and many other sorts. And the people of India also come in search of the eunuchs that I mentioned, and of slaves, male and female, of which there are great numbers, taken from other provinces with which those of the country are at war; and these eunuchs and slaves are sold to the Indian and ... merchants who carry them thence for sale about the world." (*Marco Polo*, ii, p. 115 and note.)]

[2] Both Chatgánw (or Chittagong) and Satgánw (on the Húglí, some twenty-five to twenty-eight miles above Calcutta) were important havens when the Portuguese arrived in India, and the name here might from the pen of an Arab, represent either of them. But Chittagong only of the two is near the shore of the sea, and we know moreover that it was in this part of Bengal that Fakhruddín set up his authority. Hence Ibn Batuta must have landed at Chittagong. [The District of Chittagong "was probably first conquered by the Muhammedans during the period of Afghan supremacy in Bengal, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Portuguese historian, Faria de Souza, states that in 1538, the Viceroy of Goa despatched an envoy to the Afghán King of Bengal, who landed at Chittagong, and proceeded thence to the capital at Gaur." (*Gazetteer of India.*)]

[Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Chittagong*) identifies Sadkáwán or Sudkáwān with Chittagong, but this is doubtful; we read in the *Ayeen Akbery* (translated by F. Gladwin, ii, 1800, *Soobah of Bengal*, p. 11): "Satgong. There are two emporiums, a mile distant from each other; one called Satgong, and the other Hoogly, with its dependencies; both of which are in the possession of the Europeans. Satgong is famous for pomegranates." Sātgāon, to-day a ruined town in Hooghly District, "was the mercantile capital of Bengal from the days of Hindu rule until the foundation of Hooghly by the Portuguese. In 1632, when Hooghly was declared a royal port, all the public offices were withdrawn from Sātgāon, which rapidly fell into ruins." (*Imp. Gaz. India.*) The pilgrim Yi tsing arrived in Eastern India at Tan-mouo-li-ti (Tāmralipti) which Chavannes, p. 71, identifies, like J. Fergusson (*J. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vi, 1873, pp. 243 seq.), with Sātgāon. "The Gung, says the *Ayeen Akbery*, ii, p. 5, after having divided into a thousand channels, joins the sea at Satagong." See G. Ferrand, *Textes relat. à l'Ext. Orient*, ii, p. 434 *n.* Herr v. Mžik is in favour of Chittagong.]

[3] *Jún* is the name which our traveller applies to the Jumna. But it is difficult to suppose that even Ibn Batuta's loose geography,

falling into the sea. The people of Bengal maintain a number of vessels on the river, with which they engage in war against the inhabitants of LAKHNAOTI[1]. The King

could conceive of the Jumna, whose banks he had frequented for eight years, as joining the Ganges *near the sea*. That w main branch of the Brahmaputra which flows into the Ganges near Jafargunge is called the *Janai*, and I have heard it called by natives *Jumna*, though this I supposed to be an accidental blunder. Whatever confusion existed in our traveller's mind, I suppose that it was the junction of the Ganges and Brahmaputra of which he had heard.

[1] *Lakhnaoti* is the same as Gaur, long the capital of the Mahomedan governors and sultans in Bengal, the remains of which are scattered over an extensive site near Maldah. Firishta distinguishes the three provinces into which Bengal was divided at this time as Lakhnaoti, Sunárganw, and Chatgánw (Briggs, i, 423). It would seem that by *Bengal* Ibn Batuta means only the two latter. The last, as appears from a quotation by Mr. Thomas (*Initial Coinage*, p. 65), should be *Satganw*, a much more probable division. This has been loosely indicated in the Sketch Map to Ibn Batuta's Bengal Travels. [Lakhnaoti is a corruption of Lakshmanáwati, which seems to have been the ancient name of this city. "The ascertained conquest of Gaur begins with its conquest in 1204 A.D. by the Mohammedans, who retained it as the chief seat of their power in Bengal for more than three centuries....When the Afghán kings of Bengal established their independence, they transferred the seat of government to Panduah, a Hindu outpost of Gaur, also in Maldah district....Panduah was soon afterwards deserted, and the royal residence re-transferred to Gaur, which continued, under the name of Janatábád, to be the capital of Bengal so long as its Muhammedan kings retained their independence." (Hunter, *Gazetteer of India*.) Gaur was sacked by Sher Sháh and his Afgháns in 1537.] ["In 1199 Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí was appointed to lead the first Musalmán invasion into Bengal. The Muhammedan conquest of Behar dates from 1200, and the new power speedily spread southwards into the Delta. From about this date until 1336, Bengal was ruled by governors appointed by the Muhammedan Emperors in the North. From 1336 to 1539, its Musulmán governors asserted a precarious independence, and arrogated the position of sovereigns on their own account." (*Gazetteer of India*.)] [*Gaur*, or, more commonly, *Gour*, the name of a medieval city in Bengal, of which the scattered remains cover a large area in the district of Maldah, commencing not far south of the modern civil station of that name. The name Gaur is a form of the ancient *Gauda* (meaning the country "of sugar"), a term which was applied to a large part of modern Bengal, and specifically to that part in which these remains lie....The most eminent [King] of the [last dynasty, that of the Senas, or of the Vaidyas, eleventh century], by name Lakshmanasena, who flourished at the end of the century...is said by tradition to have founded the royal city in Gauda which in later days reverted to a form of this

of Bengal was the Sultan Fakhrúddín, surnamed Fakhrah, a prince of distinction wh was fond of foreigners, especially of *Fakirs* and *Súfis*.

The traveller then recapitulates the hands through which the sceptre of Bengal had passed from the time of the Sultan Nasiruddín [1323-6] (the Bakarra Khan of Elphinstone's *History*), son of Balaban King of Delhi. After it had been held successively by two sons of Nasiruddín, the latter of these was attacked and killed by Mahomed Tughlak[1].

Mahomed then named as governor of Bengal a brother-in-law of his own, who was murdered by the troops. Upon this Ali Sháh, who was then at Lakhnaoti, seized the kingdom of Bengal. When Fakhrúddín saw that the royal authority had thus passed from the family of the Sultan Nasiruddín, whose descendant he was, he raised a revolt in Sadkáwán and Bengal, and declared himself independent. The hostility between him and Ali Sháh was very bitter. When the winter came, bringing rain and mud, Fakhruddín would make an attack upon the Lakhnaoti country by the river, on which he could muster great strength. But when the dry season returned, Ali Sháh would come down upon Bengal by land, his force that way being predominant[2].

* * * * *

ancient name (Gaur), but which the founder called after his own name *Lakshmanavati*, or as it sounded in the popular speech *Lakhnaoti*....The first specific notice of the city of Gaur, from actual knowledge, is contained in the Persian history called *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*. The author, Minháj-i-Saráj, visited Lakhnaoti in 1243. H. Yule in *Encycl. Britannica*.]

[1] The second of these princes, Ghaiassuddín Bahádur Búrah, is entirely omitted by Firishta, but the fact of his reign has been established by a coin and other evidence, in corroboration of Ibn Batuta (Defr. and Sang. Preface to vol. iii, p. xxv). Some notes of mine from Stewart's *History of Bengal* appear to show that the reign of Bahádur Sháh is related in that work.

[2] These events are thus related by Stewart from Firishta and other Persian authorities:

Mahomed Tughlak soon after his succession appointed Kadir Khan to the government of Lakhnaoti, and confirmed Bairam

When I entered Sadkáwán I did not visit the Sultan, nor did I hold any personal communication with him, because he was in revolt against the Emperor of India, and I feared the consequences if I acted otherwise.

Khan in that of Sunárganw. These two chiefs governed their respective territories for some fourteen years with much equity. In 1338 Bairam Khan died at Sunárganw at the time when Sultan Mahomed was busy with the transfer of his capital to Daulatābād. Fakhruddín, the armour bearer of Bairam Khan, took the opportunity not only to assume the government, but to declare himself independent under the title of Sultan Sikandar. The Emperor ordered his expulsion by Kadir Khan, who marched against the rebel from Lakhnaoti, defeated him, and took possession of Sunárganw. There was a large sum in the treasury there, which Kadir Khan was preparing to forward to Delhi. Fakhruddín made known to the troops of Kadir Khan, that if they would kill their master and join him, he would distribute the treasure among them. They consented; Kadir Khan was slain, and Fakhruddín again took possession of Sunárganw, where he fixed his capital, proclaiming himself sovereign of Bengal, coining and issuing edicts in his own name. This was in 1340. He then sent an army to seize Lakhnaoti, but it was resisted and defeated by Ali Mubarak, one of the officers of the deceased governor, who, on this success, applied to the emperor for the government, but assumed it without waiting a reply, under the name of Alauddín, marched against Fakhruddín, took him prisoner, and put him to death, after a reign of only two years and five months, in 1342–3. A year and five months later, Ali Mubarak was assassinated by his foster-brother, Iliyas, who took possession of the kingdom under the title of Shamsuddín, and established his capital at Pandua (now a station on the railway between Calcutta and Burdwan, where there are some curious remains of the Mahomedan dynasty). See Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 80–4.

We see from Ibn Batuta, that the date assigned to the death of Fakhruddín by the historians is much too early For the traveller's visit to Bengal appears to have occurred in the cold weather of 1346–7, so that Fakhruddín was reigning at least four years later than Stewart's authorities represent. The Ali Sháh of Ibn Batuta is no doubt the Ali Mubarak of Stewart. The light thrown by Mr. Thomas on the history of the early sovereigns of Bengal from his numismatic and other researches corrects in various points the authorities (loose in this matter) followed by Stewart. Following the former, we have as the first Sultan mentioned by Ibn Batuta*

1. NASIR-UD-DÍN MAHMUD, called also *Baghrá Khan*, the son of the Emperor Balban. From A.H. 681 (A.D. 1282). It is not known how or when his reign terminated.

2. RUKN-UD-DÍN KAI-KAUS—Supposed doubtfully to be a son of the preceding, being known only from coins dating A.H. 691–5 (A.D. 1292–6).

* Several Governors of Bengal before this had assumed royal titles and declared independence.

Quitting Sadkawán I went to the mountains of KAMRU, which are at the distance of a month's journey. They form an extensive range, bordering on China and also on the country of TIBET, where the musk-antelopes are found. The inhabitants of those regions resemble the Turks [*i.e.* the Tartars] and are capital people to work, so that as a slave one of them is as good as two or three of another race[1].

3. SHAMS-UD-DÍN FIRUZ, son of Násiruddín, reignin, at Lakhnaoti, probably from A.H. 702 (A.D. 1302) up to 722–3 (1322–3).

4. SHAHAB-UD-DÍN BUGHRAH SHÁH, son of the preceding, expelled after a brief reign in A.H. 724 (1324), by

5. GHÍAS-UD-DÍN BAHADUR SHÁH, surnamed according to Ibn Batuta *Búrah*, "meaning in the language of India *Black*" (?), another son of Shamsuddín. It is a difficulty about this prince that coins of his are found of A.H. 710–12 (possibly, Mr. Thomas thinks, from "originally imperfect die-rendering" for 720–2), and certainly of the latter dates. On the application of Shahabuddín, Tughlak Sháh intervened, and carried Bahádur Búrah captive to Delhi. Mahomed Tughlak on his accession restored him to power, but some years later was displeased with him, and marched an army against him. The Bengal prince was beaten, killed and *skinned*, *circa* 733 (A.D. 1332).

It was on this occasion apparently that Mahomed left *Kadr Khán* in charge of Lakhnaoti, and *Tátár Khan*, surnamed *Báhram Khán*, an adopted son of his father Tughlak Sháh, in charge of Sunárganw. On the death of Báhram Khán (737 or 739),

6. FAKHRUDDÍN MUBARAK his *silah-dar* ("armour bearer") took possession of the government and proclaimed independence. He retained his hold on Sunárganw and its dependencies, as his coins show, till 751 (A.D. 1350). Meanwhile

7. ALI SHÁH, erroneously styled by Stewart's authors (as at p. 85) *Ali Mubarak*, on the death of Kadr Khan (*circa* 742) assumed sovereignty in Western Bengal under the title of *Ala-uddín*. After 746 (the last date of his coinage) he was assassinated by Hájji Iliyás.

8. IKHTYYAR-UD-DÍN, *Ghazi Shah*, whose coins show him reigning at Sunárganw 751–3 (A.D. 1350–1), appears to have been a son of Fakhruddín. At the latter date he is displaced by Hájji Iliyás under the name of

9. SHAMSU-D-DÍN ILIYÁS SHÁH. This chief had coined money at Firuzabád (at or near Pandua) as early as 740; about 746–7 (1345–6) he had killed and succeeded 'Alá-uddín in Lakhnaoti, and now he conquered Sunárganw, so that he appears to have ruled all Bengal. His reign extends to the end of 759 (1358) We are not concerned to follow these sovereigns further.

[1] A discussion as to the direction of this excursion to *Kámrú* will be found in Note E at the end of this paper.

My object in going to the hill country of Kamrú was to see a holy personage who lives there, the Shaikh Jalaluddín of Tabriz[1] This was one of the most eminent of saints, and one of the most singular of men, who had achieved most worthy deeds, and wrought miracles of great note. He was (when I saw him) a very old man, and told me that he had seen the Khalif Mosta'sim Billah the Abasside at Baghdad, and was in that city at the time of his murder[2]. At a later date I heard from the shaikh's disciples of his death at the age of one hundred and fifty years. I was also told that he had fasted for some forty years, breaking his fast only at intervals of ten days, and this only with the milk of a cow that he kept. He used also to remain on his legs all night. The shaikh was a tall thin man, with little hair on his face. The inhabitants of those mountains embraced Islam at his hands, and this was his motive for living among them.

Some of his disciples told me that the day before his death he called them together, and after exhorting them to live in the fear of God, went on to say: "I am assured that, God willing, I shall leave you to-morrow, and as regards you (my disciples) God Himself, the One and Only, will be my successor." Next day, just as he was finishing the noontide prayer, God took his soul during the last prostration. At one side of the cave in which he dwelt they found a grave ready dug, and beside it a winding sheet with spices. They washed his body, wound it in the sheet, prayed over him, and buried him there.

When I was on my way to visit the shaikh, four of

[1] Further on he is styled *Shírází*, instead of *Tabrízí* (iii, 287).

[2] The Khalif Mosta'sim Billah was put to death by Húlakú, after the capture of Baghdad in 1258, therefore eighty-eight years previous to this visit. [See *Marco Polo*, i, p. 67 *n.*]

his disciples met me at a distance of two days' journey from his place of abode. They told me that the shaikh had said to the fakirs who were with him: "The Traveller from the West is coming; go and meet him," and that they had come to meet me in consequence of this command. Now he knew nothing whatever about me, but the thing had been revealed to him.

I set out with these people to go and see the shaikh, and arrived at the hermitage outside his cave. There was no cultivation near the hermitage, but the people of the country, both Musulman and heathen, used to pay him visits, bringing presents with them, and on these the fakirs and the travellers [who came to see the shaikh] were supported. As for the shaikh himself he had only his cow, with whose milk he broke his fast every ten days, as I have told you. When I went in, he got up, embraced me, and made inquiries about my country and my travels. I told him about these, and then he said: "Thou art indeed the Traveller of the Arabs!" His disciples who were present here added: "And of the Persians also, Master!"—"Of the Persians also," replied he; "treat him then with consideration." So they led me to the hermitage and entertained me for three days.

The day that I entered the shaikh's presence he was wearing an ample mantle of goat's hair which greatly took my fancy so that I could not help saying to myself "I wish to God that he would give it me!" When I went to take my leave of him he got up, went into a corner of his cave, took off this mantle and made me put it on, as well as a high cap which he took from his head, and then himself put on a coat all covered with patches. The fakirs told me that the shaikh was not in the habit of wearing the dress in question, and that he only put it on at the time of my arrival, saying to them:

"The man of the West will ask for this dress; a Pagan king will take it from him, and give it to our Brother Burhán-uddín of Ságharj to whom it belongs, and for whom it was made!" When the fakirs told mé this, my answer was: "I've got the shaikh's blessing now he has put his mantle on me, and I'll take care not to wear it in visiting any king whatever, be he idolater or be he Islamite." So I quitted the shaikh, and a good while afterwards it came to pass that when I was travelling in China I got to the city of Khansá[1]. The crowd about us was so great that my companions got separated from me. Now it so happened that I had on this very dress of which we are speaking, and that in a certain street of the city the wazir was passing with a great following, and his eye lighted on me. He called me to him, took my hand, asked questions about my journey, and did not let me go till we had reached the residence of the sultan[2]. I then wanted to quit him; however he would not let me go, but took me in and introduced me to the prince, who began to ask me questions about the various Musulman sovereigns. Whilst I was answering his questions, his eyes were fixed with admiration on my mantle. "Take it off," said the wazir; and there was no possibility of disobeying. So the sultan took the dress, and ordered them to give me ten robes of honour, a horse saddled and bridled, and a sum of money. I was vexed about it; but then came to my mind the shaikh's saying that a Pagan king would take this dress from me, and I was greatly astonished at its

[1] Quinsai, Cansay, etc., of our European travellers, see II, p. 192, III, pp. 149, 229, etc.

[2] The viceroy, as appears more clearly below. But some of the viceroys under the Mongols seem to have borne the title of Wang or King [for instance, Hien Yang Wang, prince of Hien Yang, title given to the Seyyid Edjell], so that Ibn Batuta may not be altogether wrong in calling him *Sultan*.

being thus fulfilled. The year following I came to the residence of the King of China at Khánbáliq, and betook myself to the Hermitage of the Shaikh Burhán-uddín of Ságharj. I found him engaged in reading, and lo! he had on that very dress! So I began to feel the stuff with my hand. "Why dost thou handle it? Didst ever see it before?" "Yes," quoth I, "'tis the mantle the Sultan of Khansá took from me." "This mantle," replied the shaikh, "was made for me by my brother Jalaluddín, and he wrote to me that it would reach me by the hands of such an one." So he showed me Jalaluddín's letter, which I read, marvelling at the shaikh's prophetic powers. On my telling Burhán-uddín the first part of the story, he observed: "My brother Jalaluddín is above all these prodigies now; he had, indeed, supernatural resources at his disposal, but now he hath past to the mercies of God." "They tell me," he added, "that he used every day to say his morning prayers at Mecca, and that every year he used to accomplish the pilgrimage. For he always disappeared on the two days of Arafat and the feast of the Sacrifices, and no one knew whither[1]."

When I had taken leave of the Shaikh Jalaluddín I proceeded towards the city of HABANK, which is one of the greatest and finest that is anywhere to be found. It is traversed by a river which comes down from the mountains of Kamrú, and which is called the Blue River. By it you can descend to Bengal, and to the Lakhnaoti country. Along the banks of this river there are villages gardens, and water-wheels to right and left, just as one sees on the banks of the Nile in Egypt. The people

[1] Lady Duff Gordon made acquaintance in Egypt with a very holy shaikh, who, though dwelling on the Nile, was believed by the people to perform his devotions daily at Mecca (quoted in the *Times*, Sept. 15, 1865).

of these villages are idolaters, but under the rule of the Musulmans. The latter take from them the half of their crops, and other exactions besides. We travelled upon this river for fifteen days, always passing between villages and garden lands; it was as if we had been going through a market. You pass boats innumerable, and every boat is furnished with a drum. When two boats meet, the drum on board each is beaten, whilst the boatmen exchange salutations. The Sultan Fakhruddín before-mentioned gave orders that on this river no passage money should be taken from fakirs, and that such of them as had no provision for their journey should be supplied. So when a fakir arrives at a town he gets half a dínár. At the end of fifteen days' voyage, as I have said, we arrived at the city of SUNUR KÁWÁN[1]....

[1] Sunárganw (*Suvarna-gramma*, or Golden Town) has already been mentioned as one of the medieval capitals of Bengal. Coins struck there in 1353 and 1357 are described by Reinaud in *Jour. Asiat.*, iii, 272. It lay a few miles S.E. of Dacca, but I believe its exact site is not recoverable in that region of vast shifting rivers. It appears in Frau Mauro's map as *Sonargauam*, and must have continued at least till the end of the sixteenth century, for it is named as a district town in the *Ayin Akbari*, and retains its place in Blaeu's great Atlas (*Amst.* 1662, vol. x) as *Sornaquam*.

I formerly thought this *Sornagam* must be the CERNOVE of Conti. But the report of a paper on Bengal Coins by Mr. Edward Thomas (*Athen.*, Feb. 3, 1866) informs us that Lakhnaoti (Gaur) was renovated some time in the fourteenth century by the name of SHAHR-I-NAU (New City). Here we have *Cernove*, and still more distinctly the SCIERNO of Fra Mauro. Shahr-i-nau, I find, is also mentioned by Abdul-razzak (*India in the fifteenth cent.*, p. 6). [On Cernove and Shahr-i-nau, see Yule, s.v. *Gauŕ* in *Encyclop. Britan.* and *supra*, I, p. 124 *n.*]

Sunárganw must dispute with Chittagong the claim to be that "city of Bengala" which has so much troubled those interested in Asiatic medieval geography, and respecting which Mr. Badger has an able disquisition in his preface to Varthema. That there ever was a town *properly* so-called, I decline to believe, any more than that there was a city of the Peninsula *properly* called Ma'bar (v. *supra*, III, p. 67), or that Canton was *properly* called Mahachin (II, p. 180); but these examples sufficiently show the practice which applied the name of a country to its chief port. The name becomes a blunder only when found side by side with the proper name as belonging to a distinct place. [Ma Huan at the beginning of the fifteenth century visiting Bengala (Pang-ko-la) anchors at Cheh-

On our arrival there we found a junk which was just going to sail for the country of JAVA, distant forty days' voyage.

ti-gan (Chittagong) and lands at Sona-urh-kong (Sunárganw). (*J.R.A.S.* 1895, p. 529.) Mr. John Beames, *l.c.*, p. 898, remarks that Cheh-ti-gan corresponds precisely to Chittagong (Chatgánw). At that place a traveller proceeding to the interior would transfer himself from a sea-going vessel to a country boat to go up the Meghna, just as the Chinese pilgrims describe. The distance, 166 miles to Sonārgáon, is also very nearly correct. Sonārgáon, however, is not "Suvarna-gramma, or Golden Town," but Suvarnakāra-grāma, or Goldsmith's Village. The site is not unknown, as Mr. Phillips supposes. It is on the Meghna, about twelve miles east of Dacca. A very interesting account of the ruins and remains at this place by Dr. Wise will be found in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, vol. xliii, p. 82.—Phillips, *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, gives the following description from the Chinese work *Yuen-chien-lei-han*: "Sona-urh-kiang, Sonārgáon, is a walled city, where much trade is carried on; beyond which [no direction given] there is the city of Pan-tu-wa, in which the king of the country [Bengal] resides."] *Bengala* appears as a city in the curious and half obliterated *Portulano Mediceo* of the Laurentian Library (A.D. 1351), and also in the Carta Catalana of 1375. By Fra Mauro *Bengalla* is shown in addition to Sonargauam and *Satgauam* (probably Chittagong). Its position in many later maps, including Blaeu's, has been detailed by Mr. Badger. But I may mention a curious passage in the travels of V. le Blanc, who says he came "au Royaume de Bengale, dont la principalle ville est aussi appellée *Bengale* par les Portugais, et par les autres nations; mais ceux du pais l'appellent Batacouta." He adds that ships ascend the Ganges to it, a distance of twenty miles by water, etc. Sir T. Herbert also speaks of "Bengala, anciently called *Baracura*," etc. (Fr. transl., p. 490). But on these authorities I must remark that Le Blanc is almost worthless, the greater part of his book being a mere concoction, with much pure fiction, whilst Herbert is here to be suspected of borrowing from Le Blanc; and there is reason to believe, I am sorry to say, that the bulk of Sir Thomas's travels *eastward of Persia* is factitious and hashed up from other books. One of the latest atlases containing the city of Bengala is that of *Coronelli* (Venice 1691); and he adds the judicious comment, "*creduta favolosa.*" [Geo. Phillips in his Introductory Notice to Ma Huan's account of Bengala writes (*J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 528): "I cannot conclude these introductory remarks to my paper without paying a tribute to the late learned geographer, Sir Henry Yule, in the wonderful exactness with which he has elucidated the travels of Ibn Batuta in Bengal in a sketch map given in his work *Cathay, and the way thither*. Nothing clearer could be given to show the Chinese traveller's route to the kingdom of Bengala: thereon is seen marked Chittagong, where the Chinese envoy landed, and the river up which he travelled until he reached Sona-urh-kong, called Sonarcawan by the Arab traveller; the position of Bengala as lying to the westward of Chittagong, and not to the eastward as placed by some

On this junk he took his passage, and after fifteen days they touched at BARAH NAGÁR, where the men had mouths like dogs, whilst the women were extremely beautiful. He describes them as in a very uncivilised state, almost without an apology for clothing, but cultivating bananas, betel-nut, and pawn. Some Mahomedans from Bengal and Java were settled among them. The king of these people came down to see the foreigners, attended by some twenty others, all mounted on elephants. The chief wore a dress of goatskin with the hair on, and coloured silk handkerchiefs round his head, carrying a spear[1].

early geographers, is here clearly defined, and fully agrees with the position given to it by our Chinese traveller."]

["Sonārgaon—Ancient Muhammedan capital of Eastern Bengal...in the Nārāyanganj sub-division of Dacca District,... near the banks of the Meghnā, 15 miles east of Dacca city. Sonārgaon was the residence of the Muhammedan governors of Eastern Bengal from 1351 to 1608, when the capital of the whole province was transferred to Dacca. The only remaining traces of its former grandeur are some ruins in and near the insignificant village of Pānām, about six miles east of Nārāyanganj.... While Sonārgaon was the seat of government, it was a place of considerable importance and was famous for its cloths and muslins; it was the eastern terminus of the grand trunk road made by Sher Shāh." (*Imp. Gaz. India.*)]

[1] Lee takes Barah Nagár for the Nicobar Islands, Dulaurier for the Andamans. With the people of the latter there does not seem to have been intercourse at any time, but the Nicobars might be fairly identified with the place described by our traveller, were it not for the elephants which are so prominent in the picture. It is in the *highest* degree improbable that elephants were ever kept upon these islands. Hence, if this feature be a genuine one, the scene must be referred to the mainland, and probably to some part of the coast of Arakan or Pegu, where the settlements of the wilder races, such as the Khyens of the Arakan Yoma, might have extended down to the sea. Such a position might best be sought in the neighbourhood of the Island Negrais (NAGARIT of the Burmese), where the extremity of the Yoma Range does abut upon the sea. And it is worth noting that the sea off Negrais is called by Caesar Frederic and some other sixteenth century travellers, "the Sea of BARA." The combination of *Bara-Nagarit* is at least worthy of consideration. The coloured handkerchiefs on the head are quite a characteristic of the people in question; I cannot say as much for the goat-skins. ["It is just possible that the term *Barra de Negrais*, which frequently occurs in the old writers (*e.g.* see Balbi, Fitch, and Bocarro) is a misinterpretation of the old name used by Ibn Batuta." *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Negrais, Cape.*]

Dulaurier, however, points out that *Barah Nagár* may represent the Malay *Bárat* "West," and *Nagárá* "City or Country." This

In twenty-five days more they reached the island of Java, as he calls it, but in fact that which we call SUMATRA[1].

It was verdant and beautiful; most of its trees being coco-palms, areca-palms, clove-trees, Indian aloes, jack-

is the more worthy of notice as the crew of the junk were probably Malays, but the interpretation would be quite consistent with the position that I suggest. I take the dog's muzzle to be only a strong way of describing the protruding lips and coarse features of one common type of Indo-Chinese face. The story as regards the beautiful women of these dog-headed men is exactly as Jordanus had heard it (*Fr. Jord.*, p. 44; and compare *Odoric*, II, p. 168). This probably alludes to the fact that among some of these races, and the Burmese may be especially instanced, considerable elegance and refinement of feature is not unfrequently seen among the women; there is one type of face almost

Italian, of which I have seen repeated instances in Burmese *female* faces, never amongst the men. A like story existed amongst the Chinese and Tartars, but in it the men *were* dogs and not dog-faced merely; this story however probably had a similar origin (see King Hethum's *Narr.* in *Journ. As.*, sér. ii, tom. xii, p. 288, and *Plano Carpini*, p. 657). I give an example of the type of male face that I suppose to be alluded to; it represents however two heads of the *Sunda* peasantry in Java, as I have no Burmese heads available. [See *supra*, II, p. 168, and Cordier's *Odoric*, pp. 206–17.] [Marco Polo tells us (ii, p. 309) that the men of the "island of Angamanain have heads like dogs, and teeth and eyes likewise; in fact, in the face they are all just like mastiff dogs." See long note, *Marco Polo*, ii, pp 309–12.]

[1] The terms *Jawa*, *Jawi*, appear to have been applied by the Arabs to the islands and productions of the Archipelago generally (Crawf. *Dict. Ind. Islands*, p. 165), but certainly also at times to Sumatra specifically, as by Abulfeda and Marco Polo (*Java Minor*). There is evidence, however, that even in old times of

trees[1], Mangoes, Jámun[2], sweet orange trees, and camphor-canes.

The port which they entered was called SARHA, four miles from the city of SUMATRA or Sumutra, the capital of the king called Al-Malik Al-Zahir, a zealous disciple of Islam, who showed the traveller much hospitality and attention.

Ibn Batuta remained at the Court of Sumatra, where he appears to have found officials and brethren of the law from all parts of the Mahomedan world, for fifteen days, and then asked leave to proceed on his voyage to China,

Hindu influence in the islands Sumatra bore the name of Java or rather *Yava* (see Friedrich in the *Batavian Transactions*, vol. xxvi, p. 77, and *preced.* and *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 294 *n.*). *Javaku* is a term applied to the Malays generally, in the Singhalese Chronicles. See Turnour's *Epitome*, p. 45.

[1] *Shaki and Barki.* For details on which see *Fr. Jord.*, p. 13, and *supra*, III, p. 237. [See Cordier's *Odoric*, pp. 518–19 and *Hobson-Jobson.*] ["Of these fruits are those termed the *Shaki* and *Barki*, the trees of which are high, and their leaves are like the Jawz (or Indian Nut): the fruit grows out from the bottom of the tree, and that which grows nearest to the earth is called the Barki; it is extremely sweet and well flavoured in taste; what grows above is the Shaki. Its fruit resembles that of the great gourd, its rind the skin of an ox (leather?). When it grows yellow in the autumn, they gather and divide it: and in the inside of each is from one to two hundred seeds. Its seed resembles that of a cucumber, and has a stone something like a large bean. When the stone is roasted, it tastes like a dried bean. These, *i.e.* the Shaki and Barki, are the best fruits found in Hindústan." (Lee, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 105.)]

[2] The French editors render this *Jambu*, but the *Jámun* which is meant here is quite another thing. On two former occasions (ii, 191; iii, 128) our traveller describes the fruit as being like an *olive*; which would be as like the Jambu or Rose-apple as a hawk is like a handsaw. The *Jámun*, which is common in Upper India and many other parts of the east, is really very much like an olive in size, colour and form, whilst the *Jambu* is at least as large as a duck's egg, in the different varieties exhibiting various shades of brilliant pink and crimson softening into white.

Erskine, in a note to Baber, notices the same confusion by a former commentator, and the source of it appears to be that the *jámun* is called by botanists *Eugenia Jambolana*, the Rose-apple *Eugenia Jambu*, from which one must conclude them to be akin, though neither fruits nor trees have any superficial likeness (Baber's *Memoirs*, p. 325). [*See Jamboo* and *Jamoon* in *Hobson-Jobson.*] ["They also have the Jummūn, which is a high tree: the fruit resembles that of the olive, and is black; as does likewise its stone." (Lee, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 105.)]

as the right season had arrived. The king ordered a junk to be got ready, supplied the traveller with all needful stores, and sent one of his own people to accompany him and look after his comfort[1].

After sailing, he says, for one and twenty days along the coasts of the country belonging to Al-Malik Al-Zahir, they arrived at MUL-JAWA[2], a region inhabited by Pagans, which had an extent of some two months' journey, and produced excellent aromatics, especially the aloes-wood of KAKULA[3] and KAMARA, places which were both in that country.

[1] Respecting Al-Malik Al-Zahir, son of Malik-al-Sálah, first Mahomedan King of Sumatra, see Dulaurier. The port of Sarha is identified by this scholar with *Jambu Air*, a village of the Batta coast between Pasei and Diamond Point. In that case the city of Sumutra or Samudra, which has given a name to the great Island, cannot have been so far west as Samarlanga (see *supra*, II, p. 149; *Journ. Indian Archip.*, ii, 610; *Journ. As.*, sér. iv, tom. ix, p. 124; *Id.*, tom. xi, p. 94).

[2] See in Note F, at the end of the narrative, the editor's reasons for supposing Mul-Jawa to be a continental country on the Gulf of Siam.

[3] *Kakula* is mentioned by Edrisi also, as a city towards China, standing upon a river which flowed into the Indian Ocean. Its people, according to that geographer, raised much silk, whence the name of *Kakali* was given to a kind of silk stuff (Jaubert's *Edrisi*, i, 185). [We shall remark that cardamome = قَاقُلَّة *qaqolla*.] [Van der Lith places Qaqola at Sumatra, north of the Battak Country, *Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 237–41 *n*. He says, p. 241, that camphor is one of the products of Qaqola, and of Sumatra, it is not a product of Cambodia nor of Java, therefore one must admit that Ibn Batuta saw aloes wood at Qaqola imported from Khmer. The notes of Van der Lith are generally poor for a geographer. Pelliot thinks that the *Ko kou lo* of Kia Tan is probably identical with the Qaqola of Ibn Batuta, and that it is situated on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and not on the east coast as suggested by Hirth and Rockhill. *T'oung pao*, July, 1912, p. 455.]

The position of *Kumára* or *Komar*, the place from which the Kumari aloes came, has been inextricably confused by the Arabian geographers, for whilst some applications of the name point distinctly to the region of Cape *Comorin*, other authorities as well as Ibn Batuta place it in the vicinity of the Archipelago, and others again appear to confound it with *Kamrú* or Assam. Mr Lane considers Sindbad's Komari to have been on one or other shore of the Gulf of Siam, and this quite agrees with the view taken by the editor of the position of Mul-Jawa. Abulfedæ also places Komar to the west of *Sanf* or Champa, with a short day's voyage between the countries. If his Sanf, as is probable, includes Cambodia, this also would indicate the northern part of the Malay Peninsula.

The port which they entered was that of Kakula, a fine city with a wall of hewn stone wide enough to admit the passage of three elephants abreast. There were war junks in the harbour equipped for piratical cruising, and also to enforce the tolls which were exacted from foreign vessels. The traveller saw elephants coming into the town loaded with aloes-wood, for the article was so common as to be popularly used for fuel. Elephants were also employed for all kinds of purposes, whether for personal use or for the carriage of goods; everybody kept them, and everybody rode upon them.

The traveller was presented to the Pagan king, in whose presence he witnessed an extraordinary act of self-immolation[1], and was entertained at the royal expense for three days, after which he proceeded on his voyage.

But in connexion with Mul-Jawa, where there was a market for the productions of the Archipelago, he takes occasion to state "what he knew of these from actual observation, and after verifying that which he had heard," and these statements it is well to quote at length, as throwing light on some of our author's qualifications as a traveller.

On Incense.

The incense tree is small, and at most does not exceed a man's height. Its branches resemble those of a thistle or artichoke; its leaves are small and narrow; sometimes they drop and leave the tree bare. The incense is a resinous substance found in the branches of the tree. There is more of this in the Musulman countries than in those of the Infidels[2].

[1] See *Fr. Jordanus*, p. 33 *note*.

[2] It is *Benzoin* of which he speaks here under the name of *Luban*, i.e. *Olibanum* or incense. The resin is derived from the *Styrax Benzoin* by wounding the bark. After ten or twelve years produce the tree is cut down, and a very inferior article is obtained by scraping the bark. It is imported in large white masses, resembling white marble in fracture. The plant which, as he says, is of moderate size, is cultivated chiefly in the Batta country of Sumatra, not far from the dominions of his friend Malik-al-Zahir; hence probably his reference to the country of

On Camphor.

As for the trees which furnish camphor they are canes like those of our countries; the only difference being, that in the former the joint or tube between the knots is longer and thicker. The camphor is found on the inside of each joint, so that when the cane is broken you see within the joint a similar joint of camphor. The surprising thing about it is that the camphor does not form in these canes till after some animal has been sacrificed at the root. Till that be done there is no camphor. The best, which is called in the country *Al-Harddlah*, viz., that which has reached the highest degree of congelation[1], and a drachm dose of which will kill a man by freezing his breath, is taken from a cane beside which a human victim has been sacrificed[2]. Young elephants may, however, be substituted with good effect for the human victim[3].

the Musulmans (Crawf., *Dict. Ind. Islands*; Macculloch's *Comm. Dict.*). The word *Al-Arshak* or *Harshaf*, which Defrémery translates "thistle or artichoke," is said by Dulaurier to mean "the plant called *Cynara Scolimus*."

[1] ["Is exceedingly cooling," Lee, p. 202.]

[2] ["This is called with them the Khardana; it is that, at the roots of which a man has been sacrificed." (Lee, *Ibn Batuta*, pp. 202–3.)]

[3] Dulaurier quotes an analogous practice in Tong King [from Marini]. [Chau Ju-kua calls benzoin *Ngan-si hiang* and says it comes from San-fo-ts'i; Ngan-si was Parthia, and Hirth and Rockhill, p. 201, consider that Ngan-si "may be held to be identical with Persia." The *Pen-ts'au kang mu* calls benzoin *cho pei lo* read by Hirth and Rockhill *Kiu-pei-lo*, which they think is but a transcription of Sanskrit *khadira* or *kunduru*. Pelliot reads *guggula* instead of *khadira* and comes to the conclusion that Chau Ju-kua means, not the product of Malaysia, but some stuff extracted from *Balsamodendron africanum* (*T'oung pao*, July 1912, p. 480). Chau Ju-kua writes that *Ngan-si hiang* "resembles the edible part of a walnut in shape and colour, but it is not fit to burn as incense; however, it brings out other scents, for which reason there is a demand for it for mixing purposes" (p. 201).] [Linschoten remarks "that benzoin from Sumatra and Java is not so good as that from Siam and Malacca." But this applies probably to the sweet benzoin, *Kin yen hiang*;

On the Indian Aloes-wood.

The Indian aloes is a tree like the oak, excepting that it has a thin bark. Its leaves are precisely like those of the oak, and it produces no fruit. Its trunk does not

cf. Chau Ju-kua, pp. 198–9, very likely the incense of Ibn Batuta. Benzoin was known to the Arabs under the name of Java incense, *luban jawi*, from which the Portuguese, according to Engelmann and Dozy, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, second ed., p. 239, coined the word *Benzavi*, *Benzoin*. See Heyd, ii, pp. 580–1. *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 396–7 *n.*]

The description here given of the production of camphor has no resemblance to the truth, and I suspect that he may have confounded with camphor either something that he had learned about the *Tabashîr* [Chinese, *chu hwang*, *chu kao*] or siliceous concretion found in bamboo-joints, called by Linschoten *Saccar-Mambu* (bamboo-sugar), or *Spodium*, if that be not the same thing. For this last is explained by Cesare Federici to be "a congelation in certain canes," and in the work of Da Uzzano (*supra*, III, p. 142) there is mention several times of *Ispodio di Canna*. (The *Spodium* of Marco Polo is a different substance; as he describes it, a metallic slag.) [طباشير *Thabâshîr* is found on all the coast of India, according to Ali ibn Mohammed quoted by Ibn el-Baithar, but it is more abundant at Sindapur, in the territory of Heili هيلى where black pepper is found. (*Notices et Ext.*, xxv, p. 399.)]

"The Malay camphor tree *Dipterocarpus Camphora* or *Dryabalanops Camphora* of botanists, is a large forest tree, confined, as far as is known, to a few parts of the islands of Sumatra and Borneo, but in these abundant. The oil, both in a fluid and solid state, is found in the body of the tree where the sap should be" (Crawfurd's *Dict. of Ind. Isl.*). The description in the text is yet more inapplicable to the Chinese camphor, obtained by distillation from the *Cinnamomum Camphora*.

Far nearer the truth is the description of Kazwini the Arabian geographer. He says the camphor is drawn both in a liquid state and in gummy particles from the branches and stem of a tree large enough to shade one hundred men. He had heard that a season of thunder and earthquakes was favourable to the production. Like Marco Polo he speaks of the camphor of *Fansúr* as the best; supposed to be the modern *Bárús* on the west side of Sumatra (Gildem., pp. 194, 209). [See *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 302–4; *Hobson-Jobson*; Heyd, pp. 590–5.]

The word *Hardálah*, which Ibn Batuta applies to a species of camphor, does not seem to be known. I suspect he may have made a still further embroilment, and that what he has got hold of is the Malay *Artál*, corresponding to the Hindustani *Hartál*, "orpiment; native sulphuret of arsenic."

[Hirth and Rockhill, p. 194 *n.*, derive the Chinese name of camphor which comes from P'o-li, Perak or thereabouts, *ku-pu-p'o-lü* from *kapur* = *ku-pu* and from *p'o lu*. Pelliot (*T'oung pao*,

grow to any great size; its roots are long, and extend far from the tree; in them resides the fragrance or aromatic principle.

In the country of the Mahomedans all trees of aloes-wood are considered property; but in the infidel countries they are generally left uncared for. Among them, however, those which grow at Kákula are cared for, and these give the aloes of the best quality. Such is the case also with those of Kamára, the aloes-wood of which is of high quality. These are sold to the people of Java (Sumatra) in exchange for cloths. There is also a special kind of Kamári aloes which takes an impression like wax. As for that which is called *'Athás*, they cut the roots, and put them under ground for several months. It preserves all its qualities, and is one of the best kinds of aloes[1].

July, 1912) makes the remark that in the pilgrim Yi-tsing's list camphor is in Chinese *p'o lu kao* and in Sanskrit *k'ie-lo-so* and asks if the original is not *karpūrarasa*. Chau Ju-kua writes: "The camphor which forms crystals is called 'plum flower camphor,' because it resembles the plum flower; an inferior quality is called 'gold foot camphor'; broken bits are called 'rice camphor'; when these are mixed up with splinters, it is called 'grey camphor'; after all the camphor has been removed from the wood, it is called 'camphor chips.' Nowadays people break these chips into small bits and mix them with sawdust, which mixture they place in a vessel of porcelain, covered by another vessel, the openings being hermetically closed; when baked in hot ashes, the vapour formed by the mixture condenses and forms lumps, which are called 'collected camphor.'" (Pp. 193–4.)]

[1] According to Crawfurd the tree yielding *Agila*, eagle-wood or aloes-wood, has not been ascertained, but probably belongs to the *Leguminosæ*. There can be no doubt, he adds, that the perfumed wood is a result of disease in the tree, produced by the thickening of its sap into a gum or resin. The name *Aloes* (Ἀλόη in *Cosmas*, p. 336) is probably a corruption of the Arabic name with article *Al-'U'd*, "The Wood" (*par excellence*). It has nothing to do with any kind of aloe properly so called. The name *Agila*, which has been modified or erroneously translated into *Aquila*, *Eagle-wood*, *Adler-holz*, etc., is believed to be a corruption of *Aguru*, one of the Sanskrit terms for the article. Both Kákuli and Kumári aloes are mentioned by Avicenna among the good kinds, but not as standing highest. He names as the best the *Mandali*, and the *Hindi Jibali* or Indian mountain aloes; the *Samandúri*; the *Kumári*; the *Sanfi* (from *Champa*); the *Kákuli*; and the Chinese kind termed *Kazmúri*. Gerarde, in his "Herball,"

On the Clove.

The trees that bear cloves grow to a great age and size. They are more numerous in the country of the infidels than in that of the Mahomedans; and they are

speaks of three kinds of lign-aloes as known in England in his time, differing greatly in quality and price. Gützlaff also in our day speaks of three kinds in the markets of Cochin-China.

[Gharu wood or *Ch'ön hiang* ("sinking-incense") is "called in Malay and Javanese *kalambak* or *kalambah*, also *gharu* or *kayu gharu*, gharu wood, a corruption of the Sanskrit *agaru*, which in turn is the original form from which the Portuguese formed the name of *páo d'aguila*." (Hirth and Rockhill, p. 205 *n.*) The pilgrims who visited the celebrated temple of Multan in the region of the Indus brought with them as an offering some eagle-wood called *kamruny* from the place it came from, Kamrun, ancient kingdom of Kamrupa, Western Assam. See Heyd, pp. 581–5.]

[Chau Ju-kua says, p. 204, "Chön-hiang comes from different places. That coming from Chön-la (Cambodia) is the best; the second quality is that of Chan-ch'öng (Tong King), and the poorest qualities are those of San-fo-ts'i and Shö-p'o."]

[It is probable that the first Portuguese who had to do with eagle-wood called it by its Arabic name, *aghāluhy*, or malayālam, *agila*; whence *páo d'aguila*, "aguila wood." It was translated into Latin as *lignum aquilae*, and after into modern languages, as *bois d'aigle, eagle-wood, adlerholz*, etc. (A. Cabaton, *les Chams*, p. 50.) M. Groeneveldt (*Notes*, pp. 141–2) writes: "*Lignum aloes* is the wood of the *Aquilaria agallocha*, and is chiefly known as *sinking-incense*. The *Pen-ts'au Kang-mu* describes it as follows: '*Sinking incense*, also called *honey-incense*. It comes from the heart and the knots of a tree and sinks in water, from which peculiarity the name *sinking-incense* is derived....In the Description of Annam we find it called *honey-incense*, because it smells like honey.' The same work, as well as the *Nan-fang Ts'au-mu Chuang*, further informs us that this incense was obtained in all countries south of China, by felling the old trees and leaving them to decay, when, after some time, only the heart, the knots, and some other hard parts remained. The product was known under different names, according to its quality or shape, and in addition to the names given above, we find *fowl bones, horse-hoofs*, and *green cinnamon*; these latter names, however, are seldom used." H.C., in *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 271–2 *n.*]

["The fine eagle-wood of Champa is the result of disease in a leguminous tree, *Aloexylon Agallochum* or *cây dó*, whilst an inferior kind, though of the same aromatic properties, is derived from a tree of an entirely different order, *Aquilaria Agallocha*, and is found as far north as Silhet." *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 272 *n.*].

The term *'Athás*, according to Dulaurier, is not known elsewhere in this application; the word in Arabic means *sneezing*; perhaps it indicates an effect, like the Scotch *sneeshin* for snuff? (See Gildemeister, pp. 64–7; *J. R. G. S.*, xix, 102; Gerarde, p. 1623; Maltebrun in his Trans. of Barrow's *Cochin China*, ii, 351; Varthema's *Travels* with Mr. Badger's notes.)

in such profusion that they are not regarded as property. What is imported into our country consists of the wood (or twigs)[1], what the people of our countries call the *Flower of Clove* consists of those parts of the flowers which fall, and which are like the flowers of the orange tree. The fruit of the clove is the nutmeg, which we know as the *sweet nut*. The flower which forms on it is the mace. And this is what I have seen with my own eyes[2].

[1] ["That part of it which is taken into different countries is the *idan* (wood)." (Lee, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 203.)]

[2] And yet it is thick with misstatements. The legend that cinnamon is the bark, the clove the flower, and the nutmeg the fruit, of one and the same tree, has come down to our day in Upper India, for I have been asked by a respectable Mahomedan at Delhi if it were not so; and Ibn Batuta is much more likely to have picked up this bit of economic botany in the Delhi Bazar than in the Moluccas as Lassen will have it. Strange to say Dulaurier seems to accept the traveller s statement of the nutmeg being the fruit of the clove tree (*Journ. Asiat.*, sér. iv, tom. ix, p. 248; Lassen, iv, 890). The notion that the clove was the flower of the nutmeg appears also to have prevailed in Europe, for it is contradicted in a work of the sixteenth century (Bodæ, *Comment.* in *Theophrastum*, p. 992). Mandeville says in this case simply and correctly: "Know well that the nutmeg bears the maces, for right as the hazel hath a husk in which the nut is inclosed till it be ripe, so it is of the nutmeg and the maces" (p. 233). [Clove is the fruit of *Eugenia caryophyllata*.]

What our author says however about the clove imported into the west consisting of the wood or branches is curious. A marginal note on the MS. translated by Lee observes: "This is perhaps what physicians call *Kirfat-ul-Karanful* or bark of clove." However that may be, no doubt it was the same as the *Fusti di Gherofani* of Pegolotti and Uzzano (see note *supra*, III, p. 168). The term *flower of clove* cited in the text is also used by those writers.

I may note here that the *Diction. de Trévoux*, under the words *Noix Giroflée* or *Noix de Madagascar*, describes a nut of that island as *Nux Caryophyllacea*; "La seconde écorce de cet arbre étant séchée ressemble en figure à la canelle, mais elle a le gout du girofle: on l'appelle *Canelle Giroflée*." I have not met with any recent description of this, which would appear to be the *Kirfat-ul-Karanful* just mentioned.

[Chau Ju-kua writes, p. 209: "*Ting hiang* [cloves] come from the countries of Ta-shī and from Shö-p'o. They are called *ting hiang* or 'nail-incense' because they resemble in shape the Chinese character *ting* ('a nail'). They have the property of removing bad smells from the mouth, and high officials at Court put cloves into their mouths when they have to lay matters before the Emperor. The large ones are called *ting hiang mu*, and

After leaving Kakula they sailed for thirty-four days, and then arrived at the Calm or Pacific Sea (*ul Bahr-ul Káhil*), which is of a reddish tint, and in spite of its great extent is disturbed by neither winds nor waves. The boats were brought into play to tow the ship, and the great sweeps of the junk were pulled likewise[1]. They were thirty-seven days in passing this sea, and it was thought an excellent passage, for the time occupied was usually forty or fifty days at least. They now arrived at the country of TAWÁLISI, a name derived, according to Ibn Batuta, from that of its king.

It is very extensive, and the sovereign is the equal of the King of China. He possesses numerous junks with which he makes war upon the Chinese until they sue for peace, and consent to grant him certain concessions. The people are idolaters; their countenances are good, and they bear a strong resemblance to the Turks. They are

this is the same as *ki-shŏ-hiang*, though some say that *ki-shŏ-hiang* is the stone of the Persian date." Hirth and Rockhill add, p. 209 *n.*: "In the first part of this work, Chau has stated that cloves were a product of Eastern Java and its dependencies, the same region which produced sandal-wood, in other words the Moluccas. He refers also to the trade in cloves in Ceylon and in Malabar, whither they were brought by foreign traders. (*Fan Shang.*) Our author was, therefore, better informed on this subject than Marco Polo who, though stating in one passage (ii, 254) that they were a product of Java, adds in another (ii, 289) that they grew also on the island of Necuveran (Nicobar Islands). Ibn Batuta, iv, 243, confounded the cinnamon and the nutmeg-tree with cloves. De Candolle, *Origine des plantes cultivées*, 128, thinks that cloves, a product of the *Caryophyllus aromaticus*, Linné, are indigenous to the Molucca Islands."—*Ting hiang* are sometimes called *fowl-tongue incense*, not to be confounded with *fowl-bone incense*, a kind of lignum aloes. Groeneveldt, p. 143.]

[1] Polo mentions the practice of towing the large Chinese ships by their row-boats (iii, 1). ["It is on account of the calm state of this sea, that three other vessels are attached to each of the Chinese junks, by which these junks, together with their own cargoes, are carried forward by oars. Of these there are twenty large ones which may be compared to the masts of ships. To each oar thirty men are appointed, and stand in two rows. By this means they draw the junks along, being connected by strong ropes like 'cables.'" Lee, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 205.]

usually of a copper complexion, and are very valiant and warlike. The women ride, shoot, and throw the javelin well, and fight in fact just like the men. We cast anchor in one of their ports which is called KAILÚKARI. It is also one of their greatest and finest cities, and the king's son used to reside there. When we had entered the harbour soldiers came down to the beach, and the skipper landed to speak with them. He took a present with him for the king's son; but he was told that the king had assigned him the government of another province, and had set over this city his daughter, called Urdujá[1]

The second day after our arrival in the port of Kailúkari, this princess invited the *Nákhodah* or skipper, the *Karáni* or purser[2], the merchants and persons of note, the *Tindail* or chief of the sailors[3], the *Sipahsalár* or chief

[1] ["The magistrate of this place is a daughter of the King Wahi Ardūjā." Lee, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 206.] [Cf. *supra*, III, p. 192.]

[2] This word *Karáni*, says Dulaurier, which Ibn Batuta translates by *Kátib* or clerk, is probably Persian, but of Mongol origin. The word is still in universal Anglo-Indian use, at least in the Bengal Presidency, as applied to writers in public offices, and especially to men of half-blood, for whom it has become almost a generic title; (vulgo *Cranny*). ["*Cranny*." "In Bengal commonly used for a clerk writing English, and thence vulgarly applied generically to the East Indians, or half-caste class, from among whom English copyists are chiefly recruited. The original is Hind. *karānī*, *kirānī*, which Wilson derives from Skt. *karan*, 'a doer.' *Karana* is also the name of one of the (so-called) mixt castes of the Hindus sprung from a Sudra mother and Vaisya father, or (according to some) from a pure Kshatriya mother by a father of Kshatriya origin. The occupation of the members of this mixt caste is that of writers and accountants." (*Hobson-Jobson.*)]

["*Nacoda*, *Nacoder*, etc., Pers. *nā-khudā* (*navis dominus*), 'a skipper'; the master of a native vessel (Perhaps the original sense is rather the owner of the ship, going with it as his own supercargo)." (*Hobson-Jobson*.)]

[3] "*Tindail* or chief of the *Rajál*," which Defrémery renders "foot-soldiers," but I have ventured to follow Dulaurier in rendering it chief of the "sailors," both because this seems to be demanded by the context, and because the word *Tindail* is still in use in India, with usual (though not universal) application to a petty officer of native seamen.

["*Tindal*. Malayāl. *taṇḍal*, Telug. *taṇḍelu*, also in Mahr. and other vernaculars *taṇḍel*, *taṇḍail*. The head or commander of a

of the archers, to partake of a banquet which Urdujá had provided for them according to her hospitable custom. The skipper asked me to accompany them, but I declined, for these people are infidels and it is unlawful to partake of their food. So when the guests arrived at the Princess's she said to them: "Is there anyone of your party missing?" The captain replied: "There is but one man absent, the *Bakshi*[1] (or Divine), who does not eat of your dishes." Urdujá rejoined: "Let him be sent for." So a party of her guards came for me, and with them some of the captain's people, who said to me: "Do as the Princess desires."

So I went, and found her seated on her great chair or throne, whilst some of her women were in front of her with papers which they were laying before her. Round about

body of men; but in ordinary specific application a native petty officer of lascars, whether on board ship (boatswain) or in the ordnance department, and sometimes the head of a gang of labourers on public works." (*Hobson-Jobson.*)]

["*Sipahsalár.* A General-in-chief; Pers. *sipāh-sālār*, 'army leader.'" (*Hobson-Jobson.*)]

[1] Defrémery translates *Bakshi* "le Juge," taking *Kazi* as the explanation given by Ibn Batuta [or lawyer, learned man]. But the alternative reading *Fakiah* (Theologian) appears to be more probable. The word *Bakshi* is the Turkish and Persian corruption of *Bhikshu*, the proper Sanskrit term for a Buddhist monk; many of which class came to Persia with Huláků and his earlier successors, whence the word came to be applied generally as meaning a *literatus*, a scribe, a secretary, and even according to Baber a surgeon. According to Burnes in modern Bokhara it indicates a *bard*. Under the Mahomedan sovereigns of India it came to mean an officer who had charge of registering all that concerned the troops, the assignation of quarters, etc. And hence probably has arisen by a gradual transfer its present meaning in the native army of India, viz., *Paymaster* (Quatremère's *Rashiduddín*, pp. 184–98; see also *supra*, II, p. 250). Quatremère points out the occurrence of the term in the Byzantine historian Pachymeres under the form Μπαξις. Ibn Batuta may have resumed the religious costume which he wore before his appointment to the embassy—indeed he appears to have worn the mantle given him by the hermit Jalaluddín,—and his sanctimonious excuse for not dining with the princess made the application of the term natural. [On *Bakhçhy*, a Buddhist priest, see Cordier's *Odoric*, p. 462, and *Cathay*, *supra*, II, p. 250.]

were elderly ladies, or duennas, who acted as her counsellors, seated below the throne on chairs of sandalwood. The men also were in front of the Princess. The throne was covered with silk, and canopied with silk curtains, being itself made of sandalwood and plated with gold. In the audience hall there were buffets of carved wood, on which were set forth many vessels of gold of all sizes, vases, pitchers, and flagons. The skipper told me that these vessels were filled with a drink compounded with sugar and spice, which these people use after dinner; he said it had an aromatic odour and delicious flavour; that it produced hilarity, sweetened the breath, promoted digestion, etc., etc.

As soon as I had saluted the princess she said to me in the Turkish tongue *Husn misen yakhshi misen* (*Khúsh mísan? Yakhshi mísan?*) which is as much as to say, Are you well? How do you do[10] and made me sit down beside her. This princess could write the Arabic character well. She said to one of her servants *Dawát wa batak katur*, that is to say, "Bring inkstand and paper." He brought these, and then the princess wrote *Bismillah Arrahmán Arrahím* (In the name of God the merciful and compassionate!) saying to me "What's this?" I replied "*Tanzari nám*" (Tangri nam), which is as much as to say "the name of God"; whereupon she rejoined "*Khushn*," or "It is well." She then asked from what country I had come, and I told her that I came from India. The princess asked again, "From the Pepper country?" I said "Yes." She proceeded to put many questions to me about India and its vicissitudes, and these I answered. She then went on, "I must positively go to war with

[1] Ibn Batuta had picked up these words on a former occasion when addressed to him by Alauddín Tarmasnírín, Khan of Chagatai; but he then says they mean "*Are you well? You are an excellent man!*" (iii, 33).

that country and get possession of it, for its great wealth and great forces attract me." Quoth I, "You had better do so." Then the princess made me a present consisting of dresses, two elephant-loads of rice, two she buffaloes, ten sheep, four rothls of cordial syrup[1], and four *Martabans*, or stout jars[2], filled with ginger, pepper, citron and mango, all prepared with salt as for a sea voyage.

The skipper told me that Urdujá had in her army free women, slave girls, and female captives, who fought just like men; that she was in the habit of making incursions into the territories of her enemies, taking part in battle, and engaging in combat with warriors of repute. He also told me that on one occasion an obstinate battle took place between this princess and one of her enemies; a great number of her soldiers had been slain, and her whole force was on the point of running away, when Urdujá rushed to the front, and forcing her way through the ranks of the combatants till she got at the king himself with whom she was at war, she dealt him a mortal wound, so that he died, and his troops fled. The princess returned

[1] *Jaláb.*

[2] The word *Martaban* is unfamiliar to Dulaurier, who quotes from Father Azár a Maronite, that it means "a casket or vase for keeping medicines and comfits, etc." But the word is obviously used for the great vessels of glazed pottery, called Pegu or Martaban jars from the places where they were purchased, and which retained a wide renown up to the present century. "They make in this place" (Martaban), says Barbosa, "quantities of great porcelain jars, very big, strong, and handsome; there are some of them that will hold two hogsheads of water a piece. They are coated with a black glaze, are in great esteem among the Moors, bearing a high price among them, and they export them from this place with a great deal of benzoin" (*Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, p. 367). Linschoten speaks to the same effect, adding that they were used on the Portuguese Indiamen for storing oil and water. So also du Jarric: "Vasa figlina quæ vulgo *Martabania* dicuntur per Indiam nota sunt.... Per orientem omnem, quin et Lusitaniam horum est usus" (Linsch., c. xvii; Jar., iii, pt. ii, p. 389). ["The *martaban* is a small deep jar with an elongated body, which is used by Hindus and Muhammadans to keep pickles and acid articles." (Hallifax, *Mono. of Punjab Pottery*, p. 9)]

with his head carried on a spear, and the king's family paid a vast sum to redeem it. And when the princess rejoined her father he gave her this city of Kailúkari, which her brother had previously governed. I heard likewise from the same skipper that various sons of kings had sought Urdujá's hand, but she always answered, "I will marry no one but him who shall fight and conquer me!" so they all avoided the trial, for fear of the shame of being beaten by her[1].

We quitted the country of Tawálisi, and after a voyage of seventeen days[2], during which the wind was always favourable, we arrived in CHINA.

This is a vast country; and it abounds in all sorts of good things, fruit, corn, gold and silver; no other country in the world can rival China in that respect. It is traversed by the river which is called *Ab-i-Haiyah*, signifying the Water of Life. It is also called the river SÁRÚ[3], just like the Indian river. Its source is among the mountains near the city of KHÁNBÁLIQ, which are known by the name of *Kuh-i-Búznah* or Monkey Mountains. This river runs through the heart of China, for a distance of six months' journey, reaching at last Sín-ul-Sín[4]. It is bordered throughout with villages, cultivated plains, orchards, and markets, just like the Nile in Egypt; but this country is still more flourishing, and there are on the banks a great number of hydraulic wheels. You find in China a great deal of sugar as good as that of Egypt, better in fact;

[1] On *Tawálisi*, see Note G at the end of the Narrative.

[2] ["Seven," Lee, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 207.]

[3] ["River of Sibar," Lee, p. 207.]

[4] See remarks on Ibn Batúta's notion of the great River of China in the introductory notices. *Sarú* is no doubt, as explained by Defrémery, intended for the Mongol word *Sárú* or *Sári* yellow, a translation of the Chinese Hwang-Ho, whilst the Indian River is that of which he has spoken in previous passages of his book (c. ii and iii, *passim*) as the *Sarúr* or *Sarú*, viz., the Sarjú, Sarya, or Gográ.

you find also rapes and plums. I used to think that the plum called *Othmani*, which you get at Damascus, was peerless; but I found how wrong I was when I became acquainted with the plum of China. In this country there is also an excellent water-melon which is like that of Khwárezm and Ispahan. In short all our fruits have their match in China, or rather they are excelled. There is also great store of wheat, and I never anywhere saw it finer or better. One may say just the same of the peas and beans.

Porcelain is made in China nowhere except in the cities of ZAITÚN and SIN-KALÁN. It is made by means of a certain earth got from the mountains of those provinces, which takes fire like charcoal as we shall relate hereafter. The potters add a certain stone which is found in that country; they burn it for three days, and then pour water on it, so that the whole falls to powder, and this they cause to ferment. That which has been in fermentation for a whole month, neither more nor less, gives the best porcelain: that which has not fermented for more than ten days gives one of inferior quality[1]. Porcelain in China is of about the same value as earthenware with us, or even less. 'Tis exported to India and elsewhere, passing from country to country till it reaches us in Morocco. 'Tis certainly the finest of all pottery-ware[2].

[1] ["The best of it, for five and thirty days; that which is inferior, for fifteen, ten, or fewer." Lee, p. 208.]

[2] Marco Polo also mentions the porcelain manufacture in connexion with his account of Zaitún, as being found at Timinguy (according to Pauthier's edition Tyunguy), a city in the neighbourhood. This Pauthier supposes to be *Tek-hua*, a town about sixty miles north of T'swan-chau or Zaitún, where, according to the Imperial geography, vases of white china were anciently manufactured, which enjoyed a great reputation. (*Marc Pol*, p. 532; *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 242 *n*.)

The china-ware of Fu-kien and Canton is now of a very ordinary description, the manufacture of real porcelain being

The cocks and hens of China are very big, bigger in fact than our geese[1]. The hen's egg also there is bigger than our goose eggs; whilst their goose on the other hand is a very small one. I one day bought a hen which I wanted to boil, but one pot would not hold it, and I was obliged to take two! As for the cocks in China they are as big as ostriches! Sometimes one sheds his feathers and then the great red object is a sight to see! The first time in my life that I saw a China cock was in the city of Kaulam. I had at first taken it for an ostrich, and I was looking at it with great wonder, when the owner said to me: "Pooh! there are cocks in China much bigger than that!" and when I got there I found he had said no more than the truth.

The Chinese are infidels and idolaters, and they burn their dead after the manner of Hindus[2]. Their king is a Tartar of the family of Tankíz Khan[3]. In each of their cities a special quarter is assigned to the Mahomedans, where these latter dwell by themselves, and have their mosques for prayer, and for Friday and other services. They are treated with consideration and respect. The flesh of swine and dogs is eaten by the Chinese pagans, and it is sold publicly in their markets. They are generally well-to-do opulent people, but they are not sufficiently particular either in dress or diet. You will see one of their great merchants, the owner of uncountable treasure,

confined to King-te chen in the province of Kiang-si. I have no account of the manufacture, such as enables me to trace the basis of anything here related by Ibn Batuta, but it looks like crude gossip; as if he had heard of the porcelain clay of China, and of the Coal of China, and had, like one of Dickens's illustrious characters, "combined the information." See *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 243 *n*.

[1] See *Odoric*, II, p. 186.

[2] This has already been noticed at III, p. 99, *supra*. Though no longer the practice, we see by Marco Polo and other authors that it was formerly very general in some parts of China.

[3] So Ibn Batuta always calls Chinghiz; I know not why.

going about in a dirty cotton frock[1]. The Chinese taste is entirely for the accumulation of gold and silver plate. They all carry a stick with an iron ferule, on which they lean in walking, and this they call their third leg.

Silk is very plentiful in China, for the worms which produce it attach themselves to certain fruits on which they feed, and require little attention. This is how they come to have silk in such abundance that it is used for clothing even by poor monks and beggars. Indeed, but for the demand among merchants, silk would there have no value at all. Among the Chinese one cotton dress is worth two or three of silk.

They have a custom among them for every merchant to cast into ingots all the gold and silver that he possesses, each of these ingots weighing a hundredweight, more or le. ., and these he places over the gate of his house. The man who has accumulated five such ingots puts a ring on his finger; he who has ten puts two rings; he who has fifteen is called *Satí*[2], which amounts to the same thing as *Káramí* in Egypt. An ingot is in China called *Barkálah*[3, 4].

[1] "The great sin of the Chinese costume is the paucity of white linen and consequently of washing" (Davis's. *Chinese*).

[2] ["He who possesses fifteen such, is named El Sashi: and the piece itself they call a Rakala." (Lee, p. 209.)]

[3] *Pers.* Pargálah, *frustum, segmentum* (Meninskí). *Satí*, again, is probably the Indian word *Set*, or *Cheti* as it is called by some old travellers. The *Káramí* merchants were a sort of guild or corporation in Egypt, who appear to have been chiefly occupied in the spice trade. Quatremère gives many quotations mentioning them, but without throwing much light on the subject (see *Not. et Extraits*, xii, 639, and xiv, 214). It is a common story in India, of rich Hindu bankers and the like, that they build gold bricks into the walls of their houses.

The *Masálak-al-Absár* relates that in some of the Indian islands there are men who, when they have succeeded in filling one pot with gold, put a flag on their house-top, and another flag for each succeeding potful. Sometimes, it is said, as many as ten of these flags are seen on one roof. And in Russia, according to Ibn Fozlan, when a man possessed 10,000 dirhems, his wife wore one gold chain, two gold chains for 20,000 dirhems, and so on. (*Not. et Extraits*, xiii, p. 219; *Ibn Fozlan* by Fraehn, p. 5.)

[4] ["Are termed a shat." Lee, p. 209.]

The people of China do not use either gold or silver coin in their commercial dealings. The whole amount of those metals that reaches the country is cast into ingots as I have just said. Their buying and selling is carried on by means of pieces of paper about as big as the palm of the hand, carrying the mark or seal of the Emperor. Twenty-five of these bills are called *bálisht*[1], which is as much as to say with us "*a dínár*[2]." When anvone finds

[1] ["In historical works, such as the *Jahán Kushái*, the *Jami-ut-Tawárikh*, and others, a *bálish* is thus described: 'A *bálish* is 500 *mithkál* [of silver], made into a long brick with a depression in the middle.'" *Tarikh-i-Rashidí*, p. 256. These ingots are called *Yuen Pao* or *Sycee*.]

[2] I do not understand the text to mean that a *balisht* is precisely worth a *dínár*, but that it is the unit in which sums are reckoned by the Chinese as the dínár is with the Mahomedans. Paper money has been spoken of at III, p. 149, and at II, p. 196 some speculations were ventured on the origin of the term *Balisht* or *Balish*. I have since been led to believe that it must be a corruption of the Latin *follis*.

The common meaning of that word is a *bellows*; but it was used also by late classical writers for a leather money-bag, and afterwards (in some sense) for money itself, "just as to this day the Italians apply the term *purse* to a certain sum of money among the Turks" (Facciolati, Lipsiæ, 1839). Further, the term *follis* was also applied to a certain "pulvillus, sedentibus subjectus, qui non tomento aut plumâ inferciebatur, sed vento inflabatur," or, in short, to an *air-cushion*.

Now we have seen (II, p. 196) that *Balish* was also applied to a kind of cushion, as well as to a sum of money, such as in later days the Turks called a *purse*. This double analogy would be curious enough as a coincidence, even if we could find no clearer trace of connexion between the terms; but there seems ground for tracing such a connexion.

Follis was applied to money in two ways under the Byzantine Emperors.

In its commoner application (φόλλις, φολλη, etc.) it was a copper coin, of which 288 went to the gold solidus; and in this sense probably had no connexion with the original Latin word. But *follis* was also used as a term for *a certain quantity of gold*, according to one authority the weight of 250 denarii, and was especially applied to a sort of tax imposed on the magnates by Constantine, which varied from two to eight pounds of gold, according to rank and income (see Ducange *De Inferioris Aevi Numismatibus*, in Didot's ed. of the Dict., vii, pp. 194–5).

If the denarii mentioned here were gold denarii or solidi, then we have the Byzantine FOLLIS = 250 *mithkáls*, just as the BALISH of the Turks and Tartars in later days was = 500 *mithkáls*. The

that notes of this kind in his possession are worn or torn he takes them to a certain public office analogous to the Mint of our country, and there he gets new notes for his old ones. He incurs no expense whatever in doing this, for the people who have the making of these notes are paid by the emperor[1]. The direction of the said public office is entrusted to one of the first *amírs* in China. If a person goes to the market to buy anything with a piece of silver, or even a piece of gold, they won't take it; nor will they pay any attention to him whatever until he has changed his money for *bálisht*; and then he can buy whatever he likes.

All the inhabitants of China and Cathay in place of charcoal make use of a kind of earth which has the consistence and colour of clay in our country[2]. It is transported on elephants, and cut into pieces of the ordinary size of lumps of charcoal with us, and these they burn. This earth burns just like charcoal, and gives even a more powerful heat. When it is reduced to cinders they knead these up into lumps with water, and when dry they serve to cook with a second time. And so they go on till the stuff is entirely consumed. It is with this earth that the Chinese make their porcelain

probability that the latter word is as directly the representative of the former as *Dínár* and *Dirhem* are of the (gold) Denarius and Drachma seems very strong, and probably would not derive any additional support from the *cushions* with which both words have been connected.

Follis, again, in the sense of a copper coin, appears to be the same word as the Arab. *fals*, spoken of at II, p. 196, found also formerly in Spain as the name of a small coin *foluz*. And *follis* also in this sense, through the forms *Follaris* and *Folleralis* which are given in Ducange, is the origin of the *folleri* of Pegolotti (*supra*, III, p. 159).

[1] See a different account at III, p. 98 *supra*, and in M. Polo, ii, pp. 426–30.

[2] ["With respect to the earth they lay up, it is mere tempered clay, like the dry clay with us." (Lee, p. 209.)]

vases, combining a certain stone with it, as I have already related[1].

The people of China of all mankind have the greatest skill and taste in the arts. This is a fact generally admitted; it has been remarked in books by many authors, and has been much dwelt upon[2]. As regards painting, indeed, no nation, whether of Christians or others, can come up to the Chinese; their talent for this art is something quite extraordinary. I may mention among astonishing illustrations of this talent of theirs, what I have witnessed myself, viz., that whenever I have happened to visit one of their cities, and to return to it after awhile, I have always found my own likeness and those of my companions painted on the walls, or exhibited in the bazaars. On one occasion that I visited the Emperor's own city, in going to the imperial palace with my comrades I passed through the bazaar of the painters; we were all dressed after the fashion of Irák. In the evening on leaving the palace I passed again through the same bazaar, and there saw my own portrait and the portraits of my companions painted on sheets of paper and exposed on the walls. We all stopped to examine the likenesses, and everybody found that of his neighbour to be excellent!

I was told that the Emperor had ordered the painters to take our likenesses, and that they had come to the palace for the purpose whilst we were there. They studied us and painted us without our knowing anything of the

[1] The coal of China is noticed by Marco Polo (i, p. 442), and by Rashíd (*supra*, III, p. 118). According to Pauthier, its use was known before the Christian era.

[2] Already in the tenth century, it was remarked by an Arab author: "The Chinese may be counted among those of God's creatures to whom He hath granted, in the highest degree, skill of hand in drawing and the arts of manufacture" (Reinaud, *Relation*, etc., i, 77).

matter. In fact it is an established custom among the Chinese to take the portrait of any stranger that visits their country. Indeed the thing is carried so far that, if by chance a foreigner commits any action that obliges him to fly from China, they send his portrait into the outlying provinces to assist the search for him, and wherever the original of the portrait is discovered they apprehend him[1].

Whenever a Chinese junk is about to undertake a voyage, it is the custom for the admiral of the port and his secretaries to go on board, and to take note of the number of soldiers, servants, and sailors who are embarked. The ship is not allowed to sail till this form has been complied with. And when the junk returns to China the same officials again visit her, and compare the persons found on board with the numbers entered in their register. If anyone is missing the captain is responsible, and must furnish evidence of the death or desertion of the missing individual, or otherwise account for him. If he cannot, he is arrested and punished.

The captain is then obliged to give a detailed report of all the items of the junk's cargo, be their value great or small. Everybody then goes ashore, and the custom-house officers commence an inspection of what everybody has. If they find anything that has been kept back from their knowledge, the junk and all its cargo is forfeited[2].

[1] A travelling Jew, whom Wood met on his Oxus journey, told him that before strangers are permitted to enter Yarkand, "each individual is strictly examined; their personal appearance is noted down in writing, and if any are suspected, an artist is at hand to take their portraits" (p. 281). This is one of the many cases in which the Chinese have anticipated the devices of modern European civilisation. Just as this was written, I read in the *Times* of the arrest at New York of the murderer Müller by the police provided with his photograph despatched from England.

I here omit a not very relevant interpolation by Ibn Juzai, the Moorish editor.

[2] This is no doubt the practice referred to by Odoric, *supra*, II, p. 132.

This is a kind of oppression that I have seen in no country, infidel or Musulman, except in China. There *was*, indeed, something analogous to it in India; for there, if a man was found with anything smuggled he was condemned to pay eleven times the amount of the duty. The Sultan Mahomed abolished this tyrannical rule when he did away with the duties upon merchandise.

When a Musulman trader arrives in a Chinese city, he is allowed to choose whether he will take up his quarters with one of the merchants of his own faith settled in the country, or will go to an inn[1]. If he prefers to lodge with a merchant, they count all his money and confide it to the merchant of his choice; the latter then takes charge of all expenditure on account of the stranger's vants, but acts with perfect integrity. When the guest wishes to depart his money is again counted, and the host is obliged to make good any deficiencies.

If, however, the foreign trader prefers to go to an inn, his money is made over in deposit to the landlord, who then buys on his account whatever he may require, and if he wishes it procures a slave girl for him. He then establishes him in an apartment opening on the court of the inn, and undertakes the provision of necessaries for both man and woman. I may observe here by the way that young slave girls are very cheap in China; and, indeed, all the Chinese will sell their sons as slaves equally with their daughters, nor is it considered any disgrace to do so. Only, those who are so purchased cannot be forced against their will to go abroad with the purchaser neither, however, are they hindered if they choose to do so. And if the foreign trader wishes to marry in China he can very easily do so. But as for spending his money

[1] The word is *Fanduk*. See note on *Fondacum, supra*, III, 229

in profligate courses that he cannot be allowed to do! For the Chinese say: "We will not have it said in the Musulman countries that their people are stript of their property in China, and that ours is a country full of riotous living and harlotry."

China is the safest as well as the pleasantest of all the regions on the earth for a traveller. You may travel the whole nine months' journey to which the empire extends without the slightest cause for fear, even if you have treasure in your charge. For at every halting place there is a hostelry superintended by an officer who is posted there with a detachment of horse and foot. Every evening after sunset, or rather at nightfall, this officer visits the inn accompanied by his clerk; he takes down the name of every stranger who is going to pass the night there, seals the list, and then closes the inn door upon them. In the morning he comes again with his clerk, calls everybody by name, and marks them off one by one. He then despatches along with the travellers a person whose duty it is to escort them to the next station, and to bring back from the officer in charge there a written acknowledgment of the arrival of all; otherwise this person is held answerable. This is the practice at all the stations in China from Sín-ul-Sín to Khánbáliq. In the inns the traveller finds all needful supplies, especially fowls and geese. But mutton is rare.

To return, however, to the particulars of my voyage, I must tell you that the first Chinese city that I reached after crossing the sea was ZAITÚN[1]. Although *Zaitún*

[1] Were there doubt as to the identity of Zaitún, Abulfeda's notice would settle it. For he tells us expressly that Zaitún is otherwise called *Shanju* (Chin-cheu, the name by which Ts'wan-chau was known to the early Portuguese traders, and by which it still appears in many maps)

[New arguments in favour of Záitún = Ts'wan-chau and not Chang-chau have been brought forward by P. Greg. Arnáiz and

signifies *olives* in Arabic, there are no olives here any more than elsewhere in India and China; only that is the name of the place. It is a great city, superb indeed, and in it they make damasks of velvet as well as those of satin, which are called from the name of the city *Zaituníah*[1]: they are superior to the stuffs of Khansá and Khánbáliq. The harbour of Zaitún is one of the greatest in the world,—I am wrong: it is *the* greatest! I have seen there about one hundred first-class junks together; as for small ones

Max Van Berchem in a valuable paper on the Arab inscriptions of Ts'wan chau printed in the *T'oung pao*, Dec., 1911. Chang-chau, of a more recent origin than Ts'wan-chau, has no mosque Arnáiz and Van Berchem give a full description of the mosque of Ts'wan-chau which was built in the year 400 of the Hegira (1009–10 A.D.) and repaired in 710 (1310–11) according to one of its inscriptions, the most ancient of China, since the inscription of the mosque of Canton is dated 751 (Sept., 1350). Arnáiz has fully answered the objections of Geo. Phillips. See *Marco Polo*, ii. pp. 234 *seq.*, and Odoric, II, p. 183.

[M. Gabriel Ferrand, an Arabic friend of mine, says that the word should be spelt *Zitún* and not Zaitún. The Arabs transcribe the Chinese *tze* by *zi*, i.e. *Man tze* = Manzi. Zaitún like the Chinese *Tze t'ung* means an olive, and naturally commended itself better to an Arabian ear than Zitún.]

[1] The words translated after Defrémery as *velvet* and *satin* are *kimkhwâ* and *atalas*. There may be some doubt whether the former word should be rendered *velvet*, as it is the original of the European *cammocca* and the Indian *kinkhwáb*, of which the former seems to have been a damasked silk, and the latter *is* a silk damasked in gold (see III, p. 155 *supra*). The word *Atalas* seems to correspond closely to the Italian *raso*, as it signifies both a *close-shaven face* and a *satin texture*. It has been domesticated in Germany as the word for satin (*Atlass*), and is used also in old English travels. I have a strong suspicion that the term *Zaituniah* in the text is the origin of our word *satin*. The possible derivation from *seta* is obvious. But among the textures of the fifteenth century named in the book of G. Uzzano (*supra*, III, p. 142) we find repeated mention of *Zetani*, *Zettani vellutati*, *Zettani broccati tra oro*, etc., which looks very like the transition from *Zaituni* to *satin*, whilst the ordinary word for silk is by the same author always spelt *seta*. The analogous derivation of so many other names of textures from the places whence they were imported may be quoted in support of this, e.g., *Muslin* (Mosul), *Damask* (Damascus), *Cambric* (Cambray), *Arras Diaper* (d'Ypres), *Calico* (Calicut); whilst we know that Genoese merchants traded at Zaitún (*supra*, III, p. 73). I see that F. Johnson's *Dict.* distinguishes in Persian between "*Kamkhá*, Damask silk of one colour," and "*Kimkhá*, Damask silk of different colours."

they were past counting. The harbour is formed by a great estuary which runs inland from the sea until it joins the Great River.

In this, as in every other city of China, every inhabitant has a garden, a field, and his house in the middle of it, exactly as we have it in the city of Segelmessa. It is for this reason that the cities of the Chinese are so extensive. The Mahomedans have a city by themselves.

The day after my arrival at Zaitún[1] I saw there the nobleman who had been in India as ambassador with the presents for the Sultan, who had set out (from Dehli) in company with me, and whose junk had been wrecked. He saluted me, and gave information about me to the chief of the council, who in consequence assigned me quarters in a fine house. I then had visits from the Kazi of the Mahomedans, Tájuddín of Ardebil, a virtuous and generous person; from the Shaikh of Islam, Kamáluddín Abdallah of Ispahan, a very pious man; and from the chief merchants of the place. Among these I will mention only Sharíf-uddín of Tabriz, one of the merchants to whom I ran in debt from my first arrival in India, and the one of my creditors who acted most like a gentleman; he knew the whole Koran by heart, and was a great reader[2]. As these merchants are settled there in a land of unbelievers, of course they are greatly delighted when they see a Musulman come to visit them, and when they can say: "Ah, here comes one from the lands of Islam!" and they give him alms of all that they have, according to the law,

[1] ["On the day of my arrival." Lee, p. 212.]

[2] It is of very great interest to note that all the Mahomedans named by Ibn Batuta are Persian; he has omitted to mention Ahmad ibn Muḥammad, from Jerusalem?, surnamed the pilgrim Ruku (al dîn?) of Shiraz who built in 1310 the new portico of the mosque. It is the more interesting that the Mahomedans mentioned by Ibn Batuta in other towns of China came from Soghdiana, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Morocco, but not from Persia proper. [See *T'oung pao*, *l.c.*, p. 716.]

so that the traveller becomes quite rich like one of themselves. Among the eminent shaikhs at Zaitún was Burhan-uddín of Kazerún, who had a hermitage outside of the town. It was to him that the merchants used to pay their offerings for the Shaikh Abu Ishak of Kazerún[1].

When the chief of the council had learned all particulars about me, he wrote to the Kán, i.e. the Emperor, to inform him that I had arrived from the King of India. And I begged the chief that whilst we were awaiting the answer he would send some one to conduct me to Sín-ul-Sín, which these people call Sin-Kalán, which is also under the Kán, as I was desirous to visit that part of the country. He consented, and sent one of his people to accompany me. I travelled on the river in a vessel which was much like the war galleys in our country, excepting that the sailors rowed standing and all together amidships, whilst the passengers kept forward and aft. For shade they spread an awning made of a plant of the country resembling flax, but not flax; it was, however, finer than hemp[2].

[1] Kazerún, once a considerable place, now in decay, lies in a valley on the road from Bushire to Shiraz. The Shaikh Abu Ishak of Kazerún was a sort of patron saint of the mariners in the India and China trade, who made vows of offerings to his shrine when in trouble at sea, and agents were employed at the different ports to board the vessels as they entered, and claim the amounts vowed, which generally came to large sums. Applicants to the shrine for charity also used to receive circular notes payable by parties who had vowed. When the recipient of such a note met anyone owing an offering to the shrine he received the amount on presenting his bill endorsed with a discharge. (*Ibn Batuta*, ii, 90–1.)

[2] Perhaps grass-cloth.

["By the beginning of the seventh century the foreign colony at Canton, mostly composed of Persians and Arabs, must have been a numerous one, for Islam seems to have been brought there between 618 and 626. There is even some evidence for believing that the Moslim had also settlements at that time in Ts'wan-chau and Yang-chau; Ts'wan-chau, however, became of importance in their China trade only in the ninth century. By the middle of the eighth century the Mohamedans at Canton—which they called Khanfu,—had become so numerous that in

We travelled on the river for twenty-seven days[1]. Every day a little before noon we used to moor at some village, where we bought what was needful, and performed our midday prayers.

In the evening we stopped at another village, and so on until we arrived at Sin-Kalán[2], which is the city of Sín-ul-Sín. Porcelain is made there, just as at Zaitún, and it is there also that the river called *Ab-i-Haiyáh* (or water-of-life) discharges itself into the sea, at a place which they call the confluence of the seas. Sín-ul-Sin is one of the greatest of cities, and one of those that has the finest of bazaars. One of the largest of these is the porcelain bazaar, and from it china-ware is exported to the other cities of China, to India, and to Yemen.

In the middle of the city you see a superb temple with nine gates; inside of each there is a portico with terraces where the inmates of the building seat themselves. Between the second and third gates there is a place with rooms for occupation by the blind, the infirm or the crippled. These receive food and clothing from pious foundations attached to the temple. Between the other gates there are similar establishments; there is to be

758, when, for some reason which has not come down to us, Arab and Persian pirates sacked and burnt the city and made off to sea with their loot, some 5000 resident foreign traders were killed by them" (Hirth and Rockhill, pp. 14–15.)]

[1] It is very possible that there may be continuous inland navigation from Zaitún to Canton, parallel to the coast, but I cannot ascertain more than that there is such from Fu-chau, and I presume from Ts'wan-chau or Zaitún to Chang-chau. If this does not extend further, his journey "by the river" must have been up the Min river; then, after crossing the mountains into Kiang si, re-embarking and following the Kan-Kiang up to the Mei ling Pass, and so across that to the Pe-Kiang, leading to Canton; the latter part of the route being that followed by Macartney and Amherst on their return journeys, as well as by the authors of many other published narratives.

On Sin-Kalán or Sín-ul-Sín and its identity with Canton, see *supra*, pp. 11, 179; III, 126, 249; and *supra*, 25.

[2] [Sin-Kīlan. Lee, p. 213.]

seen (for instance) a hospital for the sick, a kitchen for dressing their food, quarters for the physicians, and others for the servants. I was assured that old folks who had not strength to work for a livelihood were maintained and clothed there; and that a like provision was made for destitute widows and orphans. This temple was built by a King of China, who bequeathed this city and the villages and gardens attached, as a pious endowment for this establishment. His portrait is to be seen in the temple, and the Chinese go and worship it[1].

In one of the quarters of this great city is the city of the Mahomedans where they have their cathedral mosque, convent, and bazaar; they have also a judge and a Shaikh, for in each of the cities of China you find always a Shaikh of Islam, who decides finally every matter concerning Mahomedans, as well as a Kâzi to administer justice. I took up my quarters with Auhad-uddín of Sinjár, one of the worthiest, as he is one of the richest, of men. My

[1] Canton has undergone many changes, and no temple now appears to correspond precisely with that described. It was however perhaps that called *Kwang hiao sze* (Temple of Glory and Filial Duty), near what is now the N.W. corner of the city. It was built about A.D. 250, and has often been restored. It possesses about 3500 acres of land for the support of its inmates. There is a retreat for poor aged infirm and blind people called Yangtséquen, which stands outside the walls east of the city, but neither this nor the other charitable institutions appear to be of old date, nor do there seem to be any such now attached to the temples (see *Chinese Repository*, vol. ii, pp. 145 *seq.*). [The *Kwang hiao sze* has nothing to do with the Mahomedans; it contains three colossal effigies of Buddha.

"The city of Canton with its environs has five important mosques.... The 'Mosque of Holy Remembrance' is the largest and most ancient of all the five mosques in Canton.... The mosque was destroyed by fire in 1343 A.D. and was rebuilt in 1349–51 A.D. by a certain Emir Mahmoud.... In this mosque of the Holy Remembrance the most important Records are on two monuments dated respectively 1351 A.D. and 1698 A.D. The tablet dated 1351 A.D. has a bilingual inscription in Arabic and Chinese and records the rebuilding of the premises." (Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China*, pp. 109 *seq.*) This mosque is called the *Kwang t'a* or *Kwang t'ap* and is probably the one referred to by Ibn Batuta.]

stay with him lasted fourteen days, during which presents from the kâzi and the other Mahomedans flowed in upon me incessantly. Every day they used to have a fresh entertainment, to which they went in pretty little boats of some ten cubits in length, with people on board to sing.

Beyond this city of Sin-ul-Sín there are no other cities, whether of infidels or Musulmans. Between it and the Rampart, or Great Wall of Gog and Magog, there is a space of sixty days' journey as I was told. This territory is occupied by wandering tribes of heathen, who eat such people as they can catch, and for this reason no one enters their country or attempts to travel there. I saw nobody in this city who had been to the Great Wall, or who knew anybody who had been there[1].

During my stay at Sin-Kalán I heard that there was at that city a very aged shaikh, indeed that he had passed his two hundredth year[2]; that he had neither ate nor

[1] This is an instance of Ibn Batuta's loose notions of geography. He inquires for the Wall of China from his co-religionists at the wrong extremity of the empire, as if (on a smaller scale) a foreigner should ask the French Consul at Cork for particulars of the Wall of Antoninus. Had he inquired at Khánbaliq (if he really was there) he might have received more information.

The Rampart of Gog and Magog (*Yájúj and Májúj*) was believed to have been erected by Alexander the Great to shut up the fierce nations of the north and bar their irruptions into civilized southern lands. It is generally referred to Derbend on the Caspian, but naturally came to be confounded with the Wall of China. Edrisi (ii, 416) gives an account of the mission sent by the Khalif Wathek Billah to explore the Rampart of Gog and Magog. See the Reduction of the Catalan Map, N.E. corner. [Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, p. 57 *n*.]

[2] Supernatural longevity is a common attribute of Mahomedan saints. Ibn Batuta himself introduces us to several others whose age exceeded one hundred and fifty years, besides a certain *Atha Awalía* in the Hindu Kush who claimed three hundred and fifty years, but regarding whom the traveller had his doubts. Shah Madar, one of the most eminent Indian saints, is said to have been born at Aleppo in 1050–1, and to have died at Makanpur near Ferozabad, Agra, where he was buried, in 1433, having had 1442 sons, spiritual it may be presumed! (Garcin de Tassy, *Particularités de la Rel. Mus. dans l'Inde*, p. 55) And John

drank nor had anything to say to women, although his vigour was intact; and that he dwelt in a cave outside the town, where he gave himself up to devotion. So I went to his grotto, and there I saw him at the door. He was very thin; of a deep red or copper-tint, much marked with the traces of an ascetic life, and had no beard. After I had saluted him he took my hand, blew on it, and said to the interpreter: "This man belongs to one extremity of the world, as we belong to the other." Then he said to me: "Thou hast witnessed a miracle. Dost thou call to mind the day of thy visit to the island where there was a temple, and the man seated among the idols who gave thee ten pieces of gold?" "Yes, in sooth," answered I. He rejoined, "I was that man[1]." I kissed his hand; the shaikh seemed a while lost in thought, then entered his cave, and did not come back to us. One would have said that he regretted the words that he had spoken. We were rash enough to enter the grotto in order to surprise him, but we did not find him. We saw one of his comrades, however, who had in his hand some paper bank-notes, and who said to us: "Take this for your entertainment, and begone." We answered: "But we wish to wait for the shaikh." He answered: "If you were to wait ten years you would not see him. For 'tis his way never to let himself be seen by a person who has learned one of his secrets." He added: "Think not that he is absent; he is here present with you!"

Greatly astonished at all this I departed. On telling my story to the kâzi, the Shaikh of Islam and (my host)

Schiltberger tells us of a saint at Hore in Horassan (Herat in Khorâsân) whom he saw there in the days of Timur, whose name was Phiradam Schyech, and who was three hundred and fifty years old (*Reisen*, p. 101).

[1] This refers to a mysterious incident that occurred to Ibn Batuta at a small island on the western coast of India just before he got to Hunawûr (see *supra*, p. 24).

Auhad-uddín of Sinjár, they observed: "This is his way with strangers who visit him; nobody ever knows what religion he professes. But the man whom you took for one of his comrades was the shaikh himself." They then informed me that this personage had quitted the country for about fifty years and had returned only a year previously. The king[1], the generals, and other chiefs went to see him, and made him presents in proportion to their rank; whilst every day the fakirs and poor monks went to see him, and received from him gifts in proportion to the deserts of each, although his cave contained absolutely nothing. They told me also that this personage sometimes related histories of past times; he would speak, for example, of the prophet (upon whom be peace!), and would say with reference to him: "If I had but been with him, I would have helped him." He would speak also with veneration of the two Khalifs, 'Omar son of Alkattab and 'Ali son of Abu Tálib, and would praise them highly. But, on the other hand, he would curse Yazíd the son of Mu'áwiyah, and would denounce Mu'áwiyah himself[2]. Many other things were told me about this shaikh by the persons named above.

Auhad-uddín of Sinjár told me the following story about him: "I went once (said he) to see the shaikh in his cave. He took hold of my hand, and all at once I imagined myself to be in a great palace where this shaikh was seated on a throne. Methought he had a crown on his head; on each side of him were beautiful handmaidens; and there were canals about into which fruit was constantly dropping. I imagined that I took up an apple to eat it,

[1] *I.e.* the viceroy.

[2] Omar and Ali, the second and fourth successors of Mahomed Yazíd Bin Mu'áwiyah, the second Khalif of the Ommiades who caused the death of Ali on the plain of Kerbela, is always mentioned with a curse by the Shias (D'Herbelot).

and straightway as I did so I found myself again in the grotto with the shaikh before me, laughing and ridiculing me I had a bad illness which lasted several months; and I never would go again to see that strange being[1]."

The people of the country believe the shaikh to be a Musulman, but nobody ever saw him say his prayers. As regards abstinence from food, again, he may be said to fast perpetually. The kâzi told me: "One day I spoke to him about prayer, and his answer was: 'Thinkest thou that thou knowest, thou! what *I* do? In truth, I trow my prayer is another matter from thine!'" Everything about this man was singular[2].

The day after my visit to the shaikh I set out on my return to the city of Zaitún, and some days after my arrival there an order was received from the Kán that I was to proceed to the capital, with arrangements for my honourable treatment and for defraying my expenses. He left me free to go by land or by water as I chose; so I preferred going by the river.

They fitted up a very nice boat for me, such as is used for the transport of generals; the Amír sent some of his suite to accompany me, and furnished provisions in abundance; quantities also were sent by the kâzi and the Mahomedan merchants. We travelled as the guests of the sultan, dining at one village, and supping at another; and after a passage of ten days we arrived at KANJANFU. This is a large and beautiful city surrounded by gardens, in an immense plain. One would say it was the plain of Damascus[3]!

[1] A capital case of mesmeric influence in the Middle Ages

[2] The holy man in Egypt, described by Lady Duff Gordon (*supra*, p. 90); "never prays, never washes, he does not keep Ramadán, and yet he is a saint."

[3] This I have little doubt is Kien ch'ang fu in Kiang si, to which a water communication conducts all the way from Fu-chau,

On my arrival the kâzi, the shaikh of Islam, and the merchants came out to receive me, with flags and a band of musicians, with drums, trumpets, and horns. They brought horses for us, which we mounted, whilst they all went on foot before us except the kâzi and the shaikh, who rode with us. The governor of the city also came out with his retinue to meet us, for a guest of the emperor's is highly honoured among those people. And so we entered Kanjanfú[1]. This city has four walls. Between the first and the second wall live the slaves of the sultan, those who guard the city by day as well as those who guard it by night. These last are called *baswánán*. Between the second and third wall are the cavalry, and the amír who commands in the city. Inside the third wall are the Mahomedans, so it was here that we dismounted at the house of their shaikh, Zahír-uddín ul Kurláni. The Chinese lived inside the fourth wall, which incloses the biggest of the four towns. The distance between one gate and the next in this immense city of Kanjanfú is three miles and a quarter. Every inhabitant, as we have described before, has his garden and fields about his house[2].

One day when I was in the house of Zahír-uddín ul Kurláni there arrived a great boat, which was stated to be that of one of the most highly respected doctors of the law among the Musulmans of those parts. They asked leave to introduce this personage to me, and accordingly

and probably from Zaitún, excepting for a space of 190 li (some fifty or sixty miles) in the passage of the mountains between T'sung nang hien in Fu-kien, and Yan chan hien in Kiang si (Klap., *Mém. Rel. à l'Asie*, vol. iii). Kien ch'ang fu is described by Martini as a handsome and celebrated city, with a lake inside the walls and another outside. It was noted in his time for the excellence of its rice-wine.

[1] [Fanjanfur. Lee, p. 215.]

[2] This must at all times have been a great exaggeration.

he was announced as "Our Master Kiwamuddín the Ceutan[1]." I was surprised at the name; and when he had entered, and after exchanging the usual salutations we had begun to converse together, it struck me that I knew the man. So I began to look at him earnestly, and he said, "You look as if you knew me." "From what country are you," I asked. "From Ceuta." "And I am from Tangier!" So he recommenced his salutations, moved to tears at the meeting, till I caught the infection myself. I then asked him: "Have you ever been in India?" "Yes," he said; "I have been at Delhi, the capital." When he said that I recollected about him, and said, "Surely you are Al-Bushrí?" "Yes, I am." He had come to Delhi with his maternal uncle, Abú'l Kásim, of Murcia, being then quite young and beardless, but an accomplished student, knowing the *Muwattah* by heart[2]. I had told the Sultan of India about him, and he had given him 3000 dinars, and desired to keep him at Delhi. He refused to stay, however, for he was bent on going to China, and in that country he had acquired much reputation and a great deal of wealth. He told me that he had some fifty male slaves, and as many female: and indeed he gave me two of each, with many other presents. Some years later I met this man's brother in Negroland. What an enormous distance lay between those two[3]!

[1] "Ul-Sabti."

[2] The *Muwattah* (the name signifies, according to Defremery, "Appropriated," but D'Herbelot translates it "Footstool") was a book on the traditions, held in great respect by the Mahomedans, who called it *Mubárak*, or Blessed. It was composed by the Imám Malik Bin Ans, one of the four chiefs of Orthodox sects. (D Herbelot.)

This meeting in the heart of China of the two Moors from the adjoining towns of Tangier and Ceuta has a parallel in that famous, but I fear mythical story of the capture of the Grand Vizier on the Black Sea by Marshal Keith, then in the Russian service. The venerable Turk's look of recognition drew from the

I stayed fifteen days at Kanjanfú, and then continued my journey. China is a beautiful country, but it afforded me no pleasure. On the contrary, my spirit was sorely troubled within me whilst I was there, to see how Paganism had the upper hand. I never could leave my quarters without witnessing many things of a sinful kind; and that distressed me so much that I generally kept within doors, and only went out when it was absolutely necessary. And during my whole stay in China I always felt in meeting Musulmans just as if I had fallen in with my own kith and kin. The jurist Al-Bushri carried his kindness towards me so far that he escorted me on my journey for four days until my arrival at BAIWAM KUTLÚ[1]. This was a small city inhabited by Chinese traders and soldiers. There were but four houses of Musulmans there, and the owners were all disciples of the jurist above mentioned. We took up our quarters with one of them, and stayed three days. I then bade adieu to the doctor, and proceeded on my journey.

As usual, I travelled on the river, dining at one village, supping at another, till after a voyage of seventeen days we arrived at the city of KHANSÁ[2]. (The name of this city is nearly the same as that of Khansá, the poetess[3],

Marshal the same question that Al-Bushri addressed to Ibn Batuta, and the answer came forth in broad Fifeshire dialect—Eh man! ave, I mind you weel, for my father was the bellman of Kirkaldy!"

[1] [Bairam Katlu. Lee, p. 216.] The name looks Turkish rather than Chinese and may be connected with that of *Baiam*, the great general and minister of Kúblái. It is possible, however, that the Baiwam may represent *Poyang*, the old name of Yao-chau, on the Poyang Lake, which I suppose had its name from this city (Martini in Thévenot p. 109). The position would be very appropriate.

[2] Cansay of Odoric, etc., King-sze or Hang-chau fu; see II. p. 192, III, pp. 115, 229, etc., *supra*.

[3] All I can tell of this lady is from the following extract: Al-Chansa, the most celebrated Arabic poetess, shines exclusively in elegiac poetry. Her laments over her two murdered brothers,

but I don't know whether the hame be actually Arabic, or has only an accidental resemblance to it.) This city is the greatest I have ever seen on the surface of the earth. It is three days' journey in length, so that a traveller passing through the city has to make his marches and his halts! According to what we have said before of the arrangement followed in the cities of China, every one in Khansá is provided with his house and garden[1]. The city is divided into six towns, as I shall explain presently.

When we arrived, there came out to meet us the Kâzi of Khansá, by name Afkharuddín, the Shaikh of Islam, and the descendants of 'Othmán Bin Affán the Egyptian, who are the most prominent Mahomedans at Khansá. They carried a white flag, with drums, trumpets, and horns. The commandant of the city also came out to meet me with his escort. And so we entered the city.

It is subdivided into six towns, each of which has a separate enclosure, whilst one great wall surrounds the whole. In the first city was posted the garrison of the city, with its commandant. I was told by the Kâzi and others that there were 12,000 soldiers on the rolls. We passed the night at the commandant's house. The next day we entered the second city by a gate called the Jews' Gate. This town was inhabited by Jews, by Christians, and by those Turks who worship the sun; they are very numerous. The Amír of this town is a Chinese, and we passed the second night in his house. The third day we made our entrance into the third city, and this is occupied by the Mahomedans. It is a fine town, with the bazaars

Muawiya and Sachr, are the most pathetic, tender, and passionate, yet no translation could convey the fulness of their beauty. To be appreciated they must be read in the majestic, soft, sonorous words of the original." (*Saturday Review*, June 17, 1865, p. 740.)

[1] This agrees but ill with Odoric's "*non est spansa terræ quæ non habitatur bene.*" There are several very questionable statements in Ibn Batuta's account of the great city.

arranged as in Musulman countries, and with mosques and muezzins. We heard these last calling the Faithful to prayer as we entered the city. Here we were lodged in the house of the children of 'Othmán Bin Affán, the Egyptian. This 'Othmán was a merchant of great eminence, who took a liking to this town, and established himself in it; indeed it is named after him *Al'Othmániyah*. He bequeathed to his posterity in this city the dignity and consideration which he had himself enjoyed; his sons follow their father in their beneficence to religious mendicants, and in affording relief to the poor. They have a convent called also Al'Othmániyah, which is a handsome edifice, endowed with many pious bequests, and is occupied by a fraternity of Súfís. It was the same Othmán who built the Jáma' Masjid (cathedral mosque) in this city, and he has bequeathed to it (as well as to the convent) considerable sums to form a foundation for pious uses.

The Musulmans in this city are very numerous. We remained with them fifteen days, and every day and every night I was present at some new entertainment. The splendour of their banquets never flagged, and every day they took me about the city on horseback for my diversion. One day that they were riding with me we went into the fourth city, where the seat of the government is, and also the palace of the great Amír Kurtai. When we had passed the gate of the town my companions left me, and I was received by the Wazír, who conducted me to the palace of the great Amír Kurtai. I have already related how this latter took from me the pelisse which had been given me by the Friend of God, Jalal-uddín of Shíráz. This fourth town is intended solely for the dwellings of the emperor's officers and slaves; it is the finest of all the six towns, and is traversed by three streams

of water. One of these is a canal from the great river, and by it the supplies of food and of stones for burning are brought in small boats; there are also pleasure boats to be had upon it. The citadel is in the middle of the town; it is of immense extent, and in the centre of it is the palace of the government. The citadel surrounds this on all sides, and is provided with covered sheds, where artisans are seen employed in making magnificent dresses, arms, and engines of war. The Amír Kurtai told me that there were 1600 master-workmen, each of whom had under his direction three or four apprentices. All are the Kán's slaves; they are chained, and live outside the fortress. They are allowed to frequent the bazaars of the town, but not to go beyond the gate. The Amír musters them daily, and if any one is missing their chief is responsible. It is customary to remove their fetters after ten years' service, and they have then the option of either continuing to serve without fetters or of going where they will, provided they do not pass beyond the frontier of the Kán's territory. At the age of fifty they are excused all further work, and are maintained at the cost of the State. But indeed in any case every one, or nearly every one, in China, who has reached that age, may obtain his maintenance at the public expense[1]. He who has reached the age of sixty is regarded by the Chinese as a child, and is no longer subject to the penalties of the law. Old men are treated with great respect in that country, and are always addressed as *Athá* or "Father[2]."

The Amír Kurtai is the greatest lord in China[3]. He

[1] See above, III, p. 92, and *M. Polo*, i. 39.

[2] See above, II, p. 201.

[3] [Emir Karti. Lee, p. 218.] I cannot identify this Prince in the translated Chinese histories. *Kurtai* is however a genuine Tartar name, and is found as the name of one of the Mongol generals in the preceding century (D'Ohsson, ii, 260). [Amín

offered us hospitality in his palace, and gave an entertainment such as those people call *Thuwai*[1], at which the dignitaries of the city were present. He had got Mahomedan cooks to kill the cattle and cook the dishes for us, and this lord, great as he was, carved the meats and helped us with his own hands! We were his guests for three days, and one day he sent his son to escort us in a trip on the canal. We got into a boat like a fire-ship[2], whilst the young lord got into another, taking singers and musicians with him. The singers sang songs in Chinese, Arabic, and Persian. The lord's son was a great admirer of the Persian songs, and there was one of these sung by them which he caused to be repeated several times, so that I got it by heart from their singing. This song had a pretty cadence in it, and thus it went:

Tá dil ba mihnat dádím,
Dar bahri-i fikr uftádím,
Chún dar namáz istádím,
Kawí bamihráb anderím[3].

Kurtai. Schefer, *Relat. des Musulmans avec les Chinois*, p. 23, calls him Qir Thay. Cf. Huart, *J. As.* May–June, 1913, p. 701, says it should be Karaṭai, name of several Turkish families.]

[1] *Thoï* or *Tuwi* is a word believed to be of Turki origin, used frequently by Rashíd and other medieval Persian writers for a *feast* or *fête* (see Quatremère's *Rashideddin*, pp. 139–40, 164, 216 414; see also a previous passage of *Ibn Batuta*, iii, 40).

[2] *Harrúqáh*. "Navis incendiaria aut missilibus pyriis instructa" (Freytag). I do not understand what is meant by the comparison It cannot refer to the blaze of light, because this was in the daytime. But perhaps Ibn Batuta applies the word only in the sense of some kind of state barge, for he uses the same title for the boat in which he saw the Il-Khan Abu Said with his Wazír taking an airing on the Tigris at Baghdad (ii, 116).

[3] The "pretty cadence" is precisely that of:

We won't go home till morning,
We won't go home till morning,
We won't go home till morning,
Till daylight doth appear!

It may be somewhat freely rendered:

My heart given up to emotions,
Was o'erwhelmed in waves like the ocean's;
But betaking me to my devotions,
My troubles were gone from me!

Crowds of people in boats were gathered on the canal. The sails were of all bright colours, the people carried parasols of silk, and the boats themselves were gorgeously painted. They skirmished with one another, and pelted each other with oranges and lemons. In the evening we went back to pass the night at the Amír's palace, where the musicians came again and sang very fine songs.

That same night a juggler, who was one of the Kán's slaves, made his appearance, and the Amír said to him: "Come and show us some of your marvels." Upon this he took a wooden ball, with several holes in it through which long thongs were passed, and (laying hold of one of these) slung it into the air. It went so high that we lost sight of it altogether. (It was the hottest season of the year, and we were outside in the middle of the palace court.) There now remained only a little of the end of a thong in the conjuror's hand, and he desired one of the boys who assisted him to lay hold of it and mount. He did so, climbing by the thong, and we lost sight of him also! The conjuror then called to him three times; but getting no answer he snatched up a knife as if in a great rage, laid hold of the thong, and disappeared also! By and by he threw down one of the boy's hands, then a foot, then the other hand and the other foot, then the trunk, and last of all the head! Then he came down himself, all puffing and panting, and with his clothes all bloody, kissed the ground before the Amír, and said something to him in Chinese. The Amír gave some order in reply and our friend then took the lad's limbs, laid them together in their places, and gave a kick, when, presto! there was the boy, who got up and stood before us[1]! All this astonished me beyond measure, and I had

[1] In a modern Indian version of this trick, which I lately heard described by an eye-witness, the boy was covered with a

an attack of palpitation like that which overcame me once before in the presence of the Sultan of India, when he showed me something of the same kind. They gave me a cordial, however, which cured the attack[1]. The Kâzi Afkharuddín was next to me, and quoth he: "Walláh! 'tis my opinion there has been neither going up nor coming down, neither marring nor mending; 'tis all hocus pocus!"

The next day we entered the gate of the fifth city, which is the biggest of all the six, and is inhabited by the Chinese. It has splendid bazaars and capital artificers, and it is there that they make the textures called *khansáwiyah*. Among the fine things made here also are the plates and dishes called *Dast*. They are composed of cane, the fibres of which are platted together in a wonderful manner, and then covered with a brilliant coat of red lacker. Ten of these plates go to a set, one fitting inside the other, and so fine are they that when you see

basket and desired to descend into the earth. On his refusal, the conjuror rushed at the basket and pierced it violently in all directions with a spear, whilst blood flowed from under it, and the boy's dying groans were heard. On removing the basket there was of course nothing to be seen, and presently the boy made his appearance running from the gate of the *compound* in which the performance took place. The vanishing *upwards* certainly renders Ibn Batuta's story much more wonderful. A like feature is found in some extraordinary Indian conjurors' ricks described by the Emperor Jihanghir in his memoirs.

[1] On the occasion referred to (iv, 39), Ibn Batuta, when visiting Mahomed Tughlak, finds two Jogis in the king's apartments, one of whom whilst sitting cross-legged rises in the air. His comrade then pulls out a shoe and raps on the ground with it. The shoe immediately mounts in the air to the neck of the elevated Jogi, and begins tapping him on the nape of the neck; as it taps he gradually subsides to the ground. The traveller, unused to such operations of "levitation" and spirit-rapping, faints away in the king's presence.

Ricold de Monte Croce ascribes such practices to the *Boxitæ* (*Bakshis* or Lamas). One of them was said to fly. The fact was, says Ricold, that he did not fly, but he used to skim the ground without touching it, and when he seemed to be sitting down he was sitting upon nothing! (p. 117).

A Brahman at Madras some forty or fifty years ago exhibited himself sitting in the air. In his case, I think, mechanical aids were discovered, but I cannot refer to the particulars.

them you would take the whole set for but one plate. A cover then goes over the whole. There are also great dishes or trays made with the same cane-work. Some of the excellent properties of such dishes are these: they don't break when they tumble, and you can put hot things into them without spoiling or in the least affecting their colour. These plates and dishes are exported from China to India, Khorāsān, and other countries[1].

We passed a night in the fifth town as the guests of the commandant, and the next day we proceeded to enter the sixth by a gate called that of the *kishtiwánán*, or boatmen. This town is inhabited only by seamen, fishermen, caulkers, carpenters (these last they call *dúdkárán*), by the *sipahis, i.e.* the archers, and by the *piyádahs, i.e.* the foot-soldiers[2]. All of them are the emperor's slaves; no other class live with them, and their numbers are very great. The town of which we speak is situated on the banks of the Great River, and we stayed the night there, enjoying the hospitality of the commandant. The Amír Kurtai had caused a boat to be fitted up for us, and equipped with everything needful in the way of provisions and otherwise. He also sent some of his

[1] Lackered ware is still made in Burma quite in the way that the traveller describes, and so it is doubtless in China. Indeed the cane dishes are mentioned by the Archbishop of Soltania (*supra*, III, p. 99).

[2] Here as usual with Ibn Batuta one would suppose that these words were the vernacular Chinese instead of being Persian. If we could depend upon him thoroughly in such matters, the use of these words would indicate that Persian was the language of the Mahomedan communities in China. *Dúdkárán* is for *Durúdgarán*, carpenters. The explanations "archers" and "foot-soldiers" (*ul-rajál*) are Ibn Batuta's own, and the use of the latter word is perhaps unfavourable to the translation at p. 104. [To Ch. Schefer, *Relat. des Musulmans avec les Chinois*, p. 24, it seems that they were Persian artisans sent from Iraq, Khorāsān and Transoxiana by the Mongols and who had not yet been liberated. "Ibn Batuta les désigne sous les noms persans de *Kechtiouanan* (pilotes) et *Dourudgueran* (menuisiers). Les archers ou gens de trait étaient appelés *Sipahieh* et les gens de pied, *Piadeh* (piétons)."]

people to accompany us, in order that we might be received everywhere as the emperor's guests, and so we quitted this city, the province under which is the last of those of China, and proceeded to enter CATHAY[1].

Cathay is the best cultivated land in the world; in the whole country you will not find a bit of ground lying fallow. The reason is, that if a piece of ground be left uncultivated, they still oblige the people on it, or if there be none the people nearest to it, to pay the land-tax. Gardens, villages, and cultivated fields line the two banks of the river in uninterrupted succession from the city of Khansá to the city of KHÁNBÁLIQ, a space of sixty-four days journey.

In those tracts you find no Musulmans unless as mere passengers, for the localities are not adapted for them to fix themselves in, and you find no regular cities, but only villages, and plains covered with corn, fruit trees, and sugar cane. I do not know in the whole world a region to be compared to this, except that space of four days' march between Anbār and 'Ainah. Every evening we landed at a different village, and were hospitably received[2].

And thus at last we arrived at Khanbáliq, also called KHANIKU[3]. It is the capital of the Kán or great Emperor,

[1] *Khithá*. Here Ibn Batuta makes China (*Sín*) correspond to *Mangi*, or the Sung empire, first reduced under the Mongols by Kúblái. In other passages he appears to use Sín for the whole empire, as (in iii, 17) where he speaks of Almáliq as situated at the extremity of Mā-warā-n-Nahr, near the place where China (*Sín*) begins.

[2] *Anbār*, on the Euphrates abreast of Baghdad; *'Anah*, about 120 miles higher up. The alleged absence of cities on the banks of the canal is so contrary to fact, that one's doubts arise whether Ibn Batuta could have travelled beyond Hang-chau.

[3] Of this name *Khánikú* I can make nothing. *Khánkú* indeed appears in Abulfeda several times as the alternative name of Khansá, but is in that case an evident mistake (one dot too many), for the *Khánfu* of Abu Said in Reinaud's *Relations*, the Ganpu of Marco, the Kánphú of the Chinese, which was the seaport of Khansá or Hang-chau, and stood upon the estuary of

who rules over China and Cathay. We moored, according to the custom of these people, ten miles short of Khán Illq, and they sent a report of our arrival to the admirals, who gave us permission to enter the port, and this we did. At last we landed at the city, which is one of the greatest in the world, and differs from all the other cities of China in having no gardens inside the walls; they are all outside, as in other countries. The city or quarter in which the emperor resides stands in the middle like a citadel, as we shall tell hereafter. I took up my quarters with the shaikh Burhán-uddín of Ságharj, the individual to whom the Sultan of India sent 40,000 dínárs, with an invitation to go to his dominions. He took the money indeed, and paid his debts with it, but declined to go to the King of Delhi, and directed his course towards China. The Kán put him at the head of all the Musulmans in his empire, with the title of *Sadr-ul-Jihán*, or Chief of the World[1].

The word *Kán* (*Qán*) among the Chinese is a generic term for anyone governing the empire; in fact, for the kings of their country, just as the lords of the Lúr country

the Che Kiang, about twelve leagues from the great city (Klapr. *Mém.* ii, 200). [*Khāniku*, Ḫānīku, is the adjective taken as a substantive *Xan* + *qu*, "this of the Emperor, the imperial." (= *Xan-baliq*). Cl. Huart, *Jour. Asiat.*, May–June, 1913, p. 701.]

[1] As Ibn Batuta relates elsewhere (iii, 255) this celebrated preacher gave as his reason for refusing to visit India: "I will not go to the court of a king who makes philosophers stand in his presence." Curiously enough the story is also told in the *Masālak-al-Absār*, of which extracts have been translated by Quatremère. According to that work, Burhán-uddín of Ságharj was Shaikh of Samarkand, and Sultan Mahomed of Delhi, hearing much of his fame, sent him 40,000 *tankahs* (we here see corroboration that the Indian *dínár* of Ibn Batuta is the *tankah* of other authors) with an invitation to his court. The messenger on his arrival at Samarkand found the Shaikh had set out for China, so he gave the money to a young slave-girl of his, desiring her to let her master know that his presence was greatly desired by the King of Delhi (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii, 196). [Schefer, *l.c.*, p. 24, translates *Sadri Djihan*, "Supreme Judge of the World."]

are called *Atábek*. The proper name of this sultan is *Páshái*, and there is not among the infidels on the whole face of the earth so great an empire as his[1].

The palace of the monarch is situated in the middle of the city appropriated to his residence. It is almost entirely constructed of carved wood, and is admirably laid out. It has seven gates. At the first gate sits the *Kotwál*[2], who is the chief of the porters, whilst elevated platforms right and left of the gate are occupied by the pages called *Pardadáriyah* (curtain-keepers), who are the warders of the palace gates. These were 500 in number, and I was told that they used to be 1000. At the second gate are stationed the *Sipáhis*, or archers, to the number of 500; and at the third gate are the *Nizahdars*, or spearmen, also 500 in number. At the fourth gate are the *Teghdáriyah* (sabre-men), men with sabre and shield. At the fifth gate are the offices of the ministerial departments, and these are furnished with numerous platforms[3]. On the principal one of these sits the wazīr, mounted on an enormous sofa, and this is called the *Masnad*. Before

[1] *Atábek* was the title borne by various powerful Amirs at the court of the Seliukidæ, which they retained after becoming independent in different provinces of Irak, Azerbaiján, etc. The title is said to mean "The Prince's Father." It was also held at the Court of Delhi under the translated form *Khán Baba* (Elph. *Hist. of India*, ii, 216). Ibn Batuta had visited one of the Atábeks, Afrasiab, in Luristan, on his way from Baghdad to Ispahan. By *Páshái*, I suspect he only means the Persian *Pâdsháh*. The real name of the emperor at this time was Togon Timur, surnamed Ukhagatu, called by the Chinese Shun Ti.

[2] ["Les emplois des fonctionnaires étaient désignés par des mots persans. Le gouverneur est désigné par le mot *Koutoual*; les huissiers étaient appelés *Perdehdarièh*, les archers, *Sipahièh*, les gens armés de lances, *Nizéhdarièh*, et les porte-glaives *Tighdarièh*." (Schefer, *l.c.*, p. 24.)]

[3] The word is *Saqífah*, which is defined in the dictionary *Locus discubitorius ad instar latioris scamni constructus ante ædes*, and translated in the French *Estrade*. I suppose it here to represent an open elevated shed or pavilion, such as appears to be much affected in the courts of Chinese and Indo-Chinese palaces.

the wazīr is a great writing-table of gold. Opposite is the platform of the private secretary, to the right of it is that of the secretaries for despatches, and to the right of the wazīr is that of the clerks of the finances.

These four platforms have four others facing them. One is called the office of control; the second is that of the office of *Mustakhraj*, or "Produce of Extortion," the chief of which is one of the principal grandees. They call *Mustakhraj* the balances due by collectors and other officials, and by the amīrs from the claims upon their fiefs. The third is the office of appeals for redress, where one of the great officers of state sits, assisted by secretaries and counsel learned in the law. Anyone who has been the victim of injustice addresses himself to them for aid and protection. The fourth is the office of the posts, and there the head of the news department has his seat[1].

At the sixth gate of the palace is stationed the king's body guard, with its chief commandant. The eunuchs are at the seventh gate. They have three platforms, the first of which is for the Abyssinians, the second for the Hindus, the third for the Chinese. Each of these three classes has a chief, who is a Chinese.

When we arrived at the capital Khánbáliq, we found that the Kan was absent, for he had gone forth to fight Firuz, the son of his uncle, who had raised a revolt against him in the territory of KARAKORÚM and BISHBÁLIQ, in Cathay[2]. To reach those places from the capital there

[1] In the whole of this description, with its Persian technicalities, it is pretty clear that Ibn Batuta is drawing either on his imagination, or (more probably) on his recollections of the Court of Delhi, and hence we have the strongest ground for suspecting that he never entered the palace of Peking, if indeed he ever saw that city at all. In iii, 295, he has told us of an office at the *Court of Dolhi* which bore the name of *Mustakhraj*, the business of which was to extort unpaid balances by bastinado and other tortures.

[2] *Karakorum*, the chief place successively of the Khans of Kerait, and of the Mongol Khans till Kóbkú established his

is a distance to be passed of three months' march from the capital through a cultivated country. I was informed by the Sadr-ul-Jihán, Burhán-uddín of Ságharj, that when the Kán assembled his troops, and called the array of his forces together, there were with him one hundred divisions of horse, each composed of 10,000 men, the chief of whom was called *Amír Túmán* or lord of ten thousand[1]. Besides these the immediate followers of the sultan and his household furnished 50,000 more cavalry. The infantry censisted of 500,000 men. When the emperor had marched, most of the amírs revolted, and agreed to depose

residence in China. [See Iong note *Marco Polo*, i, p. 227.] *Bishbáliq*, (*i.e.* "Pentapolis") lay between Karakorúm and Almáliq, and had in ancient times been the chief seat of the Uighúr nation. It is now, according to Klaproth, represented by Urumtsi. [Klaproth in his dissertation on the *Détermination de l'emplacement de Bishbalik* (*Mém. relatifs à l'Asie*, ii, pp. 355–63) identified Bishbáliq with Pei t'ing of the T'ang period and Urumtsi, and his theory has been accepted since by all the Orientalists. M. Chavannes (*Tou-kiue occidentaux*, p. 11, note) shows from the *Si-yu shui tao ki* that Pei t'ing is but *Kin-man*. Kin-man which was according to the *Kiu T'ang shu* during the After Han the Posterior Royal Court (of the kingdom) of Kiu shi included five towns and its usual name was *Wu ch'eng che ti* which from a slab found there was 20 li N. of Pan hwei tien (or Tsi mu sa), viz., 90 li S.W. of Guchen; on the site of the ancient sub-prefecture of Kin-man is the place called Hu pao tze. Pei t'ing or Kin-man is not on the road from Turfan to Urumtsi by the Daban shan Pass, but on a more eastern road which runs from Turfan up to (near) Guchen. Bishbáliq (Five towns) = Pei t'ing = Kin-man = Hu pao tze, about 20 li N. of actual Pao hwei tien; thus it is not Urumtsi.—"Grum Gržimailo (*Opisanie puteshestv'ya v Zapadnij Kitai*, i, 221–2) was the first (in 1896) to express the opinion that the town (of Bishbáliq) was more to the east (than Urumtsi) and situated on or near the site of the present Guchen; in the second vol. of the same work (1899, pp. 42–3) this opinion was more strongly supported by a reference to the work *Meng-ku-yu-mu-ki* translated in 1895 by Popov....; in 1908 Dolbezev found that in the region indicated by the Chinese (near the village Hu pao tze, about 10 kilom. N. of the town of Tsi-mu-sa) were indeed ruins (called to-day P'o chöng tze) of a rather important town (4 kilom. pourtour).. it was during the seventh century that the Chinese names Kin-man and Pei t'ing appeared.... During the thirteenth century Bishbáliq was then near Kara Khodja (Turfan), capital of a Uighúr prince with the title of Idiqut and a vassal of the Gurkhan of the Kara Khitâi." *Encycl. de l'Islam*, W. Barthold, s.v. *Bishbalik*.]

[1] *Tuman*. See *supra*, III, p. 199.

him, for he had violated the laws of the *Yasák*, that is to say, of the code established by their ancestor Tankíz Khán, who ravaged the lands of Islam[1]. They deserted to the camp of the emperor's cousin who was in rebellion, and wrote to the Kán to abdicate and be content to retain the city of Khansá for his apanage. The Kán refused, engaged them in battle, and was defeated and slain[2].

This news was received a few days after our arrival at the capital. The city upon this was decked out, and the people went about beating drums and blowing trumpets and horns, and gave themselves over to games and amusements for a whole month. The Kán's body was then brought in with those of about a hundred more of his cousins, kinsfolk, and favourites who had fallen. After digging for the Kán a great *Náwus* or crypt[3], they spread it with splendid carpets, and laid therein the Kán with his arms. They put in also the whole of the gold and silver plate belonging to the palace, with four of the Kán's young slave girls, and six of his chief pages holding in their hands vessels full of drink. They then built up the

[1] The *Yasa* or ordinances which Chinghiz laid down for the guidance of his successors may be seen more or less in Pétis de la Croix, D'Ohsson, Deguignes, in V. Hammer's *Golden Horde*, and in *Univers Pittoresque* (Tartarie, p. 313). The word is said to mean any kind of ordinance or regulation. Baber tells us in his Autobiography: "My forefathers and family had always sacredly observed the Rules of Chinghiz. In their parties, in their courts, their festivals, and their entertainments, in their sitting down, and in their rising up, they never acted contrary to the Institutions of Chinghiz" (p. 202).

[2] The Emperor Togon Timur or Shun Ti, who was on the throne at the time of Ibn Batuta's visit (1347), had succeeded in 1333, and continued to reign till his expulsion by the Chinese and the fall of his dynasty in 1368. Nor can I find in Deguignes or De Mailla the least indication of any circumstance occurring about this time that could have been made the foundation of such a story.

[3] Defrémery says from the Gr *ναός*. Meninski gives *Náwus* (or *Náús*). "Cœmeterium, vel delubrum magorum."

door of the crypt and piled earth on the top of it till it was like a high hill. After this they brought four horses and made them run races round the emperor's sepulchre until they could not stir a foot; they next set up close to it a great mast, to which they suspended those horses after driving a wooden stake right through their bodies from tail to mouth. The Kán's kinsfolk also, mentioned above, were placed in subterranean cells, each with his arms and the plate belonging to his house. Adjoining the tombs of the principal men among them to the number of ten they set up empaled horses, three to each, and beside the remaining tombs they impaled one horse a-piece[1].

[1] This appears to be a very correct account of Tartar funeral ceremonies, though Ibn Batuta certainly did not witness those of a defunct *emperor*. As far back as the days of Herodotus we are told that the Scythians used to bury with their king one of his concubines, his cup-bearer, a cook, groom, lacquey, messenger, several horses, etc., and a year later further ceremonial took place, when fifty selected from his attendants were strangled, and fifty of his finest horses also slain. The bowels were taken out and replaced with chaff. A number of posts were then erected in sets of two pairs each, and on every pair the half felly of a wheel was set arch-wise; "then strong stakes are run lengthwise through the bodies of the horses from tail to neck, and they are mounted on the fellies so that the felly in front supports the shoulders of the horse while that behind sustains the belly and quarters, the legs dangling in mid air; each horse is furnished with a bit and bridle," etc. The fifty strangled slaves were then set astride on the horses, and so on.

When one Valentine was sent on a mission to the Turkish chiefs by the Emperor Tiberius II about 580, it is related that he witnessed a ceremonial at the tomb of a deceased chief when Hun prisoners and horses were sacrificed.

Huc and Gabet assert that like practices are maintai d among Tartar tribes to the present day, large amounts of gold and silver, and many slaves of both sexes, being buried with the royal body, the slaves being killed by being made to swallow mercury till choked, which is believed to preserve their colour!

But the most exact corroboration of Ibn Batuta's account is to be found in the (almost) contemporary narrative of Ricold of Monte Croce. After speaking of the general practice of burying food and raiment with the dead, he goes on: "Magni etiam barones omnibus his addunt equum bonum Nam armiger ejus ascendit equum, cum ipsi parant se ad sepeliendum mortuum, et fatigat equum currendo et revolvendo usque ad lassitudinem, et postea lavit equo caput cum vino puro et forti, et equus cadit, et ipse

It was a great day! Every soul was there, man and woman, Musulman and infidel. All were dressed in mourning, that is, the Pagans wore short white dresses, and the Musulmans long white dresses. The Kán's ladies and favoûrites remained in tents near the tomb for forty days; some remained longer; some a full year. A bazaar had been established in the neighbourhood, where all necessary provisions, etc., were for sale. I know no other nation in our time that keeps up such practices. The pagans of India and China burn their dead; other nations bury them, but none of them thus bury the living with the dead. However honest people in Súdán have told me that the pagans of that country, when their king dies, dig a great pit, into which they put with him several of his favourites and servants together with thirty persons of both sexes, selected from the families of the great men of the state. They take care first to break the arms and legs of these victims, and they also put vessels full of drink into the pit.

An eminent person of the tribe of Maṣúfah, living among the Negroes in the country of Kúber[1], who was much held in honour by their king, told me that when the king died they wished to put a son of his own into the tomb with some other children belonging to the country. "But I said to them," continued this eminent

exercerat eum, et evacuat omnia de ventre equi, et implet herba viridi, et postea infigit palum magnum per posteriora, et facit palum exire usque ad os, et ita dimittit equum impalatum, et suspendit eum et mandat ei, quod sit paratus, quandocumque vult dominus surgere, et tunc cooperiunt mortuum in sepultura. Cum vero moritur imperator, adduntur prædictis omnes lapides preciosi et etiam magni thesauri. Et consueverunt etiam sepelire cum domino mortuo usque viginti servos vivos, ut essent parati servire domino, cum voluerit surgere." Such proceedings took place at the burial of Hulákú.

(Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. iv, c. 71–2, and notes; Deguignes, ii, 395-6; *Peregrin. Quatuor*, p. 117; see also *M. Polo*, ii, 54 *Rubruquis*, p. 337; and *Plano Carpini*, p. 629.)

[1] I suppose the *Gober* of Dr. Barth's map, near Sakatu.

person, "how can you do this, seeing the boy is neither of your religion nor of your country? And so I was allowed to ransom him with a large sum of money."

When the Kán was dead, as I have related, and Firuz, the son of his uncle, had usurped the supreme power, the latter chose for his capital the city of KARA-KORÚM, because it was nearer to the territories of his cousins, the kings of Turkestan and Mā-warā-n-Nahr[1]. Then several of the amirs who had taken no part in the slaughter of the late Kán revolted against the new prince; they began to cut off the communications, and there was great disorder.

Revolt having thus broken out, and civil war having been kindled, the Shaikh Burhán-uddín and others advised me to return to (Southern) China before the disturbances should have arisen to a greater pitch. They went with me to the lieutenant of the Emperor Firuz, who sent three of his followers to escort me, and wrote orders that I should be everywhere received as a guest. So we descended the river to Khansá, Kanjánfu and Zaitún. When we reached the latter place, I found junks on the point of sailing for India, and among these was one belonging to Malik-ul-Záhir, Sultan of Java (Sumatra), which had a Mahomedan crew. The agent of the ship recognised me, and was pleased to see me again. We had a fair wind for ten days, but as we got near the land of Tawálisi it changed, the sky became black, and heavy rain fell. For ten days we never saw the sun, and then we entered on an unknown sea. The sailors were in great alarm, and wanted to return to China, but this was not possible. In this way we passed forty-two days, without knowing in what waters we were.

[1] Here two Mongol dynasties reigning in Central Asia seem to be spoken of (see III, p. 132, *supra*, and note at the end of this, p. 160)

On the forty-third morning after daybreak we descried a mountain in the sea, some twenty miles off, and the wind was carrying us straight for it. The sailors were surprised and said: "We are far from the mainland, and in this sea no mountain is known. If the wind drives us on this one we are done for." Then every one betook himself to humiliation and repentance, and renewal of good resolutions. We addressed ourselves to God in prayer, and sought the mediation of the prophet (upon whom be peace!).

The merchants vowed to bestow alms in abundance, and I wrote their vows all down in a list with my own hand. The wind lulled a little, and when the sun rose we saw the mountain aloft in the air, and the clear sky between it and the sea[1]. We were in astonishment at this, and I observed that the sailors were weeping and bidding each other adieu, so I called out: "What is the matter?" They replied: "What we took for a mountain is the Rukh! If it sees us it will send us to destruction." It was then some ten miles from the junk. But God Almighty was gracious unto us, and sent us a fair wind,

[1] Such an appearance is a well known effect of mirage, or abnormal refraction. As to the *Rukh* see Mr. Major's Introduction to *India in the 15th century*, p. xxxvi *seq.*, and a learned discourse in Ludolf's *Comment.* on his own *Historia Ethiopica*, pp. 163–4; also a cut from a Persian drawing in Lane's *Arabian Nights*, ii, 90. The most appropriate reference here however is perhaps to Pigafetta, who was told (possibly by descendants of Ibn Batuta's Malay crew) that in the sea of China *sotto Giava maggiore* there was a very great tree called *Campangunghi*, in which dwelt the birds called *garuda*, which were so big that they could fly away with a buffalo, or even with an elephant. No ship could approach the place within several leagues, on account of the vortices, etc. (*Primo Viaggio intorno del Mondo*, p. 174). *Garuda* is a term from the Hindu mythology for the great bird that carries Vishnu; its use among the Malays is a relic of their ancient religion, and perhaps indicates the origin of the stories of the *Rukh*. To an island of the Indian Sea also Kazwini attributes a bird of such enormous size, that, if dead, the half of its beak would serve for a ship (Gildemeister, p. 220). [See long note in *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 415 *seq.*]

which turned us from the direction in which the Rukh was; so we did not see him (well enough) to take cognizance of his real shape.

Two months from that day we arrived at Java (Island of Sumatra), and landed at (the city of) Sumatra. We found the Sultan Malik-ul-Záhir had just returned from one of his campaigns, and had brought in with him many captives, out of whom he sent me two girls and two boys. He put me up as usual, and I was present at the marriage of his son to the daughter of his brother.

I witnessed the ceremony. I remarked that they had set up in the middle of the palace yard a great seat of state covered with silk stuffs. The bride arrived, coming from the inner apartments of the palace on foot, and with her face exposed, so that the whole company could see her, gentle and simple alike. However it is not their usual custom to appear in public unveiled in this way; it is only done in the marriage ceremony[1]. The bride proceeded to the seat of state, the minstrels male and female going before her, playing and singing. Then came the bridegroom on a caparisoned elephant, which carried on its back a sort of throne, surmounted by a canopy like an umbrella. The bridegroom wore a crown on his head; right and left of him were about a hundred young men, of royal and noble blood, clothed in white, mounted on caparisoned horses, and wearing on their

[1] I suspect this apologetic assertion is not founded on fact. The Mahomedan proselytizers among the Malays and Indo-Chinese races have never been able to introduce the habitual use of the veil, and the custom of female seclusion. At Amarapura, in 1855, the Mahomedan soldiers of our Indian escort were greatly shocked at the absence of these proprieties among the Burmese professors of their faith; and at the court of the Sultan of Java, in 1860, I had the honour of shaking hands with more than half a dozen comely and veilless ladies, the wives and daughters of His Majesty. I was told that at times they even honoured a ball at the Dutch Residency with their presence.

heads caps adorned with gold and gems. They were of the same age as the bridegroom, and all beardless.

From the time when the bridegroom entered, pieces of gold and silver were scattered among the people. The sultan was seated aloft where he could see all that passed. His son got down from the elephant, went to kiss his father's foot, and then mounted on the seat of state beside his bride. They then brought pawn and betel-nut; the bridegroom took them in his hand and put them into the bride's mouth, and she did the same by him. Next he put a pawn-leaf first into his own mouth and then into hers, and she did in like manner[1]. They then put a veil over the bride, and removed the seat of state into the interior of the palace, whilst the young couple were still upon it; the company took refreshments and separated. Next day the sultan called the people together, and named his son as his successor on the throne. They took an oath of obedience to him, and the future sovereign distributed numerous presents in money and dresses.

I spent two months in this island of Java, and then embarked again on a junk. The sultan presented me with a quantity of aloes-wood, camphor, cloves, and sandal-wood; and then gave me leave to depart. So I sailed, and after forty days I arrived at Kaulam. Here I put myself under the protection of Al-Kazwini, the judge of the Mahomedans. It was the month of Ramazan, and I was present at the festival of breaking the fast in the chief mosque of the city. The custom of the people there is to assemble on the eve of the feast at the mosque, and to continue reciting the praises of God till morning,

[1] This is a genuine Malay custom, marking the highest degree of intimacy between the sexes. Dulaurier quotes several examples in illustration from Malay poems.

and indeed till the moment when the prayer appropriate to the feast begins. Then this prayer is offered, the preacher pronounces a discourse, and the congregation disperses.

From Kaulam I went to Calicut, where I remained some days. I intended at first to return to Delhi, but on second thoughts I had fears as to the consequences of such a step. So I embarked again, and after a passage of 28 days, I arrived at ZHAFÁR[1]. This was in the month of Moharram, of the year 48 (April or May, 1347)[2]. I

[1] *Zhafár* or *Dhafár*, one of the now decayed ports of Arabia, on the coast of Hadhramaut. It is spoken of by Marco Polo as a beautiful, large, and noble city (ii, p. 444), but probably from report only Ibn Batuta seems chiefly struck by the flies and stench in the bazaar (ii, 196).

[2] At p. 36 I have pointed out generally that this date is inconsistent with previous statements. Let me sum up the intervals assigned to the different sections of his expedition to China:

Those previous statements would make the time of his second visit to the Maldive Islands fall at least as late as August, 1346. He is 43 days on the voyage thence to Chittagong, and 40 days on that from Sonárganw to Sumatra. It is not stated how long was the intervening time spent in Bengal, but he waited at Sumatra a fortnight, "till the right season for the voyage to China had arrived," and this must have been the termination of the N.E. monsoon, about March, 1347; or the commencement of the S.W. monsoon, a little later. The voyage to China occupies times as follows: To Mul-Jawa 21 days, stay there 3; to the Calm Sea 34, on that sea to Tawálisi 37, stay there say 3; to Zaitún 17, total 115 days, and time of arrival about July or August. The interval occupied by his journey in China may be thus estimated: stay at Zaitún probably not less than 10 days, voyage to Canton 27, stay there 14, back say 27, stay again at Zaitún say 4: journey to Kanjánfu 10, stay there 15; to Baiwam Kotlu 4, to Khansá 17, stay at Khansá at least 20; to Khánbáliq 64, stay there not specified, but probably not less than 60 days: voyage back to Zaitún say the same as before, omitting stoppages, *i.e.* 95 days. This makes the whole time over which his travels in China extended 367 days, and would bring the season of his sailing for India again to July or August. His voyage as far as Sumatra then occupies 112 days, he passes about 60 days there, is 40 days in sailing to Kaulam, stops a while, say 15 days, at Kaulam and Calicut, and reaches Zhafár in a voyage of 28, in all 255 days, which brings us to March or April, agreeing with the time assigned in the text for his arrival at Dhafár, but April in 1349, not April in 1347. The former date is, however, quite inconsistent with that assigned for his arrival in his native

took up my quarters with the city preacher, 'Isa Ibn Thátha.

country (November, 1349); nor would perhaps even April, 1348, allow the traveller of those days to accomplish all that Ibn Batuta did in the interval, especially as he gives several consistent intermediate dates between his arrival at Dhafár and his reaching Fez.

Without going into tedious details, I think it probable that his visit to Bengal must, in spite of the data to the contrary, be put one year back, viz., to the cold weather of 1345–6, and that the time occupied in his Chinese travels, including the voyage thither and back, must be cut down by a whole year also. This may be considered in connexion with the doubts expressed as to his having really visited Peking.

NOTE E. (See Page 86.)

ON THE KAMRU OF IBN BATUTA (THE RESIDENCE OF THE SHAIKH JALÁL-UDDIN), THE BLUE RIVER, AND THE CITY OF HABANK.

It has, I believe, been generally assumed that the country of Kamrú visited by Ibn Batuta was *Assam*, and that the Blue River by which he returned to the Ganges Delta was the Brahmaputra. And I gather that M. Defrémery (iv, 215) takes this view.

It appeared to me however when I took up the subject that there was some reason to believe that the district visited was Silhet, and that the river in question was one branch or other of the great Silhet River, the *Barak* or the *Surma*. This was first suggested by the statement in the text that Shaikh Jalál-uddín had converted a large number of the inhabitants to the Mahomedan faith; for it is a fact that in Silhet, though so remote from the centres of Mahomedan influence, there is an unusually large proportion of the peasantry who profess that religion. It seemed however probable that if Silhet *were* the site of Jalál-uddín's missionary exertions, some trace of his memory would be preserved there. And of this I speedily found indications in two English works, whilst at the same time I forwarded through a valued friend, who had a correspondent at Silhet, some brief queries for answer on the spot.

In the interesting narrative of Robert Lindsay, who was one of the first English residents or collectors of Silhet (*Lives of the Lindsays*, iii, 168), we find that on his first arrival there he was told "that it was customary for the new resident to pay his respects to the shrine of the tutelar saint Shaw Juloll. Pilgrims of the Islam faith flock to the shrine from every part of India, and I afterwards found that the fanatics attending the tomb were not a little dangerous," etc. An article on Silhet, by Captain Fisher, in the *J.A.S. Bengal* for 1840 (ix, Pt. II, pp. 808–43), also speaks of Sháh Jalál's shrine, and of his being traditionally regarded as the conqueror of the country for the Mahomedans. ["The town of Sylhet existed in the time of Akhbar, and as this is known to date from the Mosque built over the tomb of Sha Gelaal, its patron saint, who conquered it from a native Raja, we may assume that the current tradition, which assigns its erection to the middle of the thirteenth century, is correct." P. 840.]

Kámrúb, Kámrún, or Kámrú, corrupted from the Sanscrit *Kámarúpa* or Kamrup, was vaguely known to the Arab geographers as the name of a mountainous country between India and China, noted for its production of a valuable aloes-wood (see Gildemeister, pp. 70, 191; and Reinaud, *Rel. des Voyages*, etc., p. 41). Though the seat of the ancient Hindu Government of Kamrup was probably in Assam, a central district of which still preserves the name, we are informed by Captain Fisher (with no view to such a question as the present) that "it is known that Kamrup extended to the southward as far as the confluence of the Megna with the Brahmaputra" (*i.e.* to the vicinity of Dacca; *o.c.*, p. 829). He adds that there are still in Silhet some Musulman families who are the descendants of Rajas once under the dynasty of Kamrup, and who were forced to conform to Mahomedanism on the change of masters. Of these, a principal one is the Raja of Baniachong (a place between the Barak and Surma, about forty miles S.W. of Silhet). The first invasion of Kamrup by the Mahomedans took place in 1205–6 under Mahomed Bakhtiyar Khilji, Governor of Bengal; a second in 1253–7 under another Governor called Toghral Beg Malik Yuzbek (see Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 45 *seqq.*). Both these invasions ended in disaster; but, as far as can be understood, both appear to have been directed through the Silhet territory, and then across the passes of the Kasia or Jaintia Hills into Assam. In the accounts of both invasions mention is made of a great river called *Bangamati*, on which stood a chief city which was captured by Bakhtiyar Khilji. This name is not now applied to any river in that quarter; but it seems highly probable that it may be connected with the *Habank* (*Hábanga*) of Ibn Batuta, and that this was situated at or near Silhet, perhaps at the place now called BANGA, at the bifurcation of the Surma and Barak, twenty or thirty miles above Silhet. The Bangamati is described in the account of the Khilji's campaign as "three times as big as the Ganges." But this might easily be accounted for if (as is very possible) the rivers of Silhet then chanced to occupy a more concentrated channel than at present, or if (as Captain Fisher suggests) the annual inundation had not quite subsided. This inundation, when at its height, as I have seen it from the Kasia Hills, appears like a vast estuary, covering the whole plain, eighty miles in width, between the Kasia and the Tipura Hills.

So far I had written when the answer arrived from my friend's correspondent, the Rev. W. Pryse of the Silhet mission. My questions had related to Jalál-uddín and Habank, and whether any traces of a city existed at Banga. Mr. Pryse states that the name of *Jalalludin Tabrizi* was known to the learned Mahomedans at Silhet only as that of a Pír or Saint in Hindustan, but not locally either in Silhet or Cachar. He then proceeds:

"SHÁH JELALL, according to tradition, came to Silhet about the middle of the fourteenth century (A.D.) accompanied by a hundred and eighty Arab *Pírs* [Holy Men] from Yemen. There is a Persian MS. called 'Suhayli-Yemen' still partly in existence at Sháh Jelall's Musjid here, which I have seen, but unfortunately the date and a large portion of the MS. are not legible, from the effect of the climate. Shah Jelall's tomb once was, but is not now, a place of pilgrimage.

"HABANG is the name of a small Tillah[1] in the Pergunnah of Dinarpore south of Hubbigunge in this Zillah, running along the eastern or left bank of the Barak or Koosiara River. In tradition it is noted for its *Pírs*, under the name of 'Habangia Tillah,' or, as pronounced in the neighbourhood, 'Hapaniya Tillah'....

"Chor Goola Tillah, to the south-east of Latoo, some ten or twelve miles S.E. of Banga Bazar (which still exists just at the separation of Soorma and Koosiara Rivers, on the western confines of Cachar), was formerly noted for its *Pírs*. An old fellow still resides there in the midst of the jungles on the bank of the beautiful Svind *Bheel* (lake). The illiterate Moslems around have a tradition that the *Pírs* there make the tigers their playmates and protectors, and that boats ready-manned start up from the lake ready for their use whenever they wish.

"*Banga Bazar* is a modern village. The hillocks and jungles to the eastward are the resort of the Pírs.

* * * * * * * * *

"I think it probable that all the eastern portion of the Zillah of Silhet was uninhabited when Mullik Yuzbek first entered the valley in 1253. Hence we find that the Hindus preponderate in the population of the western half, and the Moslems in that of the eastern half."

A later note from the same gentleman adds: "I have found four celebrated spots in this Zillah at which report says Sháh Jelall settled some of the *Pírs* who accompanied him, viz., Silhet, Latoo, Hapaniya Tillah in Toroff, and HABANG Tillah on the south-eastern bank of the Chingra Khal river, about six miles north-west from Silhet, and about four miles north from the village of Akhalia. At present nothing is to be found in any of these places excepting Silhet, where there is a mosque kept in repair by government. I believe the Habang Tillah on the Chingra Khal must be the one Col. Y. spoke of."

These interesting notes appear to me to render it *certain* that Silhet was the field of our traveller's tour. That Shaikh Jalál-ud-dín's name has got shortened by familiar use is of no importance

[1] *Tila* is the word commonly applied in Eastern Bengal to low and often isolated hills starting up from the plain. At the town of Silhet there are several such, on which the houses of the European officials are built.

against this view—*Sháh* is a title often applied to eminent Mahomedan saints—whilst we learn that tradition still regards him as a saint and a leader of saints; that the date assigned to him corresponds fairly with that derivable from Ibn Batuta, for the *death* of Jalál-uddín must have occurred close upon the middle of the fourteenth century, shortly after Ibn Batuta's visit, *i.e.* in 1347 or 1348 (see *supra*, pp. 87, 90); and that the name of Habank still survives, and has a legendary fame. If no remains of Ibn Batuta's great city exist, that is small wonder. Neither climate nor materials in Bengal are favourable to the preservation of such remains, and I know of no medieval remains in Bengal Proper except at Gaur and Pandua.

The name of *Al-Azrak*, which our author applies to the river which he descends from Habank, is the same as that (*Bahr-al-Azrak*) which we translate as the *Blue Nile* of Abyssinia. Ibn Batuta applies the same name to the River Karun in Khuzistan (ii, 23). A Persian title of like significance (*Nil-Ab*) is applied by Musulman writers to the Indus, and also it would appear to the Jelum (see *Jour. A. S.*, ix, 201; *Sadik Isfahani*, p. 51; Dów's *Firishta*, i. 25), and the name here may therefore have been given arbitrarily. ccording to Wilkinson, however, *Azrak* signifies *black* rather than *blue* (Rawlinson's *Herod.*, ii, 25); and it is possible that the name of the River *Surma*, suggesting the black collyrium so called, may have originated the title used by Ibn Batuta.

I doubt if water-wheels are at present used for irrigation, as described by the traveller, in any part of Bengal Proper, though common in the Upper Provinces.

I should strongly dissent from Mr. Pryse's idea that Eastern Silhet was uninhabited in the 13th century. But I think it is highly probable that the inhabitants were not Hindus, but of Indo-Chinese race, like those occupying the adjoining hills and part of Cachar. This is implied in Ibn Batuta's account of the people, though in strictness he speaks only of the hill people. These, however, in the adjoining mountains, have not been converted to Mahomedanism. They retain their original character, and have the Mongolian type of features in the highest development. As regards their powers of work, of which the traveller speaks so highly, I may observe that, when I was in that region, porters of the Kasia nation used often to carry down from the coal mines of Cherra Punji to the plains, a distance of eleven miles, loads of two maunds or 165 lbs. of coal. Their strength and bulk of *leg* were such as I have never seen elsewhere.

On the map at the end of this book I have inserted a sketch from such imperfect materials as are available, to make Ibn Batuta's travels in Bengal more intelligible. No decent map of Silhet yet exists, but my friend Colonel Thuillier informs me that

the survey is finished, so a correct representation of that remarkable country may be expected before long. [Maps of the Silhet District, etc., have since been published by the Government of India.]

NOTE F. (See Page 96.)

ON THE MUL-JAVA OF IBN BATUTA.

This *Mul-Java* is made by all the commentators, professed or incidental (see Lee, Dulaurier, Defrémery, Gildemeister, Walckenaer, Reinaud, Lassen), to be the Island of Java[1], and by help of Sanscrit the appellation is made with more or less of coercion to signify "*Primitive* or *Original* Java." Setting aside the questionable application of Sanscrit etymologies to explain names which were probably conferred by Arab sailors, surely it is not hard to see that if by Mul-Java, where elephants were kept by every petty shopkeeper, and eagle-wood was used to serve the kitchen fires, the traveller did mean Java, then he lied so egregiously that it is not worth considering what he meant. There are *no* elephants in Java, except such few as are imported to swell the state of the native princes—at present, perhaps, considerably fewer than we could muster in England—and there is no eagle-wood.

These circumstances taken alone would lead us to seek for the country in question on some part of the Continent bordering the Gulf of Siam, probably in or near Cambodia. *There* elephants are still almost as common as Ibn Batuta represents them, and the country is also, and has been for ages, the great source of supply of aloes or eagle-wood. When formerly suggesting this view (in a note on *Jordanus*, p. 33), I applied to a learned Arabic scholar to know if there were no term like *mul* in that language which might bear some such sense as *Terra-firma*. The answer was unfavourable. But I have since lighted on a solution. In vol. xxix of the *Jour. of the R.G.S.*, p. 30, Capt. Burton mentions that the Arabs having in latter times confined the name of Zanjibar to the island and city now so called, they generally distinguish the mainland as *Bar-el*-Moli, or "Continent," in opposition to *Kisiwa* "Island." And below he adds: "The word *Moli*, commonly used in the corrupt Arabic of Zanjibar, will

[1] [Lee remarks, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 201, about Mul-Java: "This is, no doubt, the Java of our maps Dulaurier, *Journ. Asiat.*, i, 1847, makes it "la Java du Commencement," "Java principale"; Kern, "la primitive Djavua." V. der Lith, *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 238, writes that *Moul* seems to be derived from the Sanscrit *moula* which means beginning, origin, root, and that there is no reason to seek for this Java outside of Sumatra.]

vainly be sought in the Dictionaries." *Mul-Java* then is Java of the Main.

It is true that in the only other place where I have been able to find this name used, a passage quoted by D'Ohsson from the Mongol History in the Persian language, called *Tarikh-i-Wassaf*, it is stated that in 1292 Kúblái Khan conquered "the *Island* of Mul-Java," which is described as lying in the direction of India, and as having a length of 200 farsangs, and a breadth of 100. It is added that the sovereign of this country, *Sri Rama* by name, died on his way to pay homage to Kúblái, but his son arrived, and was well received, obtaining the confirmation of his government on condition of rendering a tribute of gold and pearls (D'Ohsson, ii, 465)[1]. As regards the use of the word *island* here, it is to be remembered that the Arabs used the word *Jazírah* also for a peninsula, as we have already had occasion to observe. Thus Abulfeda calls the Spanish Peninsula *Jazirat-ul-Andalus*, and Ibn Jubair applies the plural *Jazair* to what we by a kind of analogy call the Two Sicilies (Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, ii, 234; *Jour. Asiat.*, Jan., 1846, p. 224; see also Gildemeister, p. 59). Let it be remembered also that the terms *Jawa*, *Jawi*, with the Arabs were applied not merely to the specific islands of Java and Sumatra, but "to the whole Archipelago, its language, and inhabitants" (Crawfurd's *Dict. of I. Islands*, p. 165). To what region then would the full appellation *Jazirah Mul Jáwa*, or "Peninsula of Java of the Main," apply so aptly as to what we call the *Malay Peninsula*, which, I may observe, Crawfurd in all his works on the Archipelago treats as essentially part of that region? And turning to the fragments of hazy history preserved by the Malays, we find as one of the early kings over the Malay or Javanese settlers in the peninsula, Sri Rama Vikrama. The reign of this king indeed, according to Lassen's interpretation of the chronology, is placed 1301–14, some years too late for the date in Wassaf, but the Malay dates are very uncertain (see Lassen, iv, 542; and Crawfurd, *o.c.* 243). I have little doubt, then, that the Peninsula was the Mul-Java of the two authors, though possibly the extension of the name towards Siam and Cambodia may not have been very exactly limited, for we know from Barros that the king of Siam claimed sovereignty over the Peninsula even to Singapore, and it may still have been in the former quarter that Ibn Batuta landed. Even if this be not admissible, I may remark that we know little now of the eastern coast of the Peninsula or regarding the degree of civilisation to which it may have attained in former days. The elephant, however, abounds in its northern forests, and is still commonly domesticated. The aloes-wood also is found there, though lower

[1] [See *The Expedition of the Mongols against Java in* 1293 A.D., by W. P. Groeneveldt. *China Review*, iv, p. 246.

in repute than that of Cambodia (see Crawfurd in vv. *Elephant* and *Agila*).

[Van der Lith places Qâqola in Sumatra, north of the Battak country (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 237–41). He says, p. 241, that camphor is one of the products of Qâqola and of Sumatra; it is not a product of Cambodia or Java; therefore one must admit that Ibn Batuta saw aloes-wood at Qâqola imported from the Khmer kingdom.]

["From the circumstance of his [Ibn Batuta] not mentioning *Fanşûr* we may deduce that his *Kâḳula* is not Angkola (W. Sumatra), as Van der Lith has wildly conjectured. Had Ibn Batuta been on the coast conterminous to the inland district of Angkola, he could scarcely have omitted to speak of Bârûs which lies close by. Nor is it likely that *Mul-Jâwah*, the country where the port of *Kâḳula* was situated, is Java, as has been no less wildly fancied. All indications concur in pointing to places on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, with names ringing like distant echoes of the Ptolemaic Kôli (if not exactly *Takôla* or *Kokkonagara*) and *Perimula* (= [*Peri-*] *Mula-Java*?). The triple coincidence in the events of (1) stone walls surrounding the city, (2) abundance of elephants, which are employed also in warfare, and (3) scarcity of horses in the country, occurring in almost the same words in the accounts of (i) Ḳâḳula by Ibn Batuta and (ii) *Ko-lo* by Ma Twan-lin, seems to point to the unmistakable identity of the two places, and therefore, confirm the location of *Kâḳula* on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula at either Kelantan or Lîgor." (Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geog.*, p. 444 *n.*)]

At p. 96 I have quoted from Abulfeda a slight indication of the position of Kumâra, which Ibn Batuta represents to have been a city belonging to Mul-Java, as at the northern end of the Malay Peninsula. It may however have been on the other side of the Gulf of Siam, and in that case it is possible that the name may be connected with *Khmer*, the ancient native name of the kingdom of Cambodia (see Pallegoix, *Des. du Royaume Thai ou Siam*, i. 29, and Mouhot's *Travels*, i, 278).

NOTE G. (See Page 108.)

ON THE TAWÁLISI OF IBN BATUTA.

This *Tawâlisi* is a great difficulty. The French translators say: "The Isle of Celebes, or rather perhaps Tunkin"; Dulaurier, "The coast of Camboja, Cochin-China, or Tunkin"; Lassen, "By this name no place can be meant but Tonkin"; whilst Walckenaer identifies it with *Tawal*, a small island adjoining Bachian, one of

the Moluccas. This last suggestion seems to have been based on the name only, and all have been made in connexion with the assumption that the Mul-Jawa of our author is Java, which we have seen that it cannot be.

It seems to me impossible that Tawálisi should be Cambodia, Cochin-China, or Tong-King, for two conclusive reasons: (1) that the voyage from Mul-Jawa to Tawálisi occupies seventy-one days, and is considered by our traveller's shipmates an unusually good passage; (2) that the last thirty-seven days of this time are spent on the passage of the *Bahr-al-Káhil*, disturbed by neither winds nor waves, a character which in this case we should have to attach to the China Sea, the very metropolis of Typhoons.

But I do not find it easy to get beyond a negative. Indeed, considering that *Killa-Karai* is the real name of a port in South India, and that *Urdujá* is a name which our author in a former part of his travels has assigned to one of the Queens of Mahomed Uzbek Khan on the Volga, and has explained to mean in Turkish "Born in the Camp," whilst the Lady of Tawálisi herself is made to speak not only to the traveller but to her own servants a mixture of Turkish and Persian, a faint suspicion rises that Tawálisi is really to be looked for in that part of the atlas which contains the Marine Surveys of the late Captain Gulliver.

Putting aside this suspicion, no suggestion seems on the whole more probable than that Tawálisi was the kingdom of Soolo or Súlúk, N.E. of Borneo. "Owing to some cause or other," says Crawfurd, "there has sprung up in Soolo a civilisation and power far exceeding those of the surrounding islanders. A superior fertility of the soil, and better means of maintaining a numerous and concentrated population, has probably been the main cause of this superiority; but whatever be the cause, it has enabled this people not only to maintain a paramount authority over the whole Archipelago (*i.e.* the so-called Soolo Archipelago), but to extend it to Paláwan and to the northern coasts of Borneo and islands adjacent to it." Adopting this view, we should have the *Bahr-al-Káhil* in the sea between Java, Borneo and Celebes, where hurricanes are unknown, and stormy weather is rare. And, the time mentioned by Ibn Batuta, if we suppose it occupied in the voyage from the upper part of the Gulf of Siam through the Java Sea and Straits of Macassar to Soolo, a distance of some 2200 nautical miles, over a great part of which the ship had to be towed, would seem much less improbable than if the course were to Cochin-China or Tong-King. The naval power of Tawálisi is one of the most prominent features in the narrative, and the Soolo people have been noted throughout the seas of the Archipelago for the daring exploits of their piratical fleets from our earliest acquaintance with those regions. It would seem also from Ibn Batuta's expression, "the load of two elephants in rice," that

elephants were used in Tawálisi. Now the elephant is alleged by Dalrymple to exist in Soolo, and though Crawfurd doubts the fact, there seems no sufficient reason for his doubts. It is *known*, moreover, to exist in the adjoining part of Borneo, which may have belonged to Soolo then as it does now, and though not used now it was found in a domesticated state at Brunei by Magellan's party in 1521. These are the only portions of the Archipelago east of Sumatra in which the elephant is known.

However, I by no means put forth this hypothesis with any great confidence. The statement that the Sovereign was the equal of the King of China would certainly be preposterous; but so it would in almost any conceivable identification of Tawálisi, unless we take it for Japan. To this there are objections still more serious.

I suspect this kingdom of Soolo, or *Súlúk*, as the Malays call it, may be also the *Lohac* of Marco Polo which has so much troubled commentators (iii, 7). This was an extensive region, lying 500 miles south-east of Sondur and Condur (Pulo Condore), inhabited by pagans, with a language of their own, under a king tributary to no one, being in a very inaccessible position, producing much brazil-wood and great abundance of gold, having elephants in its forests, and supplying all the east with *porcelains* or cowry-shells for currency. The position answers to that of Soolo with fair accuracy; cowries are said to be found in quantities there only of all the Indian islands; the elephant, as we have seen, is reported to exist there, and certainly does exist in the adjoining territory of Borneo, belonging to Soolo; its "much gold" is spoken of by Barbosa. Pauthier, indeed, in his new edition of Polo from ancient French MSS. reads *Soucat* instead of Lohac, and identifies it with *Sukadana*, on the S.W. of Borneo. But neither elephants nor cowries appear to be found in that part of Borneo; and as the native name of Soolo is *Sug*, that *may* have been the name indicated, if Soucat be the right reading. Let me add, however, that Soolo is said to have been at one time subject to Sukadana, and this circumstance might perhaps help to reconcile Pauthier's suggestion with the facts.

Confining ourselves to the indications afforded by the *names* as given by Ibn Batuta, besides the *Tawal* of Walckenaer we have (as noticed at p. 90) a place marked as *Talysian*, on the east coast of Borneo, and one of the chief Soolo islands called *Tawi-tawi*. As regards *Kailukari*, the Atlas of Mercator and Hondius shows on the west coast of Celebes a place called *Curi-curi*, which may perhaps be the same that we now find as *Kaili*, a district carrying on a good deal of trade with Singapore, Java, etc. There is also a place called *Kalakah*, on the north-eastern coast of Borneo. The port of Tawálisi is called *Kailúka* in Lee's version, but no importance can be attached to this. (See Crawfurd's *Dict. Ind.*

lo, Elephant, Kaili, Cowry; ditto *Malay Dict.*
p *lo*, p. 563.) [*Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 277–80.]
We she mit to call attention to a certain resemblance between the *Tawálisi* of our author and the *Thalamasin* of Odoric.

[G. J. Dozy, quoted by Van der Lith, p. 245 *n.*, is of opinion that the Tawálisi of Ibn Batuta must be looked for in the Philippine Islands.]

NOTE H. (See Page 145.)

REGARDING THE HISTORY OF THE KHANS OF CHAGATAI.

In this passage Ibn Batuta appears to speak of Turkestan and Mā-warā-n-Nahr as separate kingdoms. Whether he so intends or not it is the case that the Chagatai or Middle Empire of the Mongols was by this time divided; and as I know no book that contains a coherent sketch of the course of events in that empire, I will here put together what I have gathered from such scattered sources as are accessible[1].

The tract assigned by Chinghiz, in the distribution of his provinces, to his son Chagatai, embraced Mā-warā-n-Nahr [or Transoxiana] and part of Khwarizm, the Uighúr country, Kashgar, Badakhshán, Balkh, and the province of Ghazni to the banks of the Sindh[2]; or in modern geography, the kingdoms of Independent Tartary with the exception of Khiva or the greater part of it, the country under the Uzbeks of Kunduz, Afghanistan, and the western and northern portions of Chinese Turkestan, including Dzungaria. Bishbáliq, north of the T'ien Shan, was at first the headquarters of the Khans, but it was afterwards transferred to Almaliq[3].

[1] [The following work gives the history then wanted: *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlát. A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia.* An English version, edited, with Commentary, Notes, and Map, by N. Elias. The translation by E. Denison Ross. London, Sampson Low, 1895, 8vo. pp. xxiii + 535.]

[2] Defrémery's Extracts from *Khondemir* in *Journal Asiatique*, sér. iv, tom. xix, pp. 58 *seqq.* [Chagatai's "central kingdom, Mávará-un-Nahr, or Transoxiana, was situated chiefly between the rivers Sir and Amu (the Jihun or Oxus), but included, in its extension towards the north-east, the hill ranges and steppes lying beyond the right bank of the Sir, east of the Kipchák plains, and west of lakes Issigh-Kul and Ala-Nor. Towards the east, the Chagatai domain took in the greater part of the region now known as Chinese (or Eastern) Turkestan, Farghána (or Khokand) and Badakhshán; while towards the south it embraced Kunduz, Balkh, and, at the outset, Khorasán—a country which, at that time, spread eastward to beyond Herat and Ghazni, and southward to Mekrán." (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Int. p. 30.]

[3] As early as the time of Chagatai himself, however, his summer camp was in the vicinity of Almaliq. And when Húlakú was on the

In the space of about one hundred and twenty years no less than thirty descendants or kinsmen of Chagatai are counted to have occupied his throne, and indeed revolutions, depositions, murders, and usurpations seem to have succeeded each other with a frequency unusual even in Asiatic governments[1].

march from Karakorum to destroy the Assassins (A.D. 1254) the Princess Regent Organah, widow of Kara Húlakú grandson and successor of Chagatai, came out from Almaliq to receive him with due honour. Hence it would appear that Almaliq was one at least of the capitals from a very early date. In the following century, about 1330–4, we find Ibn Batuta observing that it was the proper capital of the kings of this dynasty, and that one of the charges brought against the Khan Tarmashirin, which led to his supersession, was that he always remained in Mā-warā-n-Nahr, and for four years running had not visited Almaliq and the eastern dominions of his family. In the time of the immediate successors of Tarmashirin also, when Almaliq was visited by the Archbishop Nicolas [of Khánbáliq] (about 1335–6), and by Marignolli (1341), it appears to have been the residence of the sovereigns of Chagatai (Quatremère's *Rashid.*, p. 146; *Ibn Bat.*, iii, 41; *supra*, III, pp. 13, 213).

["Another famous town was Almaligh, which is known at the present day. The tomb of Tughluk Timur Khan is there, together with [other] traces of the city's prosperity. The dome of the Khan's tomb is remarkable, being lofty and decorated; while on the plaster, inscriptions are written.... As far as I can recollect the date inscribed on that dome was seven hundred and sixty and odd." (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 364.) Tughluk Timur died about 764 A.H. =1363 A.D.]

It was during the government of the above-mentioned Organah that Rubruquis passed through the country, and probably what he states of the region being called *Organum* originated in some misapprehension of this (see Rubr., p. 281).

[1] See for example at III, p. 35, *supra*, where some obscure points in the chronology of those kings have already been discussed. [Here is a list of the princes of Mā-warā-n-Nahr from Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties* (p. 242) and reproduced in the Introduction of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 49:

			A.H.	A.D.
1.	Chaghatai	Began to reign	624 =	1227
2.	Kara Huláku		639 =	1242
3.	Isu Mangu		645 =	1247
	Kara Huláku (*restored*)		650 =	1252
4.	Orgánah Khátun		650 =	1252
5.	Algu		659 =	1261
6.	Mubárak Shah		664 =	1266
7.	Barák Khan		664 =	1266
8.	Nikpai		668 =	1270
9.	Tuka Timur		670 =	1272
10.	Davá Khan	*c.*	672 =	*c.* 1274
11.	Kunjuk Khan		706 =	1306
12.	Taliku		708 =	1308
13.	Kabak Khan		709 =	1309
14.	Isán Bugha		709 =	1309
	Kabak Khan (*restored*)	*c.*	718 =	1318
15.	Ilchikadi		721 =	1321
16.	Davá Timur		721 =	1321
17.	Tarmashirin		722 =	1322
	Sanjar?		730-4?	=1330-4?
18.	Jinkishai		734 =	1334
19.	Buzun	*c.*	735 =	*c.* 1335

At an early date however in the history of the dynasty, the claims of Kaidu to the Supreme Kaanship, of which Kúblai had effective possession, seem to have led to a partition of the Chagatai territory. For Kaidu, who was of the lineage of Okkodai[1], not of Chagatai, whilst claiming in the higher character of Supreme Khakan to exercise superiority over the appanage of Chagatai and to nominate its proper khans, held also under his own immediate sway a large tract, the greater part of which belonged apparently to the former appanage as originally constituted. It is not very clear what were the limits between Kaidu's territory and that of the Chagatai Khans, and indeed the two must have been somewhat interlocked, for Kaidu and Borák Khan of Chagatai at one time exercised a sort of joint sovereignty in the cities of Bokhara and Samarkand. But it may be gathered that Kaidu's dominions included Kashgar and Yarkand, and all the cities bordering the south side of the T'ien Shan as far east as Karakhoja, as well as the valley of the Talas river, and all the country north of the T'ien Shan from Lake Balkash eastward to the Chagan Nur, and in the further north between the Upper Yenisei and the Irtish[2]. Khotan appears to have belonged to the Great Kaan, but Borák Kaan got possession of it in the beginning of his reign, and I do not know if it was recovered by Kúbláí[3], or if it passed into the hands of Kaidu.

During a great part of Kaidu's struggles he found a staunch ally in Dua the son of Borák, whom he had set upon the throne of Chagatai in 1272[4]. After Kaidu's death in 1301, his son and successor Shabar joined with Dua in making submission to Timur the successor of Kúbláí; but before long, the two former princes having quarrelled, Dua seized the territory of Shabar, and thus

		A.H.	A.D.
20.	Isun Timur . . . Began to reign	*c.* 739 =	*c.* 1339
	Ali (of Oktai stock) . . .	*c.* 741 =	*c.* 1340
21.	Muhammad	*c.* 743 =	*c.* 1342
22.	Kazán	744 =	1343
	Danishmanja (of Oktai stock) . .	747 =	1346
23.	Buyan Kuli	749 =	1348
		—760	—1358

Anarchy and rival chiefs until the supremacy of Timur in 771 A.H. = 1370 A.D.]

[1] He was son of Kashin, son of Okkodai.

[2] See D'Ohsson, ii, 361, 450–2, 516; iii, 427; *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, 224; *Polo* in Pauthier's ed. and notes, pp. 137, 163, 241, 253, 716 *et seqq.*, also the version of a Chinese sketch of Asia under the Mongols on the Map at the end of that work. Khondemir appears to have written the History of Kaidu, which would I presume throw exacter light upon the limits of his dominions. But this does not seem to have been translated (see Defrémery, *op. cit.* p. 267, and *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 457 *seq.*).

[3] Defrémery, *op. cit.* p. 250. Marco says of Khotan, "Ils sont au grand Kaan" (Pauthier, 143).

[4] So D'Ohsson. Khondemir puts Dua's accession in 1291, but notices that other accounts gave a different statement (Defrémery, p. 265).

substantially reunited the whole of the original appanage of Chagatai, as it had been before the schism of Kaidu[1].

This state of things does not appear however to have endured long; for within a few years a new schism took place, of which the history is very obscure.

The people of Eastern Turkestan and the other regions in that direction which had been subject to Kaidu, probably preferred to be under a separate rule from that of Transoxiana: for we are told by Abulghazi[2] that the people of Kashgar and Yarkand, the inhabitants of the Alatagh and the Uighúrs, "finding none of the posterity of Chagatai (qu. Okkodai?) among them to fill the vacant throne," called to be their Khan Imil Khwaja the son of Dua Khan[3]. This prince was succeeded in 1347 by his son Tughlak Timur. Thus was established a new *Eastern* branch of the Chagatai dynasty.

The kingdom so formed was that which is known to the Persian historians of Timur and his successors as *Moghulistan* (not to be confounded with the true Mongolia to the eastward), or the Ulús of Jatah (or in French spelling *Djéteh*, the Gète country of Pétis de la Croix). Their winter capital was perhaps originally at Kashgar or Yarkand, and afterwards at Aqsu, and their summer quarters north of the T'ien Shan[4]. In the history of Timur who took the royal residence in 1389 it is called Aymul Guja[5]. This is perhaps the *Imil*, on the banks of the river so called flowing into Lake Ala-Kul, which was the original capital of the K'itan refugees who founded the empire of Kara K'itai (*supra*, III, p. 21), and which John de Plano Carpini on his journey to the court of Kuyuk Khan names as Omyl. It is perhaps represented at the present day, as D'Avezac suggests, by the Chinese frontier town of Chuguchak or Tarbagatai[6]. It is difficult however to under-

[1] D'Ohsson, ii, 518 *seq.*

[2] Cited in the *Universal History* (Fr. Trans.), tom. xvii, 619 *seqq.* Deguignes, i, 289.

[3] As the history is given by Abul Ghazi, this Imil Khwaja is *identical* with that son of Dua who succeeded to the throne of Chagatai under the name of Isanbuga Khán in 1309; and the story as told would seem to imply that he gave up reigning in Transoxiana to reign in Eastern Turkestan. If this be true, the establishment of this schism must have occurred some time before 1321, as Gabak or Kapak, the successor of Isanbuga on the throne of Chagatai, died in that year, the date of his accession not being recorded. According to Khondemir, however, Isanbuga reigned over Chagatai till his death, and Imil Khwaja would seem to be a brother (see Defrémery, pp. 270 and 280).

[4] See *Russians in Central Asia*, p. 69.

[5] In *H. de Timur Bec* by Pétis de la Croix, vol. ii; also in the *Univ. Hist.* as above, p. 622 *seqq.*

[6] D'Avezac, *Not. sur les anciens Voyages en Tartarie*, etc., in *Rec. de Voyages*, iv, 516. The capital of Kara K'itai when at the height of its power was *Bala Sagun*. I cannot ascertain the proper position of this; but it was, I believe, different from Imil, and lay between Bishbáliq and Karakorúm. [*Balasaghoun*. Dr. Bretschneider (*Med.*

stand such a disposition of the frontier between the two branches of the Chagatai empire as should have permitted the capital of that one which ruled over Kashgar and Uighuria to be in the site

Res.) has a chapter on Kara K'itai (i, 208 *seq.*), and in a long note on Bala Sagun, which he calls Belasâgun, he says (p. 226) that "according to the *Tarikh Djihan Kushai* (D'Ohsson, i, 433) the city of Belasagun had been founded by Buku Khan, sovereign of the Uighúrs, in a well-watered plain of Turkestan and rich pastures. The Arabian geographers first mention Belasagun, in the ninth or tenth century, as a city beyond the Sihun or Yaxartes, depending on *Isfidjab* (Sairam, according to Lerch), and situated east of Taras. They state that the people of Turkestan considered Belasagun to represent 'the navel of the earth' on account of its being situated in the middle between east and west, and likewise between north and sôuth. (Sprenger's *Postr. d. Or., Mavarannahar.*)" Dr. Bretschneider adds (p. 227): "It is not improbable that ancient Belasagun was situated at the same place where, according to the T'ang history, the khan of one branch of the Western T'u küe (Turks) had his residence in the seventh century. It is stated in the *T'ang shu* that *Ibi Shabolo Shehu Khan*, who reigned in the first half of the seventh century, placed his ordo on the northern border of the river *Sui ye*. This river and a city of the same name are frequently mentioned in the T'ang Annals of the seventh and eighth centuries, in connection with the warlike expeditions of the Chinese in Central Asia. *Sui ye* was situated on the way from the river *Ili* to the city of *Ta-lo-sz'* (Talas). In 679 the Chinese had built on the Sui ye river a fortress; but in 748 they were constrained to destroy it. (Comp. Visdelou in *Suppl. Bibl. Orient.*, pp. 110–114, Gaubil's *Hist. de la Dyn. des Thang* in *Mém. conc. les Chinois*, xv, pp. 403 *seq.*)" The *Djihan Kushai* (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 361) mentions among the towns in Moghulistan "Balá Sakun, which in the *Suvar-i-Akálim* is reckoned among the cities of Khitái, and called 'Khán Baligh'; while in Moghulistan and Kara K'itai they have written the same 'Balá Sákun.'"

N. Elias in a long note on Bala Sakun (*l.c.*, p. 361) says: "There is every reason to believe that the Bála-Sákun spoken of in this passage was situated on or near the head waters of the Káraqáty branch of the River Chu in Moghulistan, and that it was, up to the first quarter of the twelfth century, the capital of the Ilak Khans, or the so-called Afrásiábi Turks; while later it became, for a time the chief town of Kara-K'itai." Chavannes, *Tou-kiue occidentaux*, p. 86 *n.*, gives Bâlaçaghoun = Tokmak. In Prof. V. Grigoriev's paper on *The Khara-khanides in Mā-warā-n-Nahr* there is a translation of the Chronicle of the Astrologer Munedjim-Bashi (b. *c.* 1630) which begins as follows: "Of the Khans of Turkestan. These Khans claimed to be descended from Afrasiab. Twenty of them reigned in all. The capital of their dominions was at first the city of Balasagun, but afterwards Bukhara and Samarkand. They began to rule over Mávará-n-Nahr in the year 383 (993 A.D.), and their dynasty came to an end in 609 (1212). Their main possessions were: 1. *Bala Sagun*, which was their capital, situated at the beginning of the 7th climate in 102° of longitude and 48° of latitude, not far from Kashgar, and considered from of old the boundary city of Turkestan; 2. *Kashgar*, the capital of Turan...; 3. *Khotan*...; 4. *Karakorum*; 5. *Taraz*...; 6. *Farab*; all three important cities." Prof. Grigoriev, in his note, besides mentioning the position of Bala Sagun as given by Al-Biruni, quotes from Hadji Khalfa, in his *Jihán Numá* the longitude as 101° and the latitude as 47½°. Eugene Schuyler, *Geog. Mag.*, Dec. 1, 1874, p. 389.—See *supra*, 1, p. 60 *n.*]

Omyl. In a note to Carpini, Rockhill writes, p. 16 *n.*: "The original town of Imil, on the river which still bears that name, and which flows into the Ala-Kul, passing south of the town of Chuguchak, was built by the Kara Khitai somewhere about 1125. Imil was Kuyuk's appanage (*ulus*)."]

just indicated, whilst that of the other branch ruling over Mā-warā-n-Nahr was situated at Almaliq. If the site assigned to Aymul be correct, probably it was not the headquarters of the eastern branch till the western branch of Chagatai in its rapid decay had lost its hold on the valley of the Ili.

Kazán Khan, slain in 1346 or 1348, was the last effective Khan of the main branch of Chagatai. After his time the titular Khans were mere puppets in the hands of the great Amírs, who set them up one year and probably murdered them the next. And so things continued until one of those Amírs, the famous TIMUR, became predominant. Even he in the height of his conquests continued to maintain titular successors to the throne of Chagatai, and to put their names at the head of State papers. Sultan Mahomed Khan, the last of these, died on one of Timur's campaigns in Anatolia, in 1403[1].

In 1360, and again in 1361–2, whilst Mā-warā-n-Nahr was in the state of anarchy to which we have alluded, Tughlak Timur invaded and subdued the country, leaving on the second occasion his son Elias Khwaja as his representative at Samarkand. Thus the whole empire would seem again to have been united; but it was only for a brief space. For in 1363–4, about the time of the death of Tughlak Timur, the amírs Husain and Timur revolted and expelled Elias. He escaped to his paternal dominions, but some time afterwards his life was taken by Kamaruddín Dughlak, of a powerful family which about this time became hereditary rulers of Kashgar. He seized the khánate, and put to death all the other children of Tughlak Timur on whom he could lay hands.

At a date which is uncertain, but probably about 1383, Khizr Khwaja, a son of Tughlak Timur, whose life had been rescued in infancy by the exertions of Khudáidád, son of Kamaruddín's brother Bulaji, the Amír of Kashgar, was through the same good offices seated on the throne of Moghulistan (or Eastern Chagatai), and he was its sovereign when Timur made his crushing campaign against the people of that country in 1389, taking the capital, and driving the Khan out of his dominions. Peace, however, was made eventually, and Timur married a daughter of Khizr Khwaja[2].

The latter at his death was succeeded by his son Mahomed Khan, and he by his grandson Wais or Awis Khan[3]. This prince, who throughout his reign was engaged in constant and unsuccessful wars with the Kalmaks, his eastern neighbours, at his death left

[1] *Univ. Hist.*, u.s.; Defrémery, pp. 281–2. Deguignes says it was not till after Timur's death that khans ceased to be nominated.

[2] Defrémery, p. 283; *Univ. Hist.*, u.s.; *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, p. 474 *seqq.*

[3] The extract from *Haft Iklim* in the *Not. et Ext.* just quoted mentions a Shir Mahomed between Mahomed and Awis. Awis Khán is noticed apparently as the reigning chief, and at war with a Shir Mahomed Oglan, in the narrative of Sháh Rukh's embassy to China (*Not. et Ext.*, xiv, Pt. i, p. 388).

two sons, Isanbuga and Yúnus, each of whom was backed by a party in claiming the succession. Those who favoured Yúnus took him to Mirza Ulugh Beg, the grandson of Timur (the celebrated astronomer prince), then governing at Samarkand, to seek his support; but he refused this, and sent Yúnus off into Western Persia, where he remained in exile for eighteen years. When Mirza Abu Said of the house of Timur (1451–68) had established himself at Samarkand, Isanbuga Khan invaded Farghána. Abu Said in retaliation sent for the exiled Yúnus, conferred on him the Khanate of Moghulistan, and dispatched him with an army into that country, where he succeeded in establishing himself[1]. During his reign a numerous army of Kalmaks entered his territory. Yúnus, in attempting to resist them, was completely defeated, with the loss of most of his amírs, and fled with the remains of his army to the Jaxartes. Here he seems to have established what remained of his authority at Tashkand, and at the same place his son and successor Mahmud, called by the Mongols Janikah, was crowned[2]. It would appear that Yúnus left behind another son, Ahmed, in Moghulistan, where he maintained himself for a time. Eventually both these brothers fell into the hands of Mahomed Khan Shaibani, otherwise called Shaibek, the founder of the Uzbek power in Transoxiana, and Mahomed was in the end put to death by that chief[3]. I can trace no information regarding later Chagatai Khans; indeed I presume that the Kalmaks about this time took possession of the country north of the T'ien Shan, and that the line of Khans survived no longer as such. A son [Saïd] of Ahmed however succeeded in founding a dynasty in Kashgar [1513], which maintained itself on the throne there for more than a century and a half[4].

[1] Defrémery, pp. 284–5. According to a quotation of Quatremère's from Haidar Mahomet, Yúnus Khán did not mount the throne till A.H. 873 = 1468, the last year of Abu Said (*Journ. des Savans* for 1839, p. 24).

[2] ["Sultán Yunus Khán was seized with paralysis, was bedridden for nearly two years, and died, suffering, at the age of seventy-four. No other Chaghatai Khákán ever reached such an advanced age; most of them, indeed, died before they reached the age of forty. The Khán was born in 818 and died in 892. He was buried near the tomb Puránvár Shaikh, Kháwand-i-Tahur [Master of Purification], in Tashkand; and a large mausoleum was built over the spot, which stands to this day and is very renowned." (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 114–15.)]

[3] [Mahmud Khán was put to death by Sháhi Beg Khán on the banks of the river of Khojand (914 A.H. = 1508–9). His brother Sultán Ahmad Khán, son of Yúnus, died in the winter of 909 (1503–4) of paralysis in Moghulistan. See the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* for the end of the dynasty.]

[4] See Introduction to the Journey of Goës, *infra*. Deguignes says he had not been able to obtain any distinct information as to the rise of the power of the Kalmaks; nor can I find it in any later book within reach. [Ismael, the last of the Chaghatai princes of Kashgar, was dethroned in 1678 by the Kalmaks, who established as governor of the country Hidayat-allah, better known as Hazrat Afak.]

VII

THE JOURNEY OF BENEDICT GOËS FROM AGRA TO CATHAY

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

The traveller whom we are now about to follow over one of the most daring journeys in the whole history of discovery, belongs to a very different period from those who have preceded him in this collection. Since the curtain fell on Ibn Batuta's wanderings two hundred and fifty years have passed away. After long suspension of intercourse with Eastern Asia, the rapid series of discoveries and re-discoveries that followed the successful voyage of Da Gama have brought India, the Archipelago, China, and Japan into immediate communication with Europe by sea; the Jesuits have entered on the arena of the forgotten missions of the Franciscans, and have rapidly spread their organisation over the east, and to the very heart of each great eastern empire, to the courts of Agra, Peking, and Miako. Cathay has not been altogether forgotten in Europe, as many bold English enterprises by sea, and some by land, during the sixteenth century, testify; but to those actually engaged in the labours of commerce and religion in the Indies it remains probably but as a name connected with the fables of Italian poets, or with the tales deemed nearly as fabulous of old romancing travellers. The intelligence of the accomplished men, indeed, who formed the Jesuit forlorn

in Northern China, soon led them to identify the great empire in which they were labouring with that Cathay of which their countryman Marco had told such wonders; but this conviction had not spread to their brethren in India, and when the leaders of the Mission at the Court of Akbar heard from Musulman travellers of a great and rich empire called KHITAI, to be reached by a long and devious course through the heart of Inner Asia, the idea seized their imaginations that here was an ample and yet untouched field awaiting the labours of the Society, if the way could but be found open; and this way they determined to explore.

The person selected for this venturesome exploration was BENEDICT GOËS[1]. Before he started on his journey

[1] The information regarding Goës, in addition to what is gathered from the narrative of his journey, is furnished by P. du Jarric, whose work I have seen only in the Latin translation entitled "*R. P. Iarrici Tholosani, Societat. Jesu, Thesaurus Rervm Indicarvm*, etc., *a Matthia Martinez a Gallico in Latinum sermonem translatum*; Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1615." In the two copies that I have seen of this book (possibly therefore in all copies) there has been strange confusion made in binding the sheets. It consists of four volumes, numbered i, ii, iii, pt. 1; iii. pt. 2; and in each of three volumes out of these four are introduced numerous sheets belonging to the other two. The information regarding Goës is in vol. ii, pp. 530 *seqq.*; and in vol. iii, pt. 1, pp. 201 *seqq.*

[Peter du Jarric, S.J., was born at Toulouse in 1566 and he died at Saintes on the 2nd March, 1617, or 28th Feb., 1618.]

[Prof. Pelliot draws my attention to a passage in Padre Ant. Govea's *Histoire orientale*, Brussels, 1609, p. 18, in which it is related that a layman Diego d'Almeida, after the departure of Goës, informed the Archbishop of Goa, that Tibet was not to be confounded with Cathay; he, Diego d'Almeida, had resided two years in Tibet which is only separated from great Mogor by very high mountains, and is inaccessible save at certain times of the year on account of snow; the difficulty of going to Tibet, not being the distance, but the road practicable only during the good season, *i.e.* when the heat had melted the snow.]

[The Portuguese writer José de Torres in a somewhat romantic paper published in 1854 and entitled *Bento de Goes* (Ponta Delgada), calls our traveller Luiz Gonçalves, whose name would have been changed into Bento de Goes when he entered the Society of Jesus. This name Luiz Gonçalves seems not only to be ignored by the chief authorities mentioning the traveller but is also unknown in the Archives of the S. J., where, in the list of the

doubts had been suggested whether this Cathay were not indeed the very China in which Ricci and his companions were already labouring with some promise of success; but these doubts were overruled, or at least the leader of the Agra Mission was not convinced by them, and he prevailed on his superiors still to sanction the exploration that had been proposed.

The gallant soldier of the Society, one not unwo thy to bear the Name on which others of that Compan deeds and modes of action have brought such obloquy, carried through his arduous task; ascertained that the mysterious empire he had sought through rare hardships and perils was China indeed; and died just within its borders. "Seeking Cathay he found heaven," as one of his brethren has pronounced his epitaph. And thus it is that we have thought his journey a fitting close to this collection; for with its termination CATHAY may be considered finally to disappear from view, leaving CHINA only in the mouths and minds of men. Not but that Cathay will be found for some time longer to retain its place as a distinct region in some maps and geographical works of pretension, but from that time its appearance could only condemn the ignorance of the authors.

Benedict Goës was born at Villa Franca do Campo, in the island of St. Michael (Azores), about 1561[1]. I find no particulars of his rank in life or early history, nor any

missionaries of the Goa province in the vear 1588; when Goës joined the Society, the following entry exists under the date 31st December: *Benito de Goes, Portugues, de la Isla de Sant Miguel, de la Villa Franca, obispado de Angra, de 26 años, de nueve meses de la Compª.* There is apparently no basis for José de Torres' story. These particulars I draw from a very interesting paper by the Rev. C. Wessels, S.J., pp. 10–11, mentioned in the Bibliography, *infra.*]

[1] [Sommervogel says 1562, which is probable, and Father M. C. Baratta 1552. On the 11th April 1907 the third centenary of the death of Goës was celebrated and a monument was erected at Villa Franca.]

statement of the circumstances under which he originally went to India, but in his twenty-sixth year we first meet him as a soldier on board the Portuguese fleet on the coast of Travancore, a high-spirited and pleasure-loving young man. The dignity and culture of his character, as it shows in later life, seems to imply that he had been educated for a higher position than that of a common soldier; and it is probable that, like many a wild youth since, he had enlisted for the Indies in consequence of some youthful escapade. Happening, we are told, to enter a church near COLECHEA[1], and kneeling before an image of the Madonna and Child, he began to reflect seriously on his past life, and was seized with such remorse that he almost despaired of salvation. This spiritual crisis ended in his making full confession of his sins to a Jesuit priest, and eventually in his entering the Order as a lay coadjutor[2]. This position he held for the rest of his career, always modestly refusing to take orders, though often pressed to do so by his superiors in the Society.

In the end of 1594 a detachment of missionaries was sent to the Court of Akbar, at the request of the great king himself, whose oscillating convictions appear often to have been strongly in favour of Christianity[3]. The head

[1] *Kolechi*, a small port of Travancore, which Fra Paolino will have to be the Colchi of the Periplus. It has dropped out of our modern maps.

[2] [In 1588.]

[3] The inquiries of Akbar about Christianity dated from the visit of Antony Capral, whom he received as envoy from Goa in 1578. Hearing then of a Christian priest of eminent virtue in Bengal, he sent for him to Futtehpur Sikri (which du Jarric calls *Patefula*), and made him argue with the Mullahs. Moved by what this anonymous father said, the king wrote to Goa, begging that two members of the Jesuit Society might be sent to him with Christian books. This of course caused great delight and excitement, and the Provincial sent off Rudolf Aquaviva, a man of illustrious family (afterwards murdered by the natives of Salsette near Goa [on the 17th July, 1583; born in 1557]), and Antony of

of the mission was Jerome Xavier[1] of Navarre, a relation of the great Francis, and his comrades were Goës and the priest Emanuel Pinheiro[2], also a Portuguese. They proceeded first to CAMBAY, where they were well received by Sultan Murad, Akbar's second son, and provided with carriage and money for their journey to LAHORE, where the Padshah then held his court. Travelling with a Kafila by AHMEDĀBĀD and PATTAN, and then across the great Indian Desert, they reached Lahore on the 5th May, 1595, and were made most welcome by Akbar, who at the same time gladdened their hearts by his display of reverence to images of the Saviour and the Virgin Mary, the gift of a former missionary at his court.

Goës appears to have acquired the esteem of the king

Monserrate [died at Salsette in 1600]. They were most honourably received by Akbar, and great hopes of his conversion were raised. The celebrated Abul Fazl and other eminent men of the Court also showed great interest in the subject; but nothing material resulted. Some years afterwards, in 1590, Akbar's thoughts again turned to Christianity, and at this time, according to the statement of the Jesuits (I know not how far well founded), he ordered a general destruction of mosques and minarets, and forbade circumcision before the fifteenth year. He again applied for instructors, and in 1591 three brethren were sent to Lahore, but after a while, seeing no hope of good, they returned to Goa. Hence on this third occasion the mission was despatched without any great alacrity or sanguine expectations. It is probable that Akbar had arrived at no decided convictions in religion, excepting as to the rejection of Mahomedanism. He seems to have projected a new eclectic kind of Theism, in which adoration was to be addressed to the sun, as an emblem of the Creator. At the same time he never seems to have lost a certain hankering after Christianity, or ceased to display an affectionate reverence for the Christian emblems which he had received from his Jesuit teachers.

[1] [Jerome Ezpelata took the name of his relation, the great Xavier; entered the noviciate of the Jesuits at Alcala, on the 7th May, 1568. He went to India, was rector at Bassein and Cechin, superior of the convent of Goa; preached at Lahore, where he was nearly stoned to death; he returned finally to Goa in 1617, when he was appointed Archbishop of Angamale; he died on the 17th of June in the same year.—Sommervogel.]

[2] [Emanuel Finheiro, born at Puente Delgada (island of S. Miguel) in 1556; embarked for India in 1592, and died at Goa, about 1618.—Sommervogel.]

in an especial degree, and with Xavier accompanied him on his summer journey to Kashmir. One Christmas too, we are told, Goës constructed a model of the manger and stable of Bethlehem, after the fashion still kept up in Southern Europe, whilst some of the pupils of the mission acted a Pastoral Eclogue in the Persian tongue on the subject of the Nativity, things that greatly pleased both Musulmans and Hindus, but especially the latter.

Whilst the Court was still at Lahore (which Akbar quitted for Agra in 1598) the circumstance occurred which turned the attention of Jerome Xavier to the long-lost Cathay (as he fancied it), and excited his imagination in the manner already alluded to. This circumstance is thus related by du Jarric:

"One day as Xavier was at the palace and engaged with the king, there presented himself a Mahomedan merchant of some sixty years of age. After he had made his salutations to the king, in answer to a question whence he was come, he said that he was lately arrived from the kingdom of XETAIA. This Xavier supposed to be the same as the Cathay spoken of by Marco Polo the Venetian in his Travels, and by Hayton the Armenian in his History, and which later writers have determined to be in Tartary, or not far from it. And when the king inquired for further particulars about that empire, and as to the length of the merchant's residence there, he replied that he had been thirteen years at the metropolis of the country, which he called K[illegible]mbalu....This he said was the residence of the kings, who were most powerful sovereigns. For, indeed, their empire included one thousand five hundred cities; some of them immensely populous. He had often seen the king, and it was his practice never to give any reply, favourable or unfavourable, to a request, but through the eunuchs who stood by him, unless, indeed, he was

addressed in writing. King Akbar asking how he had got admission into the empire, he replied that it was under the character of an ambassador from the King of *Caygar* (KASHGAR). On arriving at the frontier he was detained by the local governor, who after inspecting the seals of the letters which he carried, sent off a despatch to the king by swift horse-post. The answer giving permission for the party to proceed came back within a month. In going on to the capital they changed horses at every stage, as is practised in Europe, and thus got speedily over the ground, although the distance is very great; for they accomplished one hundred Italian miles every day. On the whole journey they met with no affront or unfair treatment, for the local judges administered justice to all, and thieves were punished with great severity. When asked about the aspect of the natives, he said that they were the whitest people he had ever seen, whiter even than the *Rumis*, or Europeans. Most of the men cherished a long beard....The greater number were *Isauites*, *i.e.* Christians (for thus Christians are called after Jesus, just as if you were to say Jesuits!). When asked if they were all Isauites, he said, by no means, for there are many *Mussauites* (*i.e.* Jews, for Moses in the tongue of those people is called *Mussau*), and there are also some Mahomedans. But is the king a Mahomedan? asked Akbar. Not yet, said the merchant, but it is hoped that he will soon be so. The colloquy was then interrupted, the sovereign graciously naming another day for the reception of the merchant, in order to ask further questions about this empire. But Xavier getting impatient, out of eagerness to learn more, went to see the merchant in order to get more precise information about the religion of the inhabitants. The merchant repeated his statement that they were, for the most part, Christians, and that he

had been on terms of great intimacy with several of them. They had temples, some of them of vast size, in which were images both painted and sculptured, and among others figures of the crucified Saviour, which were held by them in great reverence. A priest was set over every temple, who was treated with great respect by the people, and received presents from them....He also mentioned the continence of those priests, and the schools in which they brought up young people for holy orders....The fathers moreover wore black frocks, and caps like Xavier's, only a little bigger. In saluting any one by the way they did not uncover, but joined hands across the breast, interlacing the fingers....The king often went to the temples, and must, therefore, be a Christian," etc. etc.

Xavier lost no time in communicating this intelligence to the Provincial of his Order; and after arriving with the king at Agra sent the results of further inquiry made there from persons who had been to Cathay. Some people alleged that there was a way to Cathay by BENGAL and the kingdom of GARAGHAT[1], at the extremity of the Mogul territories. But merchants, who were sure to know the shortest routes, were in the habit of going from

[1] *Ghorāghāt* ("the horse-ferry") is a town and zemindari in the Bogra district of Bengal, and is mentioned as such in the *Ayin Akbari*. But the *kingdom* alluded to must be that of *Kúch Bihár*, which in the time of Akbar retained independence, and extended from the Brahmaputra westward to Tirhut, from the Himalaya south to Ghoraghat. In 1661 it was conquered by Mir Jumla (see Hamilton's *Gazetteer, in vv. Ghoraghat* and *Cooch Bahar*). Kúch Bihár still exists, with a modified independence, and very much restricted limits. It is remarkable that there should have been any talk of a route to China this way in the reign of Akbar. It probably lay through Lhasa. We have seen (*ante*, III, p. 131) that Rashíduddín recognised an overland route by Bengal and the borders of Tibet. And some years after Akbar's time, the two Jesuits, Grueber and Dorville, found their way from China *via* Lhása and Katmandu to Patna (Kircher, *China Illustrata*, pp. 64 *seqq.*).

Lahore to Kashmír, and thence by the kingdom of REBAT[1], the king of which was in alliance with the Mogul, they went straight to Kashgar, from which it was said there was a direct and easy route to the first mercantile city of Cathay, a place which the merchants asserted to be inhabited by Christians. Xavier was now quite satisfied that the country in question was indeed the Cathay of Polo, and the Christian king the representative of the famous Prester John. He sounded the king on the subject of an exploratory mission, and found him disposed to assist it cordially. All this was duly communicated to the Provincial, and through him it would appear to the higher powers in Europe.

In 1601 the encouragement of those higher powers had been received in India, and the Provincial turned his attention to the selection of a fit man for the expedition. Now it happened that Xavier and Goës had accompanied King Akbar some time previously on his expedition into the Dekkan. After the conquest of Kandesh, Akbar on some pretext sent an embassy to Goa, partly it was supposed in order to spy out the land with a view to extending his conquests in that quarter. And with this embassy he sent Goës in charge of some children of Portuguese parentage who had been found in Burhanpur and other captured fortresses.

In Goës the Provincial discerned the very man that he wanted; his judgment, courage, and skill in Persian marking him out as especially qualified for such an

[1] I do not know what the name *Rebat* is intended for (proper names in du Jarric being often sadly mangled); perhaps for *Tibet*. The kingdom intended must be either Ladakh or Balti, which were known in those days as Great and Little Tibet. [Father Oranus has *Tebat*. There is no doubt that *Tibet* is meant. In a letter of the 26th July, 1598, quoted in R., p. 528 *n.*, Father Jerome Xavier writes: Mihi quoque dum in Caximire agebam, nunciatum est esse in regno Rebat multos cristianos et ecclesias cum sacerdotibus et episcopis. Cf. Hay, p. 797.]

enterprise. Goës readily accepted the duty, and in the following year (1602) arrived at Agra to make arrangements for his journey. Akbar praised his zeal, and contributed the value of four hundred pieces of gold to the expenses of the journey, besides giving the passports mentioned in the narrative.

After successfully accomplishing his journey, as has been already mentioned, Goës was detained for some seventeen months at the frontier city of Suchau, and there died a few days after the arrival of the native Christian whom Ricci and his comrades at Peking had sent to his aid and comfort[1]. The narrative of his journey was put together, apparently by Ricci himself, from some fragment of Benedict's note-book, along with the oral statements of his faithful comrade Isaac the Armenian,

[1] Matthew Ricci was born at Macerata, in the March of Ancona, 6th Oct., 1552. He entered the Jesuit Society in 1571. Being sent to India, he reached Goa in 1578, but speedily left it for Macao on being chosen by Father Valignani, the founder of the Jesuit Mission in China, as one of his aids. Not till 1583, however, were they able to establish themselves in the Canton territory. Ricci's great object for a long time was to get to Peking, and he did reach it in 1595, but was obliged, by an accidental excitement among the Chinese, to withdraw to Nanking. In 1600 he was enabled to go again, carrying presents, which had come from Europe for the Emperor. He was admitted; and having acquired the Emperor's favour, he devoted himself to the mission at the capital. Some striking conversions were made; and Ricci's science and literary works in Chinese gained him much esteem among the most eminent persons at Peking. He died 11th May, 1610, leaving Longobardi to succeed him. The chief literary men of the city attended his funeral. His name appears in the Chinese annals as *Li Ma-teu*. The principles of Ricci as a missionary appear to have been to stretch conciliation as far as possible; and to seek the respect of the educated Chinese by the display of superior scientific attainments. As regards the former point, he is accused of having led the way in those dubious concessions which kindled the disputes that ended in the downfall of the missions. He was the first European to compose books in Chinese. His works of this kind were fifteen in number, and one of them is said to have been included in a collection of the best Chinese writers ordered by the Emperor K'ien-lung (see Rémusat's article in *Biog. Universelle* [H. Cordier, *Bib. Sinica*, col. 1090–1092 and *Imprimerie Sino-européenne*.—See Bibliography, *infra*]).

and was published after the death of Ricci, with other matter that he had compiled concerning China and the mission history, in the work of Trigautius (Trigault) entitled *De Christianâ Expeditione apud Sinas.* From this our translation has been made, but some additional particulars given by du Jarric from the Indian reports, and from the letters which Goës was occasionally during his journey able to send back to his superiors at Agra or Goa, have been brought forward in the notes. Altogether it is a miserably meagre record of a journey so interesting and important; and had Benedict's diary, which he is stated to have kept in great detail, been spared, it would probably have been to this day by far the most valuable geographical record in any European language on the subject of the countries through which he travelled, still so imperfectly known.

There are some perplexities about the chronology of the journey as given in Trigault, which doubtless arise out of the manner in which the narrative was thus compiled. It is in some respects inconsistent with itself as well as with the statements in du Jarric.

Thus, according to du Jarric, Goës left Agra 31st October, 1602, whilst Trigault makes it 6th January, 1603. This is not of importance however, as they agree substantially regarding the time of his final start from Lahore.

But again. The narrative in Trigault professes to give, sometimes in precise, sometimes in round numbers, the intervals occupied by the various portions of the journey and its tedious halts. But if these be added together, even without allowance for two or three omissions, we find that the sum carries us a whole year beyond the time deducible from du Jarric, and in fact would throw Benedict's death a year later than the date which Trigault

himself (or rather Ricci) fixes[1]. This is shown in detail below, but here I may explain that the chief inconsistency is found in the time alleged to have been spent between Lahore and Yarkand. According to Ricci's details this period extends from February 1603 to November 1604, whereas both du Jarric's data and Ricci's own *absolute* statement make the traveller reach Yarkand in November 1603, which unquestionably is the correct date. And as Ricci's *details* allege a positive halt of *eight months* at Kabul, it is evident that there must have been some singular kind of misunderstanding either of Benedict's notes, or of Isaac's language, or of both. Isaac, it will be seen, could speak nothing more intelligible than Persian,

[1] The following *absolute* dates are given by Trigault: Goës left Agra 6th January, 1603; left Lahore in Lent (which in 1603 began on 18th February); reached Yarkand November, 1603; left Yarkand November, 1604; reached Suchau in the latter part of 1605; his letters did not reach Peking till November, 1606; John Ferdinand started 11th December, and reached Suchau in the end of March, 1607; eleven days later Benedict died.

The following *absolute* dates are given by du Jarric: Goës left Agra 31st October, 1602; reached Lahore 8th December; left Lahore in middle of February, 1603; wrote from Yarkand in February and August, 1604; set out from Yarkand 14th November 1604; left Chalis 17th October, 1605; died 11th April, 1607.

The following are the *details* of time occupied in the journey, as given by Trigault (and full of error): Left Lahore in Lent [say first day of Lent, or 18th February], 1603; took to Attok thirty days, halted there fifteen, and across the Indus five; Peshâwar two *months*, halt there twenty days; go on a time not specified, halt twenty days; to Ghideli twenty-five days; to Kabul twenty days. [*This would bring him to* Kabul *on the 2nd of September, 1603, at the earliest.*] Halts at Kabul eight *months* [*and therefore leaves it about 1st May, 1604*]. To Charekar not specified; to Parwân ten days, halt there five; to Aingharan twenty; to Kalcha fifteen; to Jalalâbâd ten; to Talikhan fifteen, halt there one month [*which brings us at least to the 15th August,* 1604]. To Cheman, and halt there, not specified. Defiles of Badakhshan eight days, halt ten; Charchunar one day, halt five days; to Serpanil ten days; to Sarchil twenty, halt two; to Chechalith two; to Tanghetar six, at least; to Yaconic fifteen days; to Yarkand five days [*which brings him to Yarkand therefore on 7th November, 1604, at the earliest, or just a year later than the true date*]. It is not worth while to carry the matter further, and indeed the essential error is contained in that section of the journey which we have given here.

and John Ferdinand, the Chinese convert who came to seek the party at Suchau, could not communicate with him *at all* until he had himself acquired a little Persian. This language the missionaries at Peking probably knew nothing of, and it is not therefore wonderful if misunderstanding occurred.

What the nature of this misunderstanding must have been, in some instances at least, can I think be deduced from one case in which the misstatement of the time is obvious. The journey from Attok to Peshâwar is said to have occupied *two months*. Now, as the distance is about thirty miles, this is absurd. It is, therefore, not improbable that it may have been entered in Goës' notes as "II *mensil*" (Pers. *manzil*, a stage or march), and that this was understood by the Italians as "II *menses*."

[The autograph Italian manuscript of Matteo Ricci's Commentaries still exists in the Ricci family at Macerata, and it has been edited by Father Tacchi Venturi, S.J. (see *infra*, Bibliography) for the centennial anniversary of the celebrated missionary, the commemoration of which took place in his native city in 1910 I have carefully compared this text with Trigault's version and made some corrections. In spite of the defects of the Latin translations, the errors in the proper names are less numerous than I anticipated.—H.C.]

The chief obscurities attending the route of Goës, concern that section of his journey which lies between Kabul and Yarkand. In the first part of this section, embracing the passage of the Hindu Kush, the country is to a certain degree known, but there are several places named prominently by Goës which cannot be identified with any certainty. This is also the case in the second portion of this section of the journey, embracing the ascent through Badakhshan to the Plateau of Pamir, and

the descent to Yarkand, where moreover we are in a country still most imperfectly known; for, since Marco Polo, Goës is the only European traveller across it of whose journey any narrative has seen the light[1].

[1] The following note from a recent work, called *The Russians in Central Asia*, consisting of various papers translated from the Russian by Messrs. Michell, shows that valuable matter, in illustration of these regions, *does* exist (I believe in the military archives at St. Petersburg): "In a paper on the Pamir and the upper course of the Oxus, read last year before the Russian Geographical Society by M. Veniukof, he says: 'The chaos of our geographical knowledge relating to the Pamir table-lands and the Bolor was so great that the celebrated geographer Zimmermann, working under the superintendence of Ritter, was able to produce only a very confused and utterly incomprehensible map of this region. The connecting link was wanting; it was necessary that some one should carry out the plan conceived by the Russian Government in the beginning of this century, by visiting and describing the country. Fortunately, such an additional source of information has been found,—nay, even two,—which mutually corroborate and amplify each other, although they have nothing further in common between them. I here allude to the "Travels through Upper Asia, from Kashgar, Tashbalyk, Bolor, Badakhshan, Vakhan, Kokan, Turkestan, to the Kirghiz Steppe, and back to Cashmere, through Samarkand and Yarkand," and to the Chinese Itinerary, translated by Klaproth in 1821, leading from Kashgar to Yarkand, Northern India, Dairim, Yabtuar, Badakhshan, Bolor, Vakhan, and Kokan, as far as the Karatau mountains. The enumeration alone of these places must, I should imagine, excite the irresistible curiosity of all who have made the geography of Asia their study. These fresh sources of information are truly of the highest importance. As regards the *Travels*, it is to be inferred from the preface, and from certain observations in the narrative, that the author was a German, an agent of the East India Company, despatched in the beginning of this or the end of the last century, to purchase horses for the British army. The original account forms a magnificent manuscript work in the German language, accompanied by forty sketches of the country traversed. The text, also, has been translated into French in a separate manuscript, and the maps worked into one itinerary in an admirable style. The Christian name of the traveller, George Ludwig von ———, appears over the preface, but the surname has been erased. Klaproth's *Itinerary* is so far valuable as the physical details are extremely circumstantial; almost every mountain is laid down, and care taken to indicate whether it is wooded or snow-capped; while equal care is taken to show whether the inhabitants are nomads or a stationary people. Ruins, bridges, and villages are also intelligibly designated; so that, although the same scale is not preserved throughout, its value, lucidity, and minuteness, are not thereby deteriorated.'"

I may add to the preceding notice that Professor H. H. Wilson,

It is not quite clear which of the passes was followed by Goës in crossing the Hindu Kush. Some account of these will be given in a supplementary note at the end of the narrative[1]. Here I will content myself with observing that as the traveller is mentioned to have visited Parwān as well as Charekar, it may seem most probable that he crossed by the Pass of Parwān, which Wood attempted unsuccessfully in 1837. Indeed, if Parwān is correctly placed in the only map I have seen which shows it (J. Walker's), it would be out of the way of a party going by any other Pass[2]. From Parwān till he reaches Talikhan on the borders of Badakhshan, none of the names given can be positively determined; Calcia and Jalalābād, the most prominent of them, are named

in his remarks on Izzet Ullah's Travels (see *J. R. A. S.*, vii, 294), mentions a Russian officer, Yefremoff, who was last century captured by the Kirghiz, but made his escape, and travelled by Kokand and Kashgar, across Tibet to Calcutta, and so home to St. Petersburg, where he arrived in 1782, and published his travels. Meyendorff, also, in his *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Bokhara*, speaks of the travels of Raphael Danibeg, a noble Georgian, which were translated from his native language into Russian, and printed in 1815. This gentleman travelled from Kashmir to Yarkand, Aqsu, Kulja, and Semipalatinsk. The same work contains a route from Semipalatinsk to Kashmir, by a Tajik of Bokhara. [Of course, new information has been brought to light by recent travellers, and one may refer on the subject to the third edition of *Marco Polo*.]

[1] See Note I at the end.

[2] The first notice which du Jarric gives of Goës, after mentioning his departure from Lahore, is that "after going 102 coss, each equal to an Italian mile, he wrote to Pinheiro from the province of *Gazaria* that he was struggling with severe cold on the passage over mountains covered with snow." The 102 coss must have been estimated from Kabul, not from Lahore, as the passage would literally imply, and the snow mountains of Gazaria must have been the Hindu Kush occupied by the *Hazara* tribes; (they are called *Kezareh* by Meyendorff, *Voyage à Bokara*, p. 140). At present the Hazaras, according to Wood (p. 199), do not extend further east than the Valley of Ghorbund; but Leech's Report on the Passes shows that they are found on the passes immediately above Parwān, and that they formerly extended to the mountains adjoining the Khawak Pass, the most easterly of all. I hope to add a sketch map such as will make Goës' route and the doubts attending it, more intelligible.

so far as I know by no other traveller or geegiapher. Some remarks regarding them will however be found in the notes on the narrative.

From Talikhan also to the high land of Pamir we have a similar difficulty in identifying names except that descriptive one *Tangì-i-Badakhshaṇ* ("the Straits of Badakhshan") which sufficiently indicates the character of the country. But I think there can be little doubt that the route of Goës was substantially the same as that followed by Captain John Wood of the Indian Navy on his famous journey to the source of the Oxus. Badakhshan and the adjoining districts of Tokharestan, inhabited by a race of Tajik lineage and Persian speech, would seem in the middle ages not merely to have enjoyed that fame for mineral productions (especially rubies and lapis lazuli) of which a shadow still remains, but at least in their lower valleys to have been vastly more populous and productive than they are now. The "Oriental Geography" of the tenth century translated by Ouseley, and Edrisi in the twelfth century, both speak of these as fruitful and well-peopled regions flourishing with trade and wealth. Marco Polo in the thirteenth century speaks of Talikhan and the adjoining districts in similar terms. Not long before his time the chief fortress of Talikhan held Chinghiz and his Tartar host at bay for six months [1221][1]. The

[1] D'Ohsson, i, 273. There was another Talikhan in Khorāsān, between Bal h and Merv (see tables of *Nasíruddín* in Hudson, iii, 107). And the authors of the Modern Universal History appear to have taken this for the city besieged by Chinghiz (*French Trans.*, iii, 356). But the narrative shows that it was Talikhan in Tokharestan, on the border of Badakhshan [province of Kataghan or Kunduz. See *Marco Polo*, i, p. 154 *n.*]. Edrisi describes both cities, but curiously his French translator, M. Jaubert, takes both for the same (i, 468, 476) [There were in fact *three* places so called; that in Badakhshan, that in Khorāsān, and a third in Daylam, the hill-country adjoining Kazbin. This *last* is the duplicate of Nasíruddín's Tables and not that in Khorāsān. (See Quatremère's *Rashid*, pp. 214, 278.)]

savage conqueror left not a living soul in the garrison, nor one stone upon another. And the present town of Talikhan, the representative of the place defended by this strong and valiant garrison, is a paltry village of some four hundred clay hovels[1]. Faizabad, the chief city of Badakhshan, once famous over the east, was, when Wood passed through the country, to be traced only by the withered trees that had once adorned its gardens, and the present capital of the country (Jerm) was but a cluster of hamlets, containing altogether some fifteen hundred souls[2]. Enduring decay probably commenced with the wars of Chinghiz, for many an instance in eastern history shows the permanent effect of such devastations. And here wave after wave of war passed over a little country, isolated on three sides by wild mountains and barbarous tribes, destroying the apparatus of culture which represented the accumulated labour of generations, and with it the support of civilisation and the springs of recovery. Century after century only saw progress in decay. Even to our own time the process of depopulation and deterioration has continued. In 1759 two of the Khwajas of Kashgar [Burhán-uddín (Boronitu) and K'odzishan (Huo-tsichan), descendant from Hazrat Afak], escaping from the dominant Chinese, took refuge in Badakhshan, and were treacherously slain by Sultan Sháh who then ruled that country[3]. The holy men are said in their dying moments to have invoked curses on Badakhshan and prayed that it might be three times depopulated. And, in fact, since then it has been at least three times ravaged; first, a few years after the outrage by Ahmed Sháh Durani of Kabul, when the

[1] Wood, p. 241. [2] Ditto, p. 254

[3] *Russians in Central Asia*, p. 186 *seqq.*; Wood, p. 250 Ritter, vol. vii; Burnes, iii, 192.

treacherous Sultan Sháh was put to death; in the beginning of this century by Kokan Beg of Kunduz; and again in 1829 by his successor Murad Beg, who swept away the bulk of the remaining inhabitants, and set them down to die in the marshy plains of Kunduz.

In the time of Goës the country was probably in a middle state, not fallen so low as now, but far below what it had been in days before the Tartar invasion. Akbar had at this time withdrawn all attempt at holding territory north of the Indian Caucasus, and the Uzbeks, who in the end of the fifteenth century had expelled the house of Timur and settled in Bokhara, seem to have been in partial occupation.

Of routes over the Bolor Tagh and high table-land of Pamir between Badakhshan and Kashgar, the only notices accessible are those of the Chinese pilgrims of the early centuries[1], the brief but pregnant sketches of Marco Polo, so singularly corroborated even to minutiæ in our own day by Captain Wood, and these fragmentary memoranda of Benedict Goës. It seems impossible absolutely to determine the route followed by Marco, but from his mentioning a twelve days' march along the lofty plain it seems probable that he followed, as certainly the ancient Chinese pilgrims did, a course running north from the head of the Oxus valley over the plateau to the latitude of Tashbáliq before descending into Eastern Turkestan. Goës and his caravan, on the other hand, following what is probably the usual route of later days, would seem to have crossed athwart the Pamir, in the direction of the sources of the Yarkand river, and passing two or more of the ridges that buttress the Bolor on the

[1] Of these, extracts are given in Ritter, vii, 493 *seqq*. I have no access at present to Hiuen Tsang. [See our itinerary in *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 175, 182. H. C.]

east, to have descended on Yanghi-Hissar, a city intermediate between Kashgar and Yarkand. A modern caravan route, laid down by Macartney in the map attached to Elphinstone's "Caubul," seems evidently to represent the same line as that taken by our traveller's party, and both representations appear to suggest the view of its general course which has just been indicated.

The country in which Goës found himself after the passage of these mountains has been equally shut up from European[1] access since the days of the great Mongol empires, but has become better known from Chinese sources, having been for long intervals and from a very early date under the influence of the Chinese. This region, perhaps best designated as Eastern Turkestan, but named in maps of the last century (I know not why) as "Little Bokhara," forms a great depressed valley of some four hundred miles in width from north to south, supposed by Humboldt from botanical inductions not to exceed twelve hundred feet in the absolute elevation of its lower portions. It is shut in on three sides by mountain ranges of great height, viz.: on the north by the T'ien Shan or Celestial Mountains of the Chinese, separating it from the plains of the Ili, on the south by the Kwen-Lun propping the great plateau of Tibet, and on the west by the transverse chain of the Bolor dividing it from Western Turkestan. The greater part of the surface of this depression is desert, of clayey soil and stony surface towards the foot of the mountain ranges, and of sand in the interior, which eastward accumulates into ranges of shifting sand hills. Though the air is of exceeding dryness and rain is rare, the amount of water which flows

[1] [What was exact in 1866 is not so now, as will be seen by the recent voyages quoted in the following pages of this new edition of *Cathay*.]

down from the snowy mountains on three sides of this valley must be considerable. The rivers carrying this drain into the central channel of the Ergol or Tarim, which is absorbed by Lake Lop on the eastern verge of the tract, and has no further outlet, except in the legends of the Chines which connect it by subterranean issues with the Hwang Ho. The lateral rivers afford irrigation, and patches of more or less fertile soil border the bases of the three ranges, in which cities have risen, and settled states have existed from time immemorial. Similar oases perhaps once existed nearer the centre of the plain, where Marco Polo places the city of Lop, and across which a direct road once led from the Chinese frontier to Khotan[1]. From Khotan, as from the western cities of Kashgar and Yarkand, the only communication with China now followed seems to lie through the towns that are dotted along the base of the T'ien Shan[2].

Chinese scholars date the influence of the empire in the more westerly of these states from the second century B.C. In the first century after our era they were thoroughly subjected, and the Chinese power extended even beyond the Bolor to the shores of the Caspian[3]. The Chinese authority was subject to considerable fluctuations, but under the T'ang in the seventh century we find the country east of the mountains again under Chinese governors (whose seats are indicated as Bishbáliq, Khotan, Karashahr, and Kashgar)[4], till the decay of

[1] This road is said to have been abandoned on account of the Kalmak banditti who haunted it. It seems to have been followed, as an exceptional case, by Shah Rukh's ambassadors on their return from China (see *Not. et Extraits*, xiv, pt. 1, p. 425; also p. 476).

[2] Chiefly derived from *Russians in Central Asia*.

[3] [The Chinese Power *never* extended to the shores of the Caspian. The Chinese general Pan Ch'ao, who during the first century of our era carried his arms to the west, never went so far. See *supra*, I, p. 40.]

[4] Pauthier, *Chine Ancienne*, p. 296.

that dynasty in the latter part of the ninth century, and those divisions of the empire which followed, and endured till the conquest of all its sub-divisions by Chinghiz and his successors. These latter held supremacy, actual or nominal, over Eastern Turkestan as part of the early conquests of their house. They fell in China, and their Chinese successors of the Ming dynasty had little power beyond the frontiers of China proper, or at most beyond the territory of Kamil[1]. The western states remained subject more or less nominally to the Khans of the eastern branch of Chagatai, whose history has been briefly traced in a previous page of this book. The government of Kashgar [office of *Ulusbegi*] had always since the days of Chinghiz been conferred on a chief officer of the Khan's court. Tughlak Timur, on his accession, bestowed it on the Amír Tulik, who was succeeded by Bulaji, both being brothers of Kamaruddín, who slew Elias the son of Tughlak Timur and usurped the Khanate. Bulaji was succeeded by his son Khudáidad, of whom we have already heard (*supra*, p. 165). This prince ruled for many years prosperously and beneficently, holding quasi-regal power over Kashgar, Khotan, Aqsu, Bai and Kucha[2], devoting

[1] The circumstance cited in a note at III, p. 132, *supra*, shows that, in 1419, the Chinese power did not extend to Turfan and Karakhoja. In 1605, as we shall see presently, it did not even include Kamil.

[2] "*Mai* and *Kush*," but I suppose the names in the text are those intended. For *Kucha* or *Kuchia*, see a note on Goës' journey further on. *Bai* is a town at the foot of the T'ien Shan, between Aqsu and Kucha, 137 miles N.E. of the former, famous now for its sheep-farming and felt manufacture. It is identified by Hugh Murray with the *Pein* of Polo; an identification followed by Pauthier, who however quotes Murray's remark, that it had "defied conjecture" (*hitherto*), without noticing that Murray had himself made the identification.

The mention of Bai here as a province coupled with Kashgar, Khotan, and Aqsu, adds strongly to the probability that it is really the *Pein* of Marco. There is a difficulty in the fact that the chief circumstance he notes about Pein is the production of jasper, *i.e.* jade, in its river; and I can find no notice of this mineral being

much of his revenue to pious objects, especially the redemption of Musulman captives carried off by the Mongols in their raids on Mā-warā-n-Nahr. His rule lasted under the reign of four successive Khans of Eastern Chagatai. In his old age he made the pilgrimage and died at Medina[1]. His son Mahomed Sháh inherited his honours, but the territories of Kashgar and Khotan had been annexed by Timur, and remained for some time subject to the descendants of that conqueror, who were in the habit of confiding those provinces to one of their own chief officers. Whilst it was administered by these, Said Ali, the son of Mahomed, made repeated attempts to recover his grandfather's dominions, and at length succeeded. It is needless to follow the history of this dynasty in further detail. During their time the country seems sometimes to have been divided into different states, of which Kashgar and Khotan were the chief, and sometimes to have been united under the prince of Kashgar. The last prince of the dynasty, Abubakr Khán, was also one of the most powerful. He reigned for forty-eight

found in the *northern* affluents of the Tarim, though Timkowski does mention *wrought* jade as a staple of Aqsu. Hence Ritter seeks Pein on the road from Yarkand to the Karakorúm Pass, where Izzet Ullah mentions a quarry of jade, near which there is a station called Terek-lak-*Payin*. The last word, however, I believe merely means "Lower," and the position scarcely can answer Polo's description. It is possible that the province or district of Bai may have extended south of the Tarim Kul so as to embrace a part of the jaspiferous rivers of Khotan (Murray's *Polo*, ii, 32; Pauthier's, p. 145; Timkowski, i, 391; Ritter, vii, 382; *Russ. in Cent. Asia*, p. 160). *Khatiyan* and *Bahi* are mentioned in juxtaposition also by the early Arab traveller, Ibn Mohalhil, and probably indicate these same two provinces (see notes to Preliminary Essay). [Bai has nothing to do with Pein, which is on the road from Khotan to Niya. Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, p. 192 *n.*; ii, 595 *n.* Bai is on the road from Kucha to Aulie-ata; it was the Chinese *A-si-you*. Cf. Chavannes, *Tou-kiue occidentaux*, p. 8.]

[1] According to *Notices et Extraits* (quoted below), Khudaidad ruled for ninety years. He is mentioned by Sháh Rukh's envoys to China, as coming to meet them near the Mongol frontier (*Not. et Extraits* ..v ,pt. i, p. 388)

years, and made considerable conquests beyond the mountain ranges. He it was also who transferred the seat of government to Yarkand. But about 1515, Abu Said, son of Ahmed, son of Yúnus Khán of Eastern Chagatai, being a refugee in Farghāna, organized an expedition against Kashgar and Yarkand, which he succeeded in capturing, adding afterwards to his conquests parts of Badakhshan, of Tibet, and of Kashmir[1]. When Goës travelled through the country, the king, Mahomed Khán, whom he found upon the throne of Kashgar (of which Yarkand was now the capital), appears to have been a descendant of this Abu Said[2]. His power, we gather from Goës, extended at least over the territory of Aqsu, and probably in some degree over the whole country at the base of the T'ien Shan to the Chinese frontier, including Kamil; for what Goës calls the kingdom of Cialis or Chalis, embracing Karashahr and Kamil with the intermediate towns of Turfan and Pijan, was ruled by a son of the prince who reigned at Yarkand. Khotan appears under a separate sovereign, sister's son to the king at Yarkand, and perhaps subsidiary to him.

The rulers of Eastern Turkestan had always been Mahomedan from the time of Tughlak Timur, who was, we are told, the first Mahomedan sovereign of Kashgar of the lineage of Chinghiz. Buddhism, indeed, was found still prevalent in the cities of Turfan and Kamil at the time of the embassy of Sháh Rukh in 1419, and probably did not become extinct much before the end of the century. But in the western states Islam seems to have been universal from an earlier date and maintained with

[1] See *Notices et Extraits*, as quoted at p. 193, *infra*.

[2] He was probably the *Mahomed Sultan*, sixth son of Abdul Rashíd Khan who is mentioned in Quatremère's extracts (see p. 193) as governing the city of Kashgar during the reign of his brother Abdulkerim, towards the end of the sixteenth century.

fanatical zeal[1]. Saintly teachers and workers of miracles, claiming descent from Mahomed, and known as Khwajas or Hojahs, acquired great influence, and the sectaries attached to the chief of these divided the people into rival factions, whose mutual hostility eventually led to the subjugation of the whole country. For late in the seventeenth century, Hojah Appak, the leader of one of those parties called the White Mountain, having been expelled from Kashgar by Ismail Khán the chief of that state, who was a zealous supporter of the opposite party or Black Mountain, sought the aid of Galdan Khán, sovereign of the Eleuths or Kalmuks of Dzungaria. Taking the occasion so afforded, that chief in 1678 invaded the states south of the T'ien Shan, carried off the Khán of Kashgar and his family, and established the Hojahs [Hidayat Allah Hazrat Afak] of the White Mountain over the country in authority subordinate to his own [1678]. Great discords for many years succeeded, sometimes one faction and sometimes another being uppermost, but some supremacy always continuing to be exercised by the Khans of Dzungaria. In 1757 the latter country was conquered by the Chinese, who in the following year, making a tool of the White party which was then in opposition, succeeded in bringing the state of Turkestan also under their rule. So they have continued until the present day, the details of administration resting chiefly with the native authorities, but with Chinese officials in supervision, and Chinese garrisons in the chief towns and on the frontiers, the whole being

[1] According to the Mecca pilgrim, whose statements are given in the *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. iv (I borrow from Ritter, vii, 353), there are now many Buddhist priests and temples at the capital of Khotan. But the presumption is that these have been re-established since the revival of Chinese domination in the last century. Islam seems to have been extensively prevalent in those regions for centuries previous to the Mongols' rule, though probably the rise of the latter gave a lift to other religions.

under the general government of the Ili province established at Kulja on the river so called, not far from the ancient Almáliq. Rebellions, however, have been very frequent and serious during the last sixty years, and a great one is now in progress of which we know little as yet[1].

I am not in a position to say much as to the bibliography of Goës' journey. It is translated or related, I believe, in Purchas, but I have no access to a copy of the Pilgrims. An abstract of it is given in the *China Illustrata* of the garrulous old Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (pp. 62–4, Amsterdam. 1667), and a somewhat abridged version,

[1] Chiefly from the *Russ. in Cent. Asia*. The history of these regions, from the fall of the Mongol dynasty in China to the events which led to the revival of the Chinese power in the eighteenth century, seems only obscurely known. The chief existing record of the history, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, is stated to be the work called *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, written by Mirza Mahomed Haidar Kurkan, Wazír of Abdul Rashíd Khan of Kashgar, who came to the throne, according to Quatremère, A.H. 950 = A.D. 1543 (Valikhanoff says 1554), and reigned for thirty-three years. According to Capt. Valikhanoff, the second part of this history describes the personal adventures of the author, communicating much information respecting the mountain ranges and countries adjoining Kashgar, and should contain very interesting matter. The work seems to have been little meddled with in Europe. There is a long extract, however, by Quatremère, in vol. xiv of the *Notices et Extraits*, pp. 474–89, from the Persian geography called *Haft Iklím* (Seven Climates), but which is derived from the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, and partly it would seem from a somewhat later source, as Abdul Rashíd's son, Abdul Kerim, is spoken of as then reigning. This extract has furnished most of the particulars in the preceding paragraphs of the text. Valikhanoff also speaks of a manuscript history of the Hojahs, down to the capture of Yarkand by the Chinese in 1758, called *Tiazkarai Hojaghian*, which he obtained at Kashgar. From this apparently he derives the particulars which he gives regarding those persons and their factions. (*R. in Cent. Asia*, pp. 69, 167 *seqq.*; *Notices et Extraits*, u.s.) [The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* has been edited by N. Elias and translated into English by E. Denison Ross, Lond., 1895, 8vo, and is frequently quoted in this new edition of *Cathay*. After the annexation by the Chinese, the country called Sin Kiang was divided into *T'ien shan Pe Lu* and *T'ien shan Nan Lu*; at the head of the Chinese administration was placed since 1762 a military governor, *Tsiang Kiun*, who resided in the Chinese Kulja, Hwei Yuan, built in 1764; he had a number of subordinate administrators and the native chiefs *begs* (Po-k'o, Pâh-k'eh).]

with notes, in Astley's *Voyages*, which I have formerly read, but have not now by me. Ritter first in recent times took some pains to trace the route of Goës systematically, by the light of modern knowledge regarding these regions, such as it is. It will be seen by the notes that I have on various occasions ventured to differ from him.

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"Le chemin qu'a tenu le Père Benoit Goës de la Compagnie de Jésus: pour aller en Cathaie ou la Chine." (*Chine illustrée*, pp. 85–88.)

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Livre v:

Benoist de Goes de la Compagnie de Iesvs, est enuoyé pour faire la descouuerte du Catay: & ce qui lui advint en vne partie du chemin, pp. 145–155.

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Capitolo XIII. Il resto del viaggio del fratello Benedetto di Gois della nostra Compagnia di Cascar sino al Cataio, che ritrovò esser l' istesso che la Cina. [Decembre 1603—novembre 1605.] Pp. 538–548.

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THE JOURNEY OF BENEDICT GOËS TO CATHAY;

FROM CHAPTERS XI, XII, AND XIII OF THE WORK ENTITLED "DE CHRISTIANA EXPEDITIONE APUD SINAS, SUSCEPTA AB SOCIETATE JESU, EX P. MATTHÆI RICII COMMENTARIIS, ETC., AUCTORE P. NICOLAO TRIGAUTIO." AUGUST. VIND., 1615.

CHAPTER XI OF BOOK V

How the Portuguese, Benedict Goës, a member of our Society, is sent to find out about Cathay.

LETTERS from those members of the Society who were living at the court of the Mogul brought to Western India[1] some news regarding that famous empire which the Mahomedans called CATHAY, the name of which was once familiar to Europe through the story of Marcus Paulus the Venetian, but had in the lapse of ages so fallen out of remembrance that people scarcely believed in the existence of such a country. The substance of what the Fathers wrote from time to time was, that the empire of Cathay lay towards the east, somewhat further north than the kingdom of the Mogul; and that they had reason to believe that many professors of the Christian faith were to be found in it, with churches, priests, and

[1] Literally, "From the letters of the members dwelling at the court of *Mogor*, it was heard in *India*." With the missionaries of this age, and the Portuguese, *India* meant Goa and the Western Coast (just as with the Dutch now India means Java and Sumatra); Hindustan Proper and the dominions of the *Mogul* were called Mogor.

sacraments[1]. On this Father Nicolas Pimenta[2] the Portuguese, who was Visitor of the Society in the East Indies, became greatly taken up with the desire of establishing a field of labour for our Society among that people; all the more because it might well be supposed that Christians separated from their head by such vast distances must have fallen into sundry errors. Hence he thought it well to communicate on the matter both with the Pope and with His most Catholic Majesty[3]. And by the King's command, accordingly, despatches were sent to the Viceroy, then Arias Saldanha, desiring him to support the expedition proposed by the Visitor with both money and countenance; an order which he carried out and more, as might indeed have been expected from the favourable disposition that he entertained both towards the propagation of the faith, and towards our Order in particular. The Visitor proceeded to select for the exploration one of our Brethren called Benedict Goës[4], a Portuguese by nation, and an eminently pious and sensible man, who from his long residence in the Mogul's territories, had an accurate knowledge of the Persian tongue, and a thorough acquaintance with Mahomedan customs, two qualifications which appeared to be indispensable for any one attempting this journey.

[1] [Ricci, p. 526: "Per via de' padri della Compagnia, che stanno nelle terre del Gran Mogore, si hebbe nova nell' India che quel celebre regno, che si noma il Gran Cataio, cui fama tanti anni sono arrivo in Europa per via di Marco Polo venetiano e di altri e poi se ne era persa la notizia, stava al levante più al settentrione dello stato del Mogore, e che molti Saraceni volevano là andare a far le loro faccende, dando per nova che quivi erano molti christiani con chiese e sacerdoti et altri riti de' nostri."]

[2] [Nicolas Pimenta, born at Santarem, on the 6th December, 1546, died at Goa on the 6th March, 1614, or, according to the *Catalogus brevis Provinciae Goanae*, quoted in Ricci, p. 526 on the 6th March, 1613.]

[3] Philip III.

[4] [Written *Gois* by Ricci.]

Our brethren had heard indeed, by extracts of Father Matthew's letters from the capital of China, that Cathay was but another name for the Chinese empire[1], (a fact which has been established by various arguments in a previous part of this book). But as quite an opposite view was taken in the letters of the Fathers at the Mogul's court, the Visitor first wavered and then inclined to the opinions of the latter; for whilst he found it distinctly stated in regard to Cathay that a considerable number of Mahomedans were to be met with there, it had come to be considered an established fact that the follies of that sect had never found their way to China. Moreover, whilst it was denied that there ever had been a vestige of Christianity in China, the positive assertions of the Mahomedan eye-witnesses were held to put beyond question its existence in the country called Cathay. It was suggested that the name of an empire conterminous with China might have been extended also to the latter; and it was decided that the investigation should be carried out, so as both to remove all shadow of doubt, and to ascertain whether a shorter line of communication with China could not be established.

As regards the Christians who were held so positively to exist in Cathay (*i.e.* as we shall see by and by in *China*), either the Mahomedan informants simply lied, as they have a way of doing, or they were misled by some superficial indications. For as they themselves never pay respect to images of any kind, when they saw in the Chinese temples a number of images not altogether unlike our representations of the Mother of God and some of the Saints, they may possibly have thought that the

[1] [Ricci knew that China and Cathay were but one country; it is proved by his unpublished letter of the 13th October, 1596, mentioned in R., p. 528 *n.*]

religion of the country was all one with Christianity. They would also see both lamps and wax lights placed upon the altars; they would see those heathen priests robed in the sacred vestments which our books of ritual call *Pluvials*[1]; processions of suppliants just like ours; chaunting in a style almost exactly resembling the Gregorian chaunts in our churches; and other parallels of the same nature, which have been introduced among them by the devil, clumsily imitating holy things and grasping at the honours due to God. All these circumstances might easily lead a parcel of traders, especially if Mahomedans, to regard the people as professors of Christianity[2].

So our Benedict began to prepare for his journey, and assumed both the dress and the name of an Armenian Christian merchant, calling himself Abdula, which signifies *Servant of the Lord*, with the addition of *Isái* or the Christian[3]. And he got from the Mogul king, Akbar by

[1] [R., p. 528: "I sacerdoti con cappe e vestimenti far processioni."]

[2] So easily that the alternative supposition might have been spared. The like confusion has often occurred, and the Jesuits themselves have here shown why. According to Deguignes, the Chinese describe the sovereign and people of the (Eastern) Roman Empire as worshippers of *Fo*, or Buddha, and as putting his image on their coins. Da Gama, in his report of the various eastern kingdoms of which he heard at Calicut, describes the Buddhist countries of Pegu, &c., as Christian. Clavijo sets down the king and people of India as Christians of the Greek faith, and heard that the Emperor of Cathay was a Christian also. The Tartars, whom Josaphat Barbaro met at Tana, assured him that the inhabitants of Cathay were Christians, because "they had images in their temples as we have." Anthony Jenkinson's party were told at Bokhara, in 1559, that the religion of the people of Cathay was that of the Christians, or very nearly so (see also *supra*, III, p. 54, a note from Quatremère). When Dr. Richardson and Capt. Macleod, in their explorations of the states east of Burma, fell in with Chinese traders, these generally claimed them as of their own religion.

[3] Du Jarric says the name bestowed on him by Xavier was "*Branda* Abedula, *i.e.* Servant of the Lord." I do not know what the first word is meant for.

name, who was friendly to the brethren and above all to Benedict himself, sundry rescripts addressed to various Princes known to be either friends or tributaries of his. So he was to pass for an Armenian, for i that character he would be allowed to travel freely, whilst if known as a Spaniard he was certain to be stopped[1]. He also carried with him a variety of wares, both that he might maintain himself by selling them, and to keep up his character as a merchant. There was a large supply of these wares both from (western) India, and from the Mogul dominions, provided at the expense of the Viceroy of India, aided by contributions also from Akbar himself. Father Jerome Xavier, who had for many years been at the head of the Mogul mission, appointed two men acquainted with those countries to be the comrades of his journey. One, for Benedict's comfort, was a priest, by name Leo Grimanus, the other a merchant called Demetrius[2]. There were also four servants, Mahomedans by birth and former profession, but converted to Christianity. All of these servants however he discharged as useless when he got to LAHORE (the second capital of the Mogul), and took in lieu of them a single Armenian, Isaac by name, who had a wife and family at Lahore. This Isaac proved the most faithful of all his comrades, and stuck to him throughout the whole journey, a regular *fidus Achates*. So our brother took leave of his superior, and set out, as appears from the

[1] "He adopted the common Armenian costume, viz. a long frock and turban, with a scymitar, bow, and quiver, this being a dress usually worn by merchants, but yet such as marked him for a Christian" (Du Jarric). He allowed his hair and beard to grow long, as was the practice of merchants. He was often, however, on the journey, called in his letters mentioned, taken for a *Saida* (Syad), or descendant of Mahomed (*Ib.*).

[2] The former is probably the same person who is mentioned by Du Jarric as "the subdeacon Leo Grymonius, a clever and experienced man," a Greek by nation, who was sent by Akbar on a mission to Goa about 1590 (ii, 529).

letter of instructions, on the sixth of January in the third year of this century (1603)[1].

Every year a company of merchants is formed in that capital to proceed to the capital of another territory with a king of its own, called CASCAR[2]. These all take the road together, either for the sake of mutual comfort or for protection against robbers. They numbered in the present case about five hundred persons, with a great number of mules, camels, and carts[3]. So he set out from Lahore in this way during Lent of the year just mentioned[4], and after a month's travelling they came to a town called ATHEC[5], still within the province of Lahore. After (a halt of) about a fortnight they crossed a river of a bowshot in width, boats being provided at the passage for the accommodation of the merchants[6]. On the opposite bank of the river they halted for five days, having received warning that a large body of robbers was threatening the road, and then after two months they arrived at another city called PASSAUR[7]: and there they

[1] The instructions were probably sent after him to Lahore, for we have seen that according to another and probably more correct statement he set out on the 31st October, and reached Lahore 8th December, 1602. As instructed, he did not put up at the church at Lahore, then occupied by the Jesuits Emanuel Pinheiro and Francis Corsi, but at the house of John Galisci, a Venetian (Du Jarric).

[2] Kashgar.

[3] [R., p. 530: "Quattrocento o cinquecento persone con cavalli, cameli e cariaggi."]

[4] Easter in 1603 was 30th March, N.S.

[5] Attock, on the Indus. [Attock Town (Atak) is a fort above the Indus "built by Akbar in 1581, to protect his empire against the inroads of his brother, Hakim Mirza, governor of Kābul; and he named it Atak-Banāras in contrast to Katak-Banāras, the fort which lay in the south-east corner of his empire." The District of Attock is in the Rāwalpindi Division of Punjab. (*Imp. Gazetteer of India.*)]

[6] [R., p. 530: "cavalli, cameli e mercantie."]

[7] Peshāwar. For two *months* read two *marches*, see p. 180, *supra*. These halts of twenty days, thirty days, all look suspicious. Some mistaken interpretation is probably at the bottom of the

halted twenty days for needful repose. Further on, whilst on their way to another small town, they fell in with a certain pilgrim[1] and devotee, from whom they learned that at a distance of thirty days' journey there was a city called CAPPERSTAM, into which no Mahomedan was allowed to enter, and if one did get in he was punished with death[2]. There was no hindrance offered to the entrance of *heathen* merchants into the cities of those people, only they were not allowed to enter the temples. He related also that the inhabitants of that country never visited their temples except in black dresses; and that their country was extremely productive, abounding especially in grapes. He offered our brother Benedict a cup of the produce, and he found it to be wine like our own; and as such a thing is quite unusual among the Mahomedans of those regions, a suspicion arose that perhaps the country was inhabited by Christians[3]. In

difficulty. [Peshāwar, since 1901 capital of the North-West Frontier Province, "is situated on a ridge overlooking the surrounding plain and the city, which lies near the left bank of the Bārā Stream, 13½ miles south-east of the junction of the Swāt and Kābul rivers, and 10½ miles from Jamrūd fort near the entrance of the Khyber Pass." In the time of Fa Hian it was the capital of the Ghandara Province. "In 1552 Humāyūn found the fortress in ruins, but had it repaired and entrusted it to a governor, who successfully defended it against the Afghāns under Khān Kajū. The town appears to have been refounded by Balgram, a contemporary of Akbar, and was much enlarged by General Avitabile, its governor under the Sikhs." (*Imp. Gaz. of India.*)]

[1] [R., p. 530: "un eremitano de idoli pellegrino."]

[2] [Under "the reign of the late Amír, when Afghān troops overran the country, and brought about its complete subjection. With the exception of the Rāmgulis, who held out for a considerable period, the Kāfirs, who were ill-armed, made but a feeble resistance, and have accepted the Muhamedan religion with little demur." (*Imp. Gaz. of India.*)]

[3] [R., p. 530: "Caferstam."] The "city called Capperstam" represents KAFIRISTAN [in Afghanistan], the hill-country occupied by the fair race called by the Mahomedans *Kafirs*, or infidels, of whom we still know extremely little. Some of them, at least, are called *Siyaposh*, or black-clothed (like the Scythian *Melanchlæni* of Herodotus, iv, 107), from their wearing black goat-skins The abundance of grapes and wine among them is noticed by

the place where they met with that wanderer they halted for twenty days more, and as the road was reported to be infested with brigands they got an escort of four hundred soldiers from the lord of the place. From this they travelled in twenty-five days to a place called

Elphinstone (ii, 375) and Wood. Sultan Baber also says; "So prevalent is the use of wine among them, that every Kafir has a *Khig*, or leathern bottle of wine, about his neck; they drink wine instead of water" (p. 144). Timur, before entering Afghanistan on his march towards India, sent an expedition against the Siyaposh; and himself led one against another section of the Kafirs, the members of which, according to his historian, went quite naked. To reach these he crossed the snowy mountain *Kataur*. This is the name of one of the Kafir tribes in Elphinstone, and *Shah Kataur* is a title still affected by the Chief of Chitral, according to Burnes. Chinghiz also after his campaign in the region of the Hindu Kush, is stated to have wintered in the mountains of *Buya Kataur*. Thence he attempted to reach Mongolia by Tibet (probably by the passes of Karakorúm), but failed, and had to go round by Bamian. Akbar and Nadir Sháh also undertook expeditions against the Kafirs, both unsuccessfully. (*H. de Timur Bec*, iii, 14–21; D'Ohsson, i, 319; Elphinstone's *Caubul*, ii, 376, 381; Ritter, vii, 207.)

Kafiristan has lately been visited by two native missionaries, employed under the agents of the Church Missionary Society at Peshāwar, and some account of their experiences has been published, but it does not amount to much. The chastity and honesty of the people are lauded. Those of the same village entertain a strong feeling of kindred, so that neither fighting nor marrying among themselves is admissible. But the different tribes or villages are often at war with each other, and then to kill men or women of an alien tribe is the road to honour. They have no temples, priests, or books. They believe that there is one God, but keep three idols whom they regard as intercessors with him. One of these, called *Palishanu*, is roughly carved in wood, with silver eyes; he is resorted to in excess or defect of rain, or in epidemic sickness. Goats are sacrificed, and the blood sprinkled on the idol. Women must not approach it. The other two idols are common stones. Goats' flesh is the chief food of the people, and occasionally partridges and deer; but fowls, eggs, and fish are not used [though the rivers teem with fish]. They have no horses, donkeys, or camels, only a few oxen and buffaloes, and a few dogs. "They drink wine in large quantities, and very nasty it is, if what was brought down to Peshāwar may be taken as a specimen;" but none were seen drunk. Their drinking-vessels were of curiously wrought pottery, and occasionally of silver. They live to a great age, and continue hale till the day of death. "The men are somewhat dark, but the women are said to be as fair as Europeans, and very beautiful, with red cheeks." The men hardly ever wash either their clothes or their persons. In talking they shout with all their might. They bury their dead

GHIDELI[1]. In the whole of this journey the baggage and packs were carried along the foot of the hills, whilst the merchants, arms in hand, kept a look out for the robbers from the hill-top[2]. For these latter are in the habit of rolling stones down upon travellers, unless these are beforehand with them on the heights, and meeting violence by violence drive them away. At this place the merchants pay a toll, and here the robbers made

with coffins, in caves among the hills. (From *Christian Work*, September, 1865, p. 421.) [“The dead are disposed of in a peculiar manner. They are not buried, or burnt, but are deposited in large boxes, placed on the hill-side or in some more or less secluded spot.” (*Imp. Gaz. of India.*)]

Leech, in his Report on the Passes of Hindu Kush, mentions that *smiths* are regarded by the Kafirs as natural bondsmen, and are occasionally brought for sale to the Musulman people of the valleys; also, that the oath of peace of the Kafirs consists in licking a piece of salt. TL last was also the oath of the Kasias on the eastern frontier of Be gal, in whose country I spent some time many years ago.

[1] George Forster was, on the 31st July, at Gandamak; on the 1st of August he rested at *Djeguid-Ali* (I am using a French version, and do not know how Forster spells it); next day he got to Kabul. I suspect that this *Djeguid-Ali* is the *Ghideli* of Goës, and that both represent the *nomen infelix* of Jugdulluk (*Jour. from Bengal to Petersburg*, French version by Langlès, ii, 52). The preceding town, where Goës' party got an escort, was probably Jalalābād. The exaggerated interpretation of the times occupied in the march must be kept in mind, whatever be the cause of the error. According to the text, Goës was forty-five days + *x* in getting from Peshāwar to Kabul. Forster's account makes him only seven days; Wood, with Burnes, was nineteen days, but with halts included. [On Major-General Walker's Map of Turkestan, 1878, Sheet No. 4, between Peshāwar and Jalalābād we find Girdi and Girdikas; it may be Ghideli.]

[In one itinerary from Peshāwar to Kabul taken from Muhammad Abdul Kerim Moonshy's *Tarikhi Ahmed*, translated from the Persian by the late Ch. Schefer (*Recueil d'Itinéraires et de Voy. dans l'Asie centrale*. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1878, pp. 361–6), we read that on the tenth day the traveller reaches Guendoumek (Gandamak), on the eleventh Djegdelèh, and on the fifteenth Kabul. “Djegdelèh, localité bien peuplée et qui constitue le domaine de la tribu afghane de Suleyman-Kheyl.” I have little doubt that this Djegdelèh is the Ghideli of Goës.]

[Jalalābād, in Afghanistan, 79 miles from Peshāwar and 101 from Kabul, was founded in 1570 by the Emperor Akbar.]

[2] The neglect of this same practice of “crowning the heights” caused grievous disaster in those very passes, in the first attempt to relieve the “Illustrious Garrison” of Jalalābād in 1841.

an onslaught. Many of the company were wounded, and life and property were saved with difficulty Our Benedict fled with the rest into the jungle, but coming back at night they succeeded in getting away from the robbers. After twenty days more they reached CABUL[1], a city greatly frequented for trade, and still within the territories subject to the Mogul. Here our friends halted altogether for eight months. For some of the merchants laid aside the intention of going any further, and the rest were afraid to go on in so small a body.

At this same city the company of merchants[2] was joined by the sister of that very King of Cascar, through whose territory it was needful to pass on the way to Cathay. The king's name is Maffamet Can[3]; his sister was the mother of another king, entitled the Lord of COTAN[4], and she herself was called Age Hanem[5]. *Age* is a title with which the Saracens decorate those who go on pilgrimage to the impostor's carcase at Mecca[6]. In

[1] [Kabul, capital of Afghanistan. "Kabul first became a capital when Bābar made himself master of it in 1504, and here he reigned for twenty years before his invasion of Hindustán. It passed on the death of Bābar to his younger son, Kāmrān, who, after several attacks on his brother Humāyūn, was defeated and blinded by him (1553). Humāyūn left it to his infant son, Mirza Hakim, on whose death, in 1585, it passed to the latter's elder brother, Akbar. From this time up to its capture by Nādir Shah (1738), it was held by the Mughal Emperors of India. From Nādir Shah it passed to Ahmad Shāh Durrāni, whose son, Timūr, made it the capital of his kingdom. It continued to be the capital during the Sadozai dynasty, and is so still under the now reigning Bāraksais." (*Imp. Gaz. of India.*)]

[R., p. 531: "con archi e freccie."]

[2] [R., p. 531: "[s']incontrò il fratel Benedetto con una sorella del re di Cascàr."]

[3] [R., p. 531: "Mafamet Cam."] [4] [R., p. 531: "Cotàm."]

[5] *Hajji-Khanum*, "The Pilgrim Princess." Du Jarric calls her *Ahehaxam*, *i.e.*, in the Turkish tongue, "*Beauty coming down from Mecca*" (?). The king's name is, of course, Mahomed Khán; his sister's son, the Lord of Khotan, south-east of Kashgar and Yarkand.

[6] [It is hardly necessary to recall that the Prophet was buried at Medina, not at Mecca.]

fact she was now on her return from that immense journey to Mecca, which she had performed for the sake of her blasphemous creed; and having run short of money she came to seek assistance from the merchants, and promised that she would honestly repay their advances with ample interest on reaching her territory. This seemed to our brother an opportunity not to be lost of obtaining the favour of the king of another kingdom, for now the efficacy of the Mogul's orders was coming to an end. So he made her an advance of about six hundred pieces of gold from the sale of his goods, and refused to allow interest to be stipulated in the bond. She would not, however, let herself be outdone in liberality, for she afterwards paid him in pieces of that kind of marble[1] which is so highly esteemed among the Chinese, and which is the most profitable of all investments that one can take to Cathay.

From this place the Priest Leo Grimanus went back [to Lahore], being unable to stand the fatigues of the journey; and his comrade Demetrius stopped behind in the town on account of some business. So our brother set out, attended by no one but the Armenian, in the caravan with the other merchants. For some others had now joined them, and it was thought that they could proceed with safety.

The first town that they came to was CIARAKÁR, a place where there is great abundance of iron[2]. And here

[1] [R., p. 532: "pietra di iaspe, molto fina, che è la migliore mercantia che di Cascar portano alla Cina."]

[2] *Chārīkār* [on the Ghorband] at the head of the Koh-Daman valley, north of Kabul, famous in our own day for the gallant defence made there by Eldred Pottinger, and Haughton, during the Kabul outbreak (1841). It is mentioned by Ibn Batuta as *Charkh*. Leech, in his Report on the Passes, calls it *Charka*. [Chārīkār, in Afghanistan, at the mouth of the Ghorband Valley, about forty miles north of Kabul. "Iron ore is brought to Chārikār in great quantities from the Ghorband mines, and is worked up

Benedict was subjected to a great deal of annoyance. For in those outskirts of the Mogul's dominions no attention was paid to the king's *firman*, which had hitherto given him immunity from exactions of every kind. Ten days later they got to a little town called PARUÁN[1], and this was the last in the Mogul's territories. After five days' repose they proceeded to cross over very lofty mountains by a journey of twenty days, to the district called AINGHARÀN[2], and after fifteen days more they

for the Kābul market." (*Imp. Gaz. of India.*) It is the residence of the governor of Kohistan, a sub-province of Kabul.]

It is to be recollected that the names in the text are all spelt by Ricci after the Italian fashion.

[R., p. 532: "dove stettero venti giorni."]

[1] [R., p. 532: "Parvam, terra piccola e ultima dello stato del Mogore."] *Parwān*, in a nook of the Hindu Kush, has, from its position near the terminus of several of the chief passes, often been famous in Asiatic history. It is evidently the *Karwan* of Jaubert's Edrisi (a mistranscription for *Farwan*)—"The town of Farwán is of no great size, but a nice enough place with agreeable environs, thronged bazaars, and rich inhabitants. The houses are of clay and brick. It is situated on the banks of the river Banjhir (*Panjshir*). This town is one of the principal markets of India" (i, p. 477). At Parwān the army of Chinghiz was checked for the moment in 1221, being defeated by the Sultan Jalal-uddín of Khwarizm. And in an action near Parwān in 1840 took place the ominous misconduct of a regiment of Bengal cavalry, which caused the day to be lost, with the lives of several valuable officers, though Dost Mahomed Khan surrendered immediately afterwards.

[2] Here the great number of days occupied in the various portions of the journey is perplexing in the detail as well as erroneous in the total (as we have seen it to be). Goës and his party are made to take seventy-five days from Kabul to Talhan (the identity of which can scarcely be doubtful), a journey which could scarcely have occupied more than sixteen to twenty at most.

Wood, in his unsuccessful attempt to cross one of the Passes of Parwān (perhaps that followed by Goës), on the second day reached the village I-ANGHERAN, and Ahingaran [R., p. 532: "Aingaràm"] is also mentioned in Leech's Report as a village on one of the passes from Parwān at twenty-six miles from the entrance of the pass. But this place is on the *south* side of the mountains, whilst the Aingharàn of Goës is on the north. Either it has been confounded with *Andarab*, or, as is very possible, the name, which I suppose is *Ahan-gharàn*, 'The Iron-Mines,' recurs. Indeed just before receiving the proof of this sheet I have observed the recurrence of the name in another locality, suggesting a different view of Goës' route over the mountains,

reached CALCIÀ. There is a people here with yellow[1] hair and beard like the people of the Low Countries who occupy sundry hamlets about the country. After ten days more they came to a certain place called

for which I refer to the note on the Passes at the end. *Calcià* (Kalsha, Kalacha, Kilasiya?) is a great difficulty, as it was evidently a place of some importance, but no place of the name can be traced. *'Khulum* however appears to have been in the possession of a family called Khallach or Killich, and it is possible that that town may be meant (see Elphinstone's *Caubul*, ii, 196; also Burnes, iii). I must not, however, omit to mention that on the north side of the Oxus in this longitude, occupying part of the hill-country east of Bokhara there is a poor but independent people of Persian race called *Ghalchas*. Meyendorff calls them very swarthy but Valikhanoff says expressly: "The Tajiks have dark complexions and hair, whilst fair people are found among the Ghalcha." This might explain the yellow-haired people mentioned by Goës, and his use of the expression *Calciensium Populos*.

["The population of Sarîkol, apart from the nomadic Kirghiz herdsmen who visit its grazing grounds, consists of hill Tâjiks, who by physical appearance and language alike are unmistakably proved to belong to the so-called Galcha stock." Stein, i, p. 25. "The hillmen of Sarîkol at the present day form the extreme outpost of Irânian nationality towards the east." *Ibid.* p. 26.

"Finally, it may be pointed out in passing that an ethnic link between the Irânian Sarîkolis and the present population of those oases is, perhaps, to be found in the small and little known hill-tribe of the Pakhpos, who partly as herdsmen, partly as cultivators, dwell in the narrow valleys near the headwaters of the Tiznaf and Yarkand Rivers. Dr. Bellew, to whom we owe what scanty information has so far been recorded about this curious people, describes them as of 'pronounced Caucasian features' and very fair." Stein, p. 26.]

But I cannot well see how his Calcià should be beyond the Oxus, nor find any evidence of Ghalchas south of that river. *Gaoloshan* in the Chinese tables, which is nearer Calcià than any other name, is placed 1° 36′ west of Badakhshan and 0° 26′ north of it. This indication also points to the north of the Oxus, about twenty miles due north of Hazrat Imam (see Meyendorff, p. 132; *Russ. in Cent. Asia*, p. 65; Amyot, *Mémoires*, tom. i, p. 399). If Calcià, however, be Khulum, *Jalalâbâd* must then be sought between Khulum and Talikhan, about Kunduz or Aliabad, if not identical with one of these. [I should rather seek for Calcià at Khanabad between Kunduz and Talikhan.]

[1] [R., p. 532: "barba e capelli rossi."]

[Stein speaking of a friendly Sarikoli says: "With his tall figure, fair hair, and blue eyes, he looked the very embodiment of that *Homo Alpinus* type which prevails in Sarikol. I thought of old Benedict Goëz, the lay Jesuit, who when passing in 1603 from the Upper Oxus to 'Sarcil' or Sarikol, noted in the looks of the scanty inhabitants a resemblance to Flemings." *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i, p. 89.]

GIALALABATH. Here are brahmans who exact a toll under a grant made to them by the King of Bruarata[1]. In fifteen days more they came to TALHAN, where they halted for a month, deterred by the civil wars that were going on[2]; for the roads were said to be unsafe on account of the rebellion of the people of Calcià[3].

From this they went on to CHEMÀN[4], a place under Abdulahan King of Samarkan, Burgavia[5], Bacharata,

[1] *Bruarata* is almost certainly a misreading for *Bacharata*, the term used further on for *Bokhara*. [R., p. 533: "*Bucarate*."]

[2] [R., p. 533: "in tumulto per la ribellione delli popoli di Calcià."]

[3] *Talhan* is the first terra firma in the narrative since quitting Parwān. It is doubtless Talikhan, about fifty miles east of Kunduz, and has been spoken of in the Introductory Notice (p. 184). It is mentioned by Marco Polo under the name of *Taican* (i, p. 153). [In the travels of Sidi Ali, son of Husaïn (*Journ. Asiat.*, October, 1826, p. 203), "Talikan, in the country of Badakhschan" is mentioned. It is still existing in the province of Kataghan or Kunduz, but it bears the former name (*Thâlḳân*) in the old Arab geographies.]

[Goës has now arrived at a point, Talikhan, of Marco Polo's route, and there seems little doubt that he is now marching in the footsteps of the Venetian traveller until he reaches the Pass of Chichchiklik, viz. the River Vardoj, the Pass of Ishkashm, the Panja, to Wakhán; Little Pamir at Bozai-Gumbaz joins with the Pamír-i-Wakhán at the Wakhijrui Pass, first explored by Colonel Lockhart's Mission. Hence the route lies by the old fort of Kurgan-i-Ujadbai at the junction of the two branches of the Tāgh-dum-bāsh Pamir (Supreme Head of the Mountains), the Tâgh-dum Pamir and Tāsh-Kurghān.]

[4] I cannot say what place this is. Hazrat *Imám* on the Oxus appears too much out of the way. But Wood mentions, at the junction of the Kokcha with the Oxus, due north of Talikhan, a mountain which he calls *I-Khanam* (*Koh-i-Khanam?* "Hill of Khanam"): "Immediately below I-Khanam, on its east side, the ground is raised into low swelling ridges. Here, we were informed, stood an ancient city called Barbarrah, and there is a considerable extent of mud-walls standing which the Tajiks think are vestiges of the old city, but which are evidently of a comparatively modern era." It is possible that this was *Khanam*, and the *Cheman* of Goës. [R., p. 533: "Chescàn."] [Both on the Russian Map of Asiatic Russia in eight sheets (Sheet 5, 1883), and the Map of Turkestan of Major-General Walker, 1878 (Sheet No. 4, scale 1 in. = 32 miles), beyond Talikhan situated between Kunduz and Kishm, we find Teskan or Teshkán, probably our Chescàn, on the road to Faizabad.]

[5] *Burgavia* is probably a misprint for *Burgania* (as Astley in his version has indeed printed it), and intended for *Farghānah*.

and other adjoining kingdoms[1]. It is a small town, and the governor sent to the merchants to advise them to come within the walls, as outside they would not be very safe from the Calcià insurgents The merchants, however, replied that they were willing to pay toll, and would proceed on their journey by night. The governor of the town then absolutely forbad their proceeding, saying that the rebels of Calcià as yet had no horses, but they would get them if they plundered the caravan, and would thus be able to do much more damage to the country, and be much more troublesome to the town; it would be a much safer arrangement if they would join his men in beating off the Calcià people. They had barely reached the town walls when a report arose that the Calcià people were coming On hearing this the bragging governor and his men took to their heels[2]. The merchants on the spur of the moment formed a kind of entrenchment of their packs, and collected a great heap of stones inside in case their arrows should run short. When the Calcià people found this out, they sent a deputation to the merchants to tell them to fear nothing, for they would themselves escort and protect the caravan. The merchants, however, were not disposed to put trust in these insurgents, and after holding counsel together flight was determined on. Somebody or other made this design known to the rebels, upon which immediately they made a rush forward, knocked over the packs, and took whatever

The prince is then Abdulla Khan, King of Samarkand, Bokhara and Farghana. The reigning sovereign at this time, according to Deguignes (i, 291–2) was Abdul Mumin of the Uzbek house of Shaibek, which had reigned for a century in Mā-warā-n-Nahr.

[1] [R., p. 533: "Re di Samarhan, Burgagne, Bucarate et altri regni vicini."]

[2] [R., p. 533: "Arrivò la compagnia presso ai muri, e venendo nova che quei di Calcià venivano con grande furia, il governatore abandonò la villa e con tutta la gente se ne fugitte in cavalli e cameli."]

they liked. These robbers then called the merchants out of the jungle (into which they had fled) and gave them leave to retire with the rest of their property within the empty city walls. Our Benedict lost nothing but one of his horses, and even that he afterwards got back in exchange for some cotton cloths[1]. They remained in the town in a great state of fear lest the rebels should make a general attack and massacre the whole of them. But just then a certain leading chief, by name Olobet Ebadascan, of the Buchara country, sent his brother to the rebels, and he by threats induced them to let the merchants go free[2]. Throughout the whole journey, however, robbers were constantly making snatches at the tail of the caravan. And once it befel our friend Benedict that he had dropped behind the party and was attacked by four brigands who had been lying *perdus*. The way he got off from them was this: he snatched off his Persian cap[3] and flung it at the thieves, and whilst they were making a football of it our brother had time to spur his horse and get a bowshot clear of them, and so safely joined the rest of the company.

[1] [R., p. 534: "il quale poi riscosse con due pezze di tela."]

[2] There are some doubtful points in reading this. In Trigault the sentence runs: "*Misit dux quidam e maximis, nomine* Olobet Ebadascan, *Bucharatis regione fratrem suum, qui* minus *Calcienses rebelles adegit ut negotiatores liberos abire permitterent*," where Olobet Ebadascan ('Ala-Beg Ibadat Khan?) is treated as one name. Perhaps however the original ran, "Olobet e Badaścan" —"a chief by name 'Alá-Beg (or Wali-Beg) of Badakshan, a country under Bokhara." In the latter clause I have supposed *minus* to be a misprint for *minis*; otherwise it must be "induced the less rebellious of the Calcha people," which would be awkward. [R., p. 534: "Stando i mercanti dentro delle mura con grande paura di essere ammazzati da quei ribelli, un grande capitano per nome *Olobeth*, mandò di Badasciàn, terra del Bucarate, suo fratello *Oscialbeth* a minacciare ai ribelli di Calcià se facessero nessun male a quella compagnia di mercanti; e per questo furno lasciati andare al loro cammino, ma con molte roberie in tutto esso."]

[3] [R., p. 534: "il turbante que portava nella testa a guisa degli armenij di tela della India."]

After eight days of the worst possible road, they reached the TENGHI BADASCIAN[1]. *Tengi* signifies a difficult road; and it is indeed fearfully narrow, giving passage to only one at a time, and running at a great height above the bed of a river[2]. The townspeople here, aided by a band of soldiers, made an attack upon the merchants, and our brother lost three horses. These, however, also he was enabled to ransom with some small presents. They halted here ten days, and then in one day's march reached CIARCIUNAR, where they were detained five days in the open country by rain, and suffered not only from the inclemency of the weather, but also from another onslaught of robbers[3].

From this in ten days they reached SERPANIL; but this was a place utterly desolate and without a symptom of human occupation; and then they came to the ascent of the steep mountain called SACRITHMA[4]. None but the stoutest of the horses could face this mountain; the rest had to pass by a roundabout but easier road. Here two of our brother's mules went lame, and the weary servants wanted to let them go, but after all they were got to follow the others. And so, after a journey of twenty days, they reached the province of SARCIL[5], where they found a number of hamlets near together. They halted there two days to rest the horses[6], and then in two days more reached the foot of the mountain called CIECIALITH. It was covered deep with snow, and during the ascent many were frozen to death, and our brother

[1] [R., p. 534: "Tenghi Badasciàn."]
[2] [R., p. 535: "sotto di esso correre un grande fiume sino a arrivare alla stessa città di Badasciàn."]
[3] [R., p. 535: "di Calcià."]
[4] [R., p. 535: "con mani e con piedi."]
[5] [R., p. 536: "Sarcòl."]
[6] [R., p. 536: "che venivano assai stanchi."]

himself barely escaped, for they were altogether six days in the snow here. At last they reached TANGHETÀR, a place belonging to the Kingdom of Cascar. Here Isaac the Armenian fell off the bank of a great river into the water, and lay as it were dead for some eight hours till Benedict's exertions at last brought him to.

In fifteen days more they reached the town of IAKONICH[1], and the roads were so bad that six of our brother's horses died of fatigue. After five days more our Benedict going on by himself in advance of the caravan reached the capital, which is called HIARCHAN[2], and sent

[1] [R., p. 536: "Jacorich."]

[Iakonich or Yakonich "manifestly contains the misspelt name of the large village Yaka-arik, south-west of Yarkand, passed on the route from Chichiklik." (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i. p. 40 *n.*) On the map of Great Tartary by Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg (1723) we find: Choteen, Kargalagga, Sarikol, Tamgeran, Jakonig, Ierken or Hiarchan.]

[2] Goës travelled like Hiuen Tsang from India to the Upper Oxus by way of Kabul and Badakhshan, then to Tash Kurghān (*i.e.* Sarcòl, Sarikol), Chichiklik, Tangheter (Tangitar), Yakonich (Yaka-aryk), Hiarchan (Yarkand). *Cf.* Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 40.

"Taking into account the topographical indications furnished by the pilgrim's [Hiuen Tsang] own route and the distance and bearing recorded, I had previously arrived at the conclusion that the site of the hospice would have to be looked for on the Chichiklik Maidan, the plateau-like head of a high valley, where the main route from Tāsh-kurghān, the Sarīkol capital, to Kāshgar crosses the second great mountain range stretching south from the Muztāgh-ata massif. But it was only on my recent journey that I was able to examine this route and to verify the conjectured location. I found that the curious level plain about 2½ miles long and about 1½ miles across, at the head of the Shindī Valley, situated at an elevation of over 14,000 feet and bordered all round by snowy ridges, corresponds most closely to Hsüan-tsang's description. The accounts of my caravan men and my personal observations amply sufficed to convince me of the losses which this desolate upland of Chichiklik, exposed to the winds and snows, claims annually in animals and sometimes in men Most of it was still under snow when I passed here in June, 1906." (M. Aurel Stein, *Buddhist Local Worship in Central Asia*, pp. 840–1. Stein quotes the passage of *Cathay*, p. 562.)

["While all the other Pāmīrs are situated within the drainage area of the Oxus, the waters of the Tāghdumbāsh Pāmīr discharge themselves eastwards into the great Turkestān Basin. The river of which they are the main feeders, and which takes its best-known name from Tāsh-kurghān, the chief place it passes, breaks

back horses to help on his party with necessaries for his comrades. And so they also arrived not long after safe at the capital, with bag and baggage, in November of the same year 1603[1].

through the great meridional range flanking the Pāmirs on the east, and ultimately joins the Yarkand river or Zarafshan. The collection of valleys which the river of Tāsh-kurghān drains, together with some minor alpine tracts adjoining them towards the Upper Yarkand River, constitutes the well-defined mountain district now known as Sarikol." Stein, i, pp. 22–23.]

[1] The places named in the preceding paragraphs continue to present some difficulty, but in a somewhat less degree than those lately encountered.

The *Tangi-i-Badakhshan*, "Straits or Defiles of Badakhshan,"—this precise expression is used in the *Akbar-Namah* as quoted by Quatremère. (*Not. et Ext.*, xiv, Pt. i, 222.)—I should look for them along the Oxus in Darwaz and Shagnan, where the paths appear, from what Wood heard, to be much more difficult and formidable than that which he followed, crossing from the Kokcha at Faizabad to the Upper Oxus in Wakhán, where again the latter river runs in a comparatively open valley. The title is well illustrated by Marco Polo's expressions: "En cest regne (de Balacian) a *maint estroit pas moult mauvois* et si fort que il n'ont doute de nullui" (Pauthier's Ed., p. 121). ["After our experiences across the Baroghil and Wakhjir the snow-beds encountered on the Chichiklik Maidan, relatively firm under a grey heavy sky, did not impress me so much as they might otherwise have done. Yet I could not help realizing the trials presented at other times by this bleak plateau close on 15,000 feet above sea, as I recalled here the account left by Benedict Goëz." Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i, p. 99. From the Chichiklik Maidan he "entered the deep-cut defile eastwards, appropriately known as 'Tangi-tar,' *i.e.* 'the narrow gorge,' through which the winter route passes eastwards." *Ibid.*—This is exactly the route followed by Goës.] *Ciarciunar* is, I suppose, unquestionably the Persian CHAR CHINAR, "The four plane-trees." This (Chárchinár) is actually the name of an island in the Lake of Kashmir, formerly conspicuous for its four great plane-trees (see Forster's *Journey*). *Serpanil*, desolate and without human habitation, I take to be probably SIR-I-PAMIR, "The head or top of Pamir," the celebrated plateau from which the Oxus, Jaxartes, Rivers of Yarkand and Kashgar, and the Gilgit branch of the Indus derive their headwaters. The anomalous name *Sacrithma* may represent a station which appears in Macartney's map on the mountains near the head of the Oxus as SARIKBAEE. Wilford makes some wild work with this name Sacrithma, quoting Goës, in his essay on the "Isles of the West" in vol. viii of the *As. Researches*. The ridge to which Goës applies the name must be that which separates the Sirikul from the headwaters of the Yarkand River. *Sarcil* may then be, as Ritter surmised, the district of SARĪKOL near the said headwaters (see *Russ. in Cent. Asia*, p. 157; Ritter, vii, 489, 505; iii, 635). *Ciecialith* (*i.e.* Chechalith) is then without doubt that spur of the Bolor

running out towards Yarkand, which appears on some recent maps of Asia as the CHICHECK TAGH, and in Klaproth's map cited by Ritter as *Tchetchetlagh*, immediately north of Sarikul. The passage of this great spur is shown very distinctly in a route laid down in Macartney's map (in Elphinstone's *Caubul*), only the author supposed it to be the main chain of the Kara Korum. Macartney terms the *Col* of which Goës gives so formidable an account, the *Pass of Chiltung*, and a station at the northern side of it CHUKAKLEE, which is probably the Chechalith of our traveller.

Tanghetàr I had supposed to be a mistranscription for *Yanghesar*, *i.e.* Ingachar or YANGI-HISAR, an important town forty-seven miles S.E. of Kashgar on the road from that city to Yarkand, an error all the more probable as we have Tusce for Yusce a little further on. *Tungeetar*, however, appears in Macartney's map, and immediately beyond he represents the road as bifurcating towards Kashgar and Yarkand. It must in any case be near Yengi-Hisar if not identical with it. *Iakonich* I cannot trace. [See *supra*.]

[Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i, p. 42, remarks that Goës "appears to have spent not less than twenty-eight days in the journey from the hamlets of 'Sarcil' (Sarīkol, *i.e.* Tāsh-kurghān) to 'Hiarchan' (Yarkand)—a distance of some 188 miles, now reckoned at ten days' march."]

["Though Yarkand is in all probability a place of considerable antiquity, it is difficult to trace back its name or even its existence as a town of importance previous to the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century.... Yarkand undoubtedly owes its old-established prosperity and its flourishing trade to its position at the point where the great routes from Khotan, Ladāk, and the Oxus are joined by those leading to Kashgar and the north-eastern part of the Tarim Basin. The abundance of local produce favours the growth of a large town population, and this, with its quasi-cosmopolitan colonies drawn from all parts of the Oxus Valley, from Ladāk, Baltistan, Afghanistan, and the border regions of China, reflects the true causes of Yarkand's importance." Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i, pp. 87–8.]

Ritter is led by the slight resemblance of names to identify the Charchunar of Goës with Karchu, near the upper waters of the Yarkand, and this mistake, as it seems to me, deranges all his interpretation of the route of Goës between Talikhan and Sarīkol.

Goës in a letter from Yarkand to Agra spoke of the great difficulties and fatigues encountered in crossing this desert of *Pamech* (PAMIR), in which he had lost five horses by the cold. So severe was it, he said, that animals could scarcely breathe the air, and often died in consequence. As an antidote to this (which, of course, was the effect of attenuated atmosphere rather than of cold) the men used to eat garlic, leeks, and dried apples, and the horses' gums were rubbed with garlic. This desert took forty days to cross if the snow was extensive (Du Jarric). Forty days is the time assigned by Polo also to the passage of this lofty region (ii, 27).

CHAPTER XII OF BOOK V

The remainder of the Journey to Cathay, and how it is ascertained to be all the same as the Chinese empire.

HIARCHAN, the capital of the kingdom of Cascar[1], is a mart of much note, both for the great concourse of merchants, and for the variety of wares. At this capital the caravan of Kabul merchants reaches its terminus; and a new one is formed for the journey to Cathay[2]. The command of this caravan is sold by the king, who invests the chiefs with a kind of royal authority over the merchants for the whole journey[3]. A twelvemonth passed away however before the new company was formed, for the way is long and perilous, and the caravan is not formed every year, but only when a large number arrange to join it, and when it is known that they will be allowed to enter Cathay.

There is no article of traffic more valuable, or more generally adopted as an investment for this journey, than

[1] [R., p. 538: "La città di Hiarcàn molto grande." It is the kingdom called *So kiu* by the Chinese.]

[2] ["Though the political centre has shifted from Yarkand since the re-establishment of Chinese rule, the above description still holds good; and we may well conclude that the flourishing condition of the city which Marco Polo's account also indicates, was maintained from early times independent of political predominance." Stein, pp. 88–9.]

[3] Du Jarric, from the letters which Goës wrote from Yarkand in February and August, 1604, mentions that the chief whom he eventually accompanied paid the king two hundred bags of musk for the nomination. Four others were associated with him as envoys; and one hundred and seventy-two merchants, who purchased this privilege from the chief at a high price, insomuch that he cleared a large amount by the transaction.

lumps of a certain transparent kind of marble which we, from poverty of language, usually call jasper. They carry these to the Emperor of Cathay, attracted by the high prices which he deems it obligatory on his dignity to give; and such pieces as the Emperor does not fancy they are free to dispose of to private individuals. The profit on these transactions is so great that it is thought amply to compensate for all the fatigue and expense of the journey. Out of this marble they fashion a variety of articles, such as vases, and brooches for mantles and girdles, which when artistically sculptured in flowers and foliage certainly have an effect of no small magnificence. These marbles (with which the empire is now overflowing) are called by the Chinese Iusce[1] There are two kinds of it; the first and more valuable is got out of the river of Cotàn, not far from the capital, almost in the same way in which divers fish for gems[2], and this is usually extracted in pieces about as big as large flints. The other and inferior kind is excavated from the mountains; the larger masses are split into slabs some two ells broad and these are

[1] The word as printed in Trigautius is *Tusce*, but this is certainly a mistake for Iusce, *i.e. Yu shé* or "Yu stone," the Chinese name of the oriental jade, the *Yashm* of Western Asiatics (see II, p. 221, *supra*).

The description in the text of the double source of supply of jade is perfectly in accordance with the Chinese authorities, one kind being fished up in boulder form by divers, from the rivers on each side of the chief city of Khotan, which are called respectively Yurung-Kash and Kara-Kash (White Jade and Black Jade), and the other kind quarried in large masses from the mountain called *Mirjai*, which is stated by a Chinese writer to be two hundred and thirty *li* (about seventy miles) from Yarkand. From the mention of a jade quarry by Mir Izzet Ullah, about half-way from the Kara Korum Pass to Yarkand, it is probable that the Mirjai mountain is to be sought thereabouts (see Ritter, vii, 380–9). Ritter will have the *Cansanghi Cascio* of our text to be a mistake for *Käraugui-Tagh*, the name which he finds applied to the range in which the rivers of Khotan spring, probably a part of the Kuen-Lun. But the words are Persian, *Kán sangi-Kásh*, "The mine of Kash (or Jade) Stone," *Kash* being the Turki word for that mineral.

[2] [R., p. 539: "perle e margarite."]

then reduced to a size adapted for carriage. That mountain is some twenty days' journey from this capital (*i.e.*, Yarkand) and is called CANSANGHI CASCIO[1], *i.e.* the Stone Mountain, being very probably the mountain which is so termed in some of the geographical descriptions of this empire[2]. The extraction of these blocks is a work involving immense labour, owing to the hardness of the substance as well as to the remote and lonely position of the place. They say that the stone is sometimes softened by the application of a blazing fire on the surface. The right of quarrying here is also sold by the king at a high price to some merchant, without whose license no other speculators can dig there during the term of the lease. When a party of workmen goes thither they take a year's provisions along with them, for they do not usually revisit the populated districts at a shorter interval.

Our brother Benedict went to pay his respects to the king, whose name was Mahomed Khan[3]. The present

[1] [R., p. 539: "Can Sanguicascio."]

[2] [R., p. 539: "e pare uno che si suol pingere in certi mappamondi novi nel regno di Cascàr col titulo di *mons lapideus*."]

[3] [R., p. 539: "Fu a visitare il re di Cascàr per nome *Mahamethàn*."] In orig. *Mahamethin*, for *Mahamethan*. A letter which Goës wrote to Xavier from Yarkand, 2d February, 1604, mentioned that the excitement created in the city by the announcement of the arrival of an Armenian *Rumi* who did not follow the Law of Islam, was so great that he thought it desirable to pay his respects to the king, and he was well received. The vizir having been attracted by a cross and a book of the Gospels (apparently a breviary) which he saw among the baggage, Benedict was desired to produce these at a second audience. The king received the book with much reverence, and directed Goës (to his great joy) to read a passage and explain its meaning. He turned up at a venture the anthem for Ascension Day *Viri Galilæi, quid statis aspicientes in Cœlum?* and then, in deep emotion at an opportunity so unlooked for, proceeded to declare the glorious Ascension of the Saviour before those Mahomedans; adding also some remarks on the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost, and on the Advent of Christ to judgment. Opening the book a second time he read the 50th (our 51st) Psalm, and took occasion from it to speak of repentance. The bearded doctors of the law regarded one another with astonishment, and the king also expressed his surprise. The latter then requested to see the cross; and asked "To what quarter did

that he carried with him secured him a good reception, for it consisted of a pocket watch[1], looking glasses, and other European curiosities, with which the king was so charmed and delighted that he adopted the giver at once into his friendship and patronage. Our friend did not at first disclose his desire to go to Cathay, but spoke only of the kingdom of Cialis, to the eastward of Cascar, and begged a royal passport for the journey thither. His request was strongly backed by the son of that pilgrim queen to whom he had lent six hundred pieces of gold [in Kabul][2]. And he also came to be on intimate terms with divers gentlemen of the court.

Six months had passed away when behold Demetrius, one of the original comrades of his journey, who had stayed behind at Kabul, arrived at Hiarchan. Benedict and Isaac the Armenian were greatly delighted at his arrival; but their joy was of short continuance, for very soon after this Demetrius caused our friend a great deal of trouble. At that time, with the king's leave, one of the merchants was elected mock emperor, whilst all the

the Christians turn in prayer?" To all, said Benedict, for God is everywhere. Did they use any washings and ceremonial ablutions? None corporeal, said he, like those of the Mahomedans, to wash away the stains of sin, for these were of no profit to the soul; but spiritual washings, by which souls are cleansed from sin's foulness: an answer which seemed to give satisfaction.

On another occasion (for he was often called to the palace) the king showed him papers inscribed in a certain round and vermiculate character, and asked what they were. Goës when he had read them (in what language is not stated) found them to treat of the Trinity, and took occasion therefrom to speak of the Divine greatness and Omnipotence, etc. So much did they all admire what he said, that in turn they began to ask, "And are these the men whom we have called Kafirs? Of a truth they acknowledge God as well as we." And the king said, "Surely it is a Mullah that is speaking!" (Du Jarric)

[1] [R., p. 539: "un horiulo di ferro per portare al collo."]

[2] This Prince of Khotan had come to Yarkand to meet his mother, and showed Benedict much courtesy and gratitude for the aid rendered her at Kabul. He also was greatly taken with the readings from the Scripture (*ib.*).

rest, according to a custom of theirs, paid homage to him and offered him presents. Demetrius, to save his pocket, held back; and as the emperor had the power of putting rebels against his authority in irons, or even of flogging them, Demetrius had great difficulty in escaping both penalties. Our Benedict, however, by his good management, arranged the whole matter, for his intercession and a small present got pardon for Demetrius. A greater peril also befel the party, when thieves broke into the house, and laid hold of the Armenian whom they tied up, putting a dagger to his throat to prevent his giving the alarm. The noise however roused Benedict and Demetrius, and the robbers made off.

On another occasion Benedict had gone away to get his loan repaid by the mother of the Prince of QUOTAN[1].

[1] [R., p. 540: "Cotān."] Khotan, which may be considered the most central and inaccessible state of all Asia, was a seat of very ancient civilisation, and was already in friendly relations with China in 140 B.C. In the fourth century of our era Buddhism was in high development here. Though much of the surface appears to be rugged mountain, it is interspersed with levels which are both fruitful and populous. At this time, like the other states of Eastern Turkestan, it was under a Mahomedan chief of Turkish or Mongol descent. Khotan is the subject of a short chapter in Marco Polo. In modern times its only European visitor has been Adolphus Schlagintweit, who never returned to tell his tale. [Khotan, also Kustána [Hiuen Tsang], Hwan-na, K'iu lan is the old kingdom of Yu t'ien; in the seventh century the king Fu-tu Hiung went to the court of the Chinese Emperor to pay him homage. His government was turned into the government of P'i sha, Fu-tu Hiung receiving the title of governor. Khotan was one of the Four Garrisons of the Chinese in Eastern Turkestan, the others being Su lei (Kashgar), Yen k'i (Karashahr) and K'iu-tze (Ku cha), in the seventh and eighth centuries. The Buddhist Government of Khotan was destroyed by Boghra Khán (about 980–90); it was temporarily restored by the Buddhist Kutchluk Khán, chief of the Naïmans, who came from the banks of the Ili, destroyed the Mahomedan dynasty of Boghra Khán (1209), but was in his turn subjugated by Chinghiz Khán. The remains of the ancient capital of Khotan were accidentally discovered, some forty-five years ago, at Yotkán, a village of the Borazân Tract, about eight miles to the west of the present Khotan. The sacred sites of Buddhist Khotan which Hiuen Tsang and Fa Hian describe, can be shown to be occupied now, almost without exception, by Mohamedan shrines forming the object of popular

Her capital was ten days' journey distant, and what with going and coming, a month had passed and he was still absent. So the Saracens took occasion by this to spread false reports of Benedict being dead, alleging him to have been put to death by priests of theirs for refusing to invoke the name of their false prophet. And now those initiated priests of theirs whom they call *Cashishes*[1],

pilgrimages. Dr. Sven Hedin followed the route Kashgar, Yangi-Hissar, Yarkand to Khotan, in 1895; he made a stay of nine days at Ilchi, the modern capital, the population of which is estimated at 5500 inhabitants (5000 Musulmans, 500 Chinese). The *Shui king* (sixth century) says that the kingdom of Yu t'ien has Si for its capital, that its soil produces a great quantity of jade and that it is situated 380 li eastward of Pi Shan.

Marco Polo, i, pp. 188–91 *n.*; Grenard, ii, pp. 191–2.—Stein, Sven Hedin, Chavannes, *Tou-kiue*, pp. 125–9; *Wei lio*, p. 564.]

[1] In orig. *Cascisces.* [R., p. 540: "*cazissi.*"] *Kashîsh* or *Kasîs*, from a Syrian root signifying "*Senuit,*" is the proper Arabic term for a Christian presbyter. It is the term (*Kashîsha*) applied by the Syrian Christians of Malabar to their own presbyters (Buchanan, *Christ. Resear.*, pp. 97 *segq.*); it will be found attached to the Syriac names of priests on the ancient monument of Si-ngan fu (see Pauthier's work on it, pp. 42 *segq.*); and it is also applied by the Arabs to Catholic priests. Mount Athos, according to D'Herbelot, is called by the Turks *Kashish Daghi*, from its swarms of clergy. "By neither Christians nor Mahomedans," says my friend Mr. Badger, "is the word adopted to designate any minister of Islam." We have, however, many instances of its misapplication to Musulman divines by European travellers. And as I find the word given in Vieyra's *Portuguese Dictionary* (ed. Paris, 1862) in the form "Caciz—*A Moorish Priest,*" it seems probable that this misapplication originated in the Peninsula. In like manner in India *Fakîr* has come to be applied to the Hindu Jogis and other devotees, though properly a Mahomedan denomination. In fact, our own application of *priest* (*i.e.* presbyter) to ministers of pagan worship is in some degree parallel. Only as regards *Kashish* it is notable that it seems to have been regarded by European Christians as the specific and technical term for a Mahomedan divine, whereas it was in its proper oriental application the specific and technical term for a Christian presbyter.

It was in general use by the Catholic missionaries as the term for a Mullah: see Du Jarric's Jesuit history *passim* (*Cacizii*); P. Vincenzo the Carmelite (*Casis o con altro nome Schierift*, p. 55), etc. In Mendez Pinto also we have "*hum* Caciz *seu Moulana que elles tinhão por santo*" (cap. v).

Gonzalez de Clavijo again speaks of "Moorish hermits called *Caxixes,*" and in another passage of "a great *Caxix* whom they look upon as a saint" (Markham's *Trans.*, pp. 79, 114).

In the description of Khansa in the Mongol History of Wassaf (in Persian) it is said: "The city includes seven hundred temples

were endeavouring to lay violent hands upon his property, as that of one who was dead intestate and without an heir. This matter caused great distress to Demetrius and Isaac, both in their daily sorrow at the supposed death of their comrade, and in the danger of their own position. So their joy was twofold when after a while he turned up in safety. He returned with his debt paid in ample measure with pieces of that valuable stone of which we have spoken; and to mark his gratitude to God he made a large distribution of alms to the poor, a custom which he kept up throughout his whole journey.

One day when he had sat down with a company of Saracens at a dinner to which one of them had invited him, some fanatic burst in, sword in hand, and pointing his weapon at Benedict's breast desired him instantly to invoke the name of Mahomet. Our friend replied that no such name was wont to be invoked in the law which he professed, and that he must absolutely refuse to do so. The bystanders then came to his aid, and the madman was ejected. The same threats of death however, unless he would address prayer to Mahomet, are said to have been directed to him repeatedly, yet God ever delivered him until the end of his journey. On another day it happened that the King of Cascar sent for him, when the priests and theologians[1] of the accursed faith were present at the court, (they call their theologians *Mullàs*). Being then asked what faith he would profess, whether that of Moses, or of David, or of Mahomet, and in what direction he would turn his face in prayer? our friend replied that

resembling fortresses, each of which is occupied by a number of priests without faith and monks without religion (kashishán *be kesh wa Rahabín be dín*)" (see Quatremère's *Rashid.*, p. lxxxvii). Here the Persian author seems to apply to Pagans the terms both for "presbyter" and "monk" appropriated to Christians.

[1] [R., p. 541: "mullasi e cazissi."]

the faith he professed was that of JESUS, whom they called *Isai*, and that it mattered not to what quarter he turned in prayer, for God was everywhere. This last answer of his created a great discussion among them, for in prayer they make a point of turning to the west. At last they came to the conclusion that our law also might have some good in it[1].

Meantime a certain native named Agiasi[2] was nominated[3] chief of the future caravan of merchants. And having heard that our brother was a man of courage, as well as a merchant of large dealings, he invited him to a grand entertainment at his house, at which there was a great concert of music[4] after the manner of those people, as well as a dinner. After dinner the chief requested our brother to accompany the caravan all the way to Cathay. He indeed desired nothing better, but experience had taught him how to deal with Saracens, so he was glad that the proposal should come from the other side, and thus that he should seem to be granting rather than accepting a favour. So the king himself was prevailed on by the chief to make the request, and did accordingly ask Benedict to accompany the *Caruanbasa*[5] as they call the chief of the company. Benedict agreed to do so on

[1] At Yarkand there were one hundred and sixty mosques; and every Friday an official went about the bazaar reminding the people of the duties of the day. After this twelve men issued from the chief mosque armed with whips of hide, which they laid about those whom they found in the streets, absenting themselves from public prayer (Du Jarric). The same custom is mentioned by Ibn Batuta as existing at Khwarizm in his time, and he tried to introduce similar *Blue Laws* when judge in the Maldives. It still prevails in Bokhara (Burnes, ii, 243; Vambéry, p. 185). The pious Mahomed Tughlak enforced like regulations at Delhi when the whim took him, sometimes with death as his manner was.

[2] Hajji 'Aziz? [R., p. 541: "*Agi Afis.*"]

[3] [R., p. 541: "comprò."]

[4] [R., p. 541: "con molti canti, balli e stromenti."]

[5] [R., p. 541: "*Carvàn Bascì*, che vuol dire capitanio della compagnia di mercanti.'"]

condition that the king would grant him circular letters[1] for the whole course of the journey. His former comrades, belonging to the Kabul caravan, took offence at this, for, as has been said, it was always necessary on those occasions to travel in large numbers. So they counselled him against putting any trust in the natives, for these intended the thing only as a trap by which they might succeed in devouring his fortune, and his very life. Our friend however represented that he was acting in accordance with the King's expressed wishes, and had given his promise to the chief of the caravan, from which as an honest man he could not go back. In truth the fears which those merchants professed to entertain were not unfounded, for many of the natives of the country declared that those three Armenians (for so they called them, as being all of one faith[2]) would be murdered as soon as they set foot outside the city walls. And so Demetrius took fright, and a second time drew back from prosecuting the journey further, trying also to persuade our brother to go back. Benedict would not listen to him, saying that he had never yet let himself be deterred by fear of death from the duty of obedience, much less would he do so now in a business from which so much glory to God might be expected. It would be most unworthy conduct, he said, to frustrate the hopes of so many for fear of death; and to throw away all the expense that had been incurred by the Archbishop of Goa[3] and the Viceroy[4]. He hoped still to carry through the under-

[1] [R., p. 541: "una molto buona patente."]

[2] [R., p. 542: "(che pensavano esser i tre nostri per l' abito e nome con che si chiamavano)."]

[3] [Alessio di Gesù de Menezes.]

[4] [Arias Saldanha. R., p. 542: "e di essa se ne era data nuova al papa et al re di Spagna, e non pareva bene, inanzi all' arrivare al Cataio, ritornarsene nel mezzo del cammino senza nessuna conchiusione."]

taking by the help of Him who had thus far brought him prosperously, but in any case he would rather risk his life in the cause than draw back from his purpose[1].

So he girded up his loins for the journey, and bought ten horses for himself and his comrade and their goods, having already one more at his house. Meanwhile the chief of the caravan[2] went off to his home, which was some five days from the capital, to get ready for the journey, and after his arrival sent back a message to our friend to start as soon as possible, and to hasten the other merchants by his example. He was glad enough to do so, and set out accordingly, in the middle[3] of November, 1604, proceeding first to a place called IOLCI, where duties used to be paid and the king's passports to be inspected. After this, in twenty-five days, passing successively HANCIALIX, ALCEGHET, HAGABATETH, EGRIÁR, MESETELECH, THALEC, HORMA, THOANTAC, MINGIEDA, CAPETAL COL ZILAN, SARC GUEBEDAL, CANBASCI, ACONSERSEC and CIACOR[4], they

[1] [R., p. 542: "Il Demetrio, non gli bastando l animo di patire tanti travagli e far tante spese, se ne ritornò a Lahor, lasciando parte della sua faccenda al fratello Benedetto."]

[2] [R., p. 542: "*Carvàn Basci.*"]

[3] [R., p. 542: "14 de novembre dell' anno 1604."]

[4] I cannot identify one of these places in any routes or maps of Central Asia except *Canbasci*, which appears in K. Johnston's map of Asia as *Kumbashi*, and is mentioned in the Russian Reports as one of the most important settlements of the Aqsu district (*Russians in Central Asia*, p. 160). Of the other names *Hancialix* translated from Ricci's spelling would be probably *Khan-Chalish*; *Sarc Guebedal* is probably the same name as *Saregabedal* which occurs further on; *Aconsersec* is possibly the *Saksak* of Berghaus's map; *Ciacor* is probably *Shakyar*, which indeed is the name of a town some 4° east of Aqsu, but which also appears to be common to many other places in the country, if it is not indeed a local form of the Persian *Shahr* (city). This is suggested by the fact that *Karashahr* appears in one of the routes in the book just quoted as *Karashagiar* (*R. in C. A.*, p. 527) The journey here is said to occupy twenty-five days, but the stages mentioned are sixteen. The latter is the number of stages according to the Chinese route in the *Russ. in Central Asia*, pp. 531–3, though none of the names correspond. It is also the number of stages assigned by the Tajik itinerary from Semipalatinsk to Kashmir which is

reached Aqsu[1]. The difficulties of the road were great,

given in the appendix to Meyendorf's *Bokhara*. The Georgian Raphael Danibeg was thirteen days from Yarkand to Aqsu. (Meyendorf, pp. 314 *seq.* and 122 *seqq.*)

[It must be acknowledged that these identifications or rather non-identifications are unsatisfactory; we shall be more successful if we do not seek exclusively the route followed by Goës in the itineraries of to-day. Prof. Paul Pelliot, who has travelled along the same road, writes to me: "When leaving Yarkand, Goës followed what was *then* the usual caravan road to Aqsu; it differs in parts from the present-day road. We have an almost exactly situated spot in *Horma*; it is the *Hu-eul-man* of Chinese texts of the XVIIIth century. A battle was won there in 1756 by part of the army of Chao Hwei, in his fight in Turkestan against Huotsi-chan (K'o Dzi-chan). From chap. 18 of the *Si yü t'u che*, Hu-la-ma was situated 130 li south-west of Pa-eul-ch'u-k'o; this name, Barchuq, was borne at the time by Maralbashi. From Horma, Goës followed a road more easterly than the present one; this is proved by the stage *To antac* = Tewan-tágh, the 'low hill'; it is to this day the name of a hilly spur to the east of the road Maralbashi—Aqsu. Then comes *Mingieda* = *Mingdjigda* the name of one *Elaeagnus* and *Capetalcol*, Capetal-col, which seems to be *Kaptar-köl*, the lac of pigeons. The stage *Čildn*, *Zilan*, in Chinese Ts'i lan (jujube) is still marked on native maps. *Sare Guebedal* must be Sarygh-abdal, but I do not remember finding this name in this part of the country; it may be a duplicate name of the *Saregabedal* of the itinerary from Aqsu to Kucha. Cambasci has been already identified by Yule with Qum-bashi, on the Qum-aryq; I think this name a very old one and I believe I can find it under the Han and the T'ang dynasties; it is the Huen-ba-sheng mentioned in the biography of Ye-liu Hi-leang. (*Cf.* Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i, p. 162.)"]

[1] *Aqsu*, a city of Chinese Tartary, lying to the south of the glacier pass over the Mus-Tagh (and according to the tables in *R. in C. A.*, p. 521) in long. 78° 58′, lat. 41° 9′. According to that authority it contains twelve thousand houses, though Timkowski states the number more probably at six thousand. It stands at the confluence of the Rivers Aqsu (white-water) and Kokshal; it is the central point of the Chinese trade, and from it diverge all the great routes towards China, the Ili country, and the cities both of Eastern and Western Turkestan. The tract immediately surrounding it is one of some fertility, producing a variety of fruits including grapes and melons, besides cereals and cotton. There is a manufacture of jade articles, and of embroidered deerskin saddlery. Aqsu appears in the Chinese annals, according to Deguignes, as early as the second century B.C. under the Han dynasty, as having a Chinese Governor. Deguignes and D'Anville think it to be the *Auxacia* of Ptolemy. It was at one time the residence of the Kings of Kashgar and Yarkand. From Aqsu the high pass, called by the Chinese the "Pass of Glaciers," leads over that lofty part of the T'ien Shan called the *Muz-art*, or Icy Mountains to Kulja, the seat of the Chinese General Government of Dzungaria and Turkestan. (*Russ. in C. A.*, pp. 112, 119, 159;

either from the quantities of stones, or from the waterless[1] tracts of sand which they had to pass.

Acsu is a town[2] of the kingdom of Cascar, and the chief there was a nephew of the king's, and only twelve years of age. He sent twice for our brother. The latter carried him presents of sweetmeats and the like, such as would be acceptable to a child, and was most kindly received. A grand dance happening to be performed before them, the young prince asked Benedict how the people of his country used to dance? and so Benedict, not to be churlish with a prince about so small a matter, got up and danced himself to show the way of it. He also visited the prince's mother and showed her the royal rescript[3], which she looked on with great respect. To her he presented some little things such as women like, a looking glass, India muslin, and so forth. He was also sent for by the boy's governor who conducted the administration[4].

In this journey one of the pack horses belonging to our merchant fell into a very rapid river. In fact having broken the rope with which its feet (I know not why) were tied, it made off and crossed to the other side of the river. Benedict feeling the loss a serious one invoked

Timkowski, i, 391; Deguignes, i, 26; II, xxxix; Ritter, vii, 431, 449.)

[R., p. 543: "Hancialix, Alcegher, Habagateth, Egriár, Meselelec, Tallec, Horma, Toantac, Mingieda, Capetalcol, Cilàn, Sare Guebedal, Cambasci, Aconterzec, Ciacor, Acsu."]

[We find on Carey's Map: Menut, Ala Aighir, Shamál, Maralbashi (Barchuk), Charwagh, Tumchuk, Chadir Kul, Yaka Kuduk, Jaidi-urtang, Chilan, Well, Shor Kuduk, Sai-Arik, Ai kul, Chuktal, Asuk, Aksu.]

[1] [R., p. 543: "puoca acqua."]

[2] [R., p. 543: "città piccola."]

[3] [R., p. 543: "la patente de Hiacàn e passar franco senza pagar gabella."]

[4] [R., pp. 543–4: "fu anco invitato dal maestro di quel putto, che in suo luogo governava lo stato, e lo trattò con grande amorevolezza."]

the name of Jesus; and the horse of its own accord swam back to join the others, and our friend, delivered from the anticipated misfortune, returned thanks for the benefit vouchsafed. On this part of the journey they crossed the desert which is called CARACATHAI, or the Black Land of the Cathayans, because 'tis said that the people so called long sojourned there[1].

At this town (Acṣu) they had to wait fifteen days for the arrival of the rest of the merchants. At last they started, and travelled to OITOGRACH GAZO, CASCIANI, DELLAI, SAREGABEDAL, and UGAN, whence they got to CUCIA[2], another small town at which they halted a

[1] *Kara-K'itai* has already been spoken of and the origin of the name indicated in connection with an extract from Rubruquis (*supra*, III, pp. 19–21), and its people are mentioned by Plano Carpini under the translated name of *Nigri K'itai* (pp. 750–1). The extent of the territory to which the name applied probably varied considerably, but its nucleus or axis rather seems to have been the range of the T'ien Shan. Here it is applied to the desert south of that chain. The name has come down to modern times, for we find it applied in 1811 (*Khara-Kitat*) to a portion of the inhabitants of the Ili country (Klaproth, *Mag. Asiatique*, i, 209).

[2] None of these places except the last can be traced either in the Chinese routes given in the *Russians in Central Asia*, or in the route set down by Mir Izzet Ullah, Moorcroft's explorer. *Kucha* itself is a place of some importance, containing according to Timkowski's information about one thousand houses, and considered by the Chinese to be the key of this part of Turkestan. The Chinese route says "a very large town, composed of one hundred thousand (!) houses, occupied by Musulmans; six hundred Chinese soldiers." [From Kucha which he left on the 19th January, 1887, Dalgleish on his way to Aqsu passed Karaul, where passports are checked and examined, Toghrak Dung (20th January), Shilder Dawan Pass, Kizil (21st January), crossed a large stream which passes through a ravine in the mountains towards Shahyar, Sairam (22nd), a large straggling village with extensive cultivation, Bai (22nd January), small town with extensive cultivation, and a large bazaar, at five marches E.N.E. of Aqsu. On the map accompanying the paper we note the following names: Aqsu, Jam, Kara-yulgun, Tugrakdan, Yaka-arik, Kush-tam, Bai, Sairam, Kizil, Rabat Lodansa, Shilder Dawan, Toghrak Dunk, Karawal, Kucha, none of which have any resemblance with Benedict's names. Nor are we more successful with the Chinese itinerary given by Chavannes (*Tou Kiue occidentaux*, pp. 8–9) from the *T'ang Shu*: Kucha, Che kiue pass, Pe-ma-ho (White Horse River) near the village of Khodjo tulas, 60 li west of Kucha, plain of Kiu-p'i-lo (sandy desert of Hosol),

whole month to rest their cattle, for these were nearly done up, what with the difficulties of the road, the weight

bitter wells, town of Kiu-p'i-lo (Sairam), A-si-yen (Bai), Pohwan or pu hwan (Wei jung, Kumo chou, near the river Se hoen, the kingdom of Pa lu ka of Hiuen Tsang), Siao she, river Hu lu, Ta she (Yu chu, Wen su chau, Aqsu).

Po hwan or rather Pa-lu-ka is identified by Watters, *China Review*, xix, p. 115, with Yurgun or Khara-Yurgun, while Chavannes takes it for Yaka arik; the river of Po hwan (Yaka arik) on Carey's map is the Muzart Su. The route is pretty clear but does not give any clue to our traveller's names; Chavannes, on the suggestion of F. Grenard, has altered his opinion and now believes (*Wei lio*, p. 37) that Ku-mo, Pa lu ka, Po hwan = Aqsu.]

[Here again, Prof. Paul Pelliot comes to the rescue: "From Aqsu, Goës did not go to Kucha by the present road of Bai and Sairam. The plain of Bai is in truth closed on the south by an important mountain range, though it has been omitted from our maps; this range is called Chöl-tâgh, the 'barren mountains'; practically it cannot be crossed by caravans. The Muzart Daria crosses it through a narrow gorge; the *ming-oï* (caves, grottoes) of Qyzyl is situated at the northern entrance of this gorge, and the no less interesting *ming-oï* of Qum turâ is to be found at the southern entrance. Up to the first half of the XIXth century, caravans going from Aqsu to Kucha took the route south of Chöl-tâgh as well as to-day's route viâ Bai and Sairam. It is this southern road, almost forsaken to-day, which was followed by Goës. The names of Oï-togrhaq and of Sarygh-Abdal, known to this day along this road, are sufficient proof of it. A last proof is to be found in the word *Ugan*. It was transcribed *Wei-kan* by the Chinese geographers of the XVIIIth century who gave this name to the Muzart Daria after it had flowed out of the Chöl-tâgh. The native form of the word is *Ögan*, and this name is still given to a canal joining the Muzart Daria to Qum turâ. To sum up the question, Goës from Horma to Aqsu followed a more easterly road, and from Aqsu to Kucha a more southern one than the present."]

[Kucha or Ku char = K'iu tze, at the foot of the T'ien shan, watered by two large rivers, is celebrated for its ruins excavated by various archaeological missions, Japanese, German, Russian and French (Pelliot), and visited by Sir M. Aurel Stein. The first diplomatic relations of Kucha with China date from the year 65 A.D., when its king paid a visit to the court of the Han Emperor; when Pan yong, son of the celebrated Chinese general Pan Ch'ao subjugated Yen k'i (Karashahr) in 127, seventeen kingdoms, including K'iu tze (Kucha), Su lé (Kashgar), Yu t'ien (Khotan), So kiu (Yarkand), submitted to the Conqueror. In 384 Pe chen was made king of Kucha by Lu kwang; in 658 Kucha, in lieu of Turfân, became the seat of the Protectorate of Ngansi which included Karashahr, Kashgar and Khotan; Kucha and these three places were the "Four Garrisons" of the Chinese in the eighth century: Chavannes, *Tou Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*. Stein, *Ancient Khotan* and *Ruins of Desert Cathay*.]

[R., p. 544: "Oitograc, a Gasò, a Casciani, a Dellai, a Saregabedàl, a Ugan et arrivorno a Cucià"]

of the marble which they carried, and the scarcity of barley[1] At this place our traveller was asked by the priests why he did not fast during their appointed time of fasting. This was asked in order that he might offer a bribe for exemption, or that they might extract a fine from him. And they were not far from laying violent hands on him, to force him into their place of worship[2].

Departing hence, after twenty-five days' journey they came to the city of CIALIS, a small place indeed, but strongly fortified. This territory was governed by an illegitimate son of the King of Cascar, who, when he heard that our brother and his party professed a different faith, began to utter threats, saying that it was too audacious a proceeding that a man professing another creed should intrude into that country, and that he would be quite justified in taking both his life and his property. But when he had read the royal letters which Benedict carried he was pacified, and after the latter had made him a present he became quite friendly. One night when this prince had been long engaged with the priests and doctors of his faith in one of their theological discussions, it suddenly came into his head to send for Benedict, so he despatched a horse for him and desired him to come to the palace. The strange hour at which this message came, and the harsh reception which they had at first experienced from the Prince, left little doubt with Benedict's party that he was sent for to be put to death. So having torn himself from his Armenian comrade, not without tears, and earnestly begging him to do his uttermost, if he at least should escape the present danger to carry the news of his fellow traveller's fate to the members

[1] [R., p. 544: "con mancamento di mangiare."]

[2] [R., p. 544: "Et hebbe grande travaglio per uscire de loro nani e non fargli forza per andare alla loro meschita."]

of the Society, Benedict went off fully prepared to meet his death. On getting to the palace he was desired to engage in a discussion with the Doctors of the Mahomedan Law; and inspired by Hi[illegible]no has said, *It shall be given you in that hour what ye shall say*[1], he maintained the truth of the Christian religion by such apt reasoning that the others were quite silenced and defeated. The Prince constantly fixed his attention on our brother, expressing approval of everything that he said, and finally pronounced his conclusion that Christians were really *Misermans*[2], or True Believers, adding that [illegible]'s own ancestors had been professors of their faith[3]. After the discussion was over, Benedict was entertained at a sumptuous supper and desired to spend the night at the palace. And it was late next day before he was allowed to leave, so that Isaac quite despaired of his return. Indeed Benedict found him weeping grievously, for the long delay had fully convinced him of his master's death.

In this city[4] they halted three whole months, for the chief of the merchants did not wish to set out until a

[1] [This sentence is added to the text which runs (R., p. 545): "e seppe il fratello provare con tanto belli argomenti la verità della fede christiana che non seppero respondergli."]

[2] [R., p. 545: "*misermani.*"]

[3] This is a curious trace of the ancient Christianity of several of the Mongolian and Turkish tribes.

[4] Ritter in one place suggests that *Cialis* of Goës may be Karashahr, but in another he will have it to be *Yulduz*, a place lying among the mountains of the T'ien Shan, celebrated for its beauty, its springs, meadows, and fine breezes, which was the encamping ground of Timur after his campaign of extermination against the Jats. Ritter had also previously identified Yulduz with the *Cailac* of Rubruquis.

The notion that Yulduz was Cialis seems to have been originated by Pétis de la Croix in his translation of Sharifuddín's *Life of Timur*. D'Anville also has identified Cialis with the Cailac of Rubruquis; both identifications seem to me to be wrong.

Yulduz lies in the mountains, a long way to the left of the great route along the foot of the T'ien Shan, which the caravan followed. Shah Rukh's ambassadors indeed pass Yulduz, on their way to Turfàn and Kamul. But it is clear that from Tashkand they took

large party should have collected, for the larger it was, the more profitable for him: and for this reason he would not consent on any account that individuals of the company should go on before. Our brother, however, weary of

a route *north* of the T'ien Shan, and were passing from the north to the south of the mountains when they touched at Yulduz.

The real position of Cialis must be either identical with Karashahr, as D'Anville thought, or close to it. The chief places noted in nearly all the routes and maps of this line of country are Aqsu, Kucha, Karashahr, Turfân, Pijan, and Kamul. All these are mentioned by Goës except Karashahr, and where Karashahr should come, he gives us Cialis. D'Anville, indeed, observes that *Scialik* would mean, in Persian, the same as Karashahr, or Black Town (?). But the name seems to be not *Siyalis*, or *Siyalik*, but *Chalis*, or rather *Châlish*. This (*Jalish*) is mentioned by Sharifuddín as a place which Timur passed on his way to Yulduz; and by Haidar Razi, the historian of Turkestan, *Jalish* is spoken of as a city near Turfân, both places being under a prince called Mansur Khan, who is mentioned about A.H. 938 (A.D. 1531), as marching by *Jalish* to attack Aqsu. Ramusio's friend, Hajji Mahomed, also mentions *Chialis* exactly where Karashahr should come, as may be seen by comparing his route with Izzet Ullah's:

Izzet Ullah.		*Hajji Mahomed.*	
Kamul to Turfân	13 days.	Kamul to Turfân	13 days.
Turfân to KARASHAHR	9 ,,	Turfân to CHIALIS	10 ,,
KARASHAHR to Kucha	10 ,,	CHIALIS to Kucha	10 ,,

and this seems to put the identity of Cialis with Karashahr past question.

[Dalgleish gives:

Kamul to Turfân	15 days	(including days of departure and arrival, and one day's rest at Jigda).
Turfân to Karashahr	28 ,,	(including days of departure and arrival and trip to Urumtsi
Karashahr to Kucha	15 ,,	18 days, and a day's rest at Tokhlasun, including two days' rest at Kurla.)]

Karashahr, anciently called by the Chinese Yen-k'i, stands on the K'aidu river*, which irrigates the country round, and makes it yield plenty of fruit and corn. The Chinese route, elsewhere quoted, speaks of it as a large town inhabited by Chinese, with Kalmuks round them, and having a Chinese garrison of 500 men.

[The road from Kurla to Karashahr City, when leaving Sharshuk "runs N.E. the first six miles through desert to Dhungzil Langar. A little beyond are the ruins of the old city of Karashahr.

* [The K'aidu Gol falls into Lake Bagratch; it is the lower part of the Yulduz River.]

tl e delay and of the great expense which it involved, was eager to get away; and by means of new presents he at last persuaded the Prince to arrange measures for his departure. But this was so completely against the wish of the chief of the caravan and his party, that it put an end to the friendly terms on which Benedict had hitherto stood with them.

He was just preparing for his departure from the town of Cialis when the merchants of the preceding caravan arrived on their return from Cathay. They had made their way to the capital of Cathay as usual by pretending to be an embassy; and as they had been quartered in Peking at the same hostelry with the members

At 7½ miles the road passes Kalka Mazar, a little to the left. From Dhungzil road runs N. by E. to Karashahr, and the extensive level plain watered by the Karashahr river becomes a prairie, and is the home of a large body of Kalmaks. Before entering the city crossed the Karashahr river, now frozen" (Dalgleish, 17th Dec. 1885, p. 28, distance from Kurla to Karashahr, 27½ miles.] Chavannes, *Tou kiue*, p. 7, makes the remark that the present Karashahr is on the left bank of the K'aidu gol, while the history of the T'ang and Hiuen Tsang places the capital of Yen-k'i to the west of this river. The capital of Yen-k'i (Karashahr) is called A-ki-mi by Hiuen Tsang; it is the Wou yi (Wou k'i) of Fa hian (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i, p. 46; Chavannes, *Wei-lio*, pp. 564–5 *n.*). In 719, it took the place of Tokmak captured by the Tu kiue, in the Four Garrisons (Kucha, Kashgar, Khotan, Tokmak).]

As regards the *Cailac* of Rubruquis, it seems rather to be sought where D'Avezac has placed it in the vicinity of Lake Balkash, or at any rate, to the north of the T'ien Shan. It is mentioned by D'Ohsson as a town of the Karliq Turks, who lay in this direction, and is coupled with Imil and Bishbaliq, both cities north of the mountains. Sadik Isfahani also names Kaliq with Almaliq, Bishbaliq, etc. It is probably the Haulak or Khaulak of Edrisi, in a route given in his work (ii, 215), which brings it within eight days' journey of Akhsi, a city on the Jaxartes near Kokhand. It is perhaps the *Kainak* which Valikhanoff mentions as a place famous in the ancient Genoese trade, and still existing in Dzungaria, but he does not indicate where that is (Ritter, vii, 437, 439, 441–2; *H. de Timur Bec*, ii, 53–56; D'Anville, in *Acad. Inscript.*, xxxii, 589; *J. R. As. Soc.*, vii, 308; *Not. et Extraits*, xiv; Ramusio, *Esposizione*, in ii, ff. 14–16; D'Ohsson, i, iii, 166; ii, 516; *Sadik Isfahani*, p. 10; *Russ. in Cent. Asia*, pp. 62, 527). [Rockhill places Cailac a little west of the modern Kopal. (*Rubruck*, p. 139.)]

of our Society, they were able to give our brother most authentic information about Father Matthew and his companions, and in this way he learned to his astonishment that CHINA was the Cathay that he was in search of.

These were the same Saracens of whom it has been related in a preceding book, that they had dwelt for nearly three months under the same roof with our brethren. They were able to tell therefore how our brethren had made presents to the Emperor of sundry clocks, a clavichord, pictures, and other such matters from Europe. They related also how our brethren were treated with respect by all the dignitaries at the capital, and (mixing falsehood with truth) how they were often admitted to converse with the Emperor. They also described accurately enough the countenances of the members of the Society whom they had seen, but they could not tell their names, it being a Chinese custom to change the names of foreigners. They also produced the strangest corroboration of their story in a piece of paper on which something in the Portuguese language had been written by one of our brethren, and which the travellers had rescued from the sweepings of the rooms and preserved, in order that they might show it as a memorial to their friends at home, and tell them how the people that used this kind of writing had found their way to China. Our travellers were greatly refreshed with all this intelligence, and now they could no longer doubt that Cathay was but another name for the Chinese Empire, and that the capital which the Mahomedans called Cambalu was Peking, which indeed Benedict before leaving India had known, from the letters of our members in China, to be the view taken by them.

As he was departing, the prince granted him letters for his protection, and when a question arose under what

name he wished to be described and whether he would have himself designated as a Christian? Certainly, said he, "for having travelled thus far bearing the name of Jesus, I would surely bear it unto the end[1]." It so chanced that this was heard by one of the Mahomedan priests, a venerable old man, who snatching off his cap flung it on the ground and exclaimed: "In verity and truth this man is staunch to his religion, for lo here in presence of thee a prince of another faith, and of all the rest of us, he has no hesitation in confessing his Jesus! 'tis very different with our people, for they are said to change their religion with their residence." And so turning to our traveller, he treated him with extraordinary courtesy. Thus even in the dark virtue is lustrous, and even from hostility and ill-will it extorts respect!

He set off at last with his comrade and a few others, and in twenty days came to PUCIAN[2], a town of the same kingdom, where they were received by the chief of the place with the greatest kindness, and supplied with the necessary provisions from his house. Hence they went on to a fortified town called TURPHAN[3], and there they

[1] [R., p. 547: "Rispose il fratello Benedetto che sì, e che scrivesse *Abdullà Isai*, cioè *Abdullà della legge di Giesù*, perchè come christiano, era passato per tutto quello cammino e come tale lo voleva finire."]

[2] [R., p. 547, "Pucciàn."]

[3] [R., p. 547: "Turfàn, città con muri e forte, dove stettero un mese."]

["Turfân, like Hami, is near the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan, and is one of the largest towns of E. Turkestan. Climate very hot in summer and cold in winter. Water is produced from wells chiefly, and irrigation is carried on by means of underground canals." (Dalgleish, p. 53.)] It is the old kingdom of Kao ch'ang whose king had his capital at Kiao ho = Yar khoto. It was the seat of the Protectorate of Ngansi before it was transferred to Kucha (658), when the name of "Four Garrisons" appears probably for the first time. After the Tibetan invasion (760) the Chinese had but "Two Garrisons," one at Pei t'ing near Guchen and the other at Kucha, but these also disappeared in 787.]

halted a month[1]. Next they proceeded[2] to ARAMUTH[3],

[1] *Pijan* (*Pucian* of the text) and Turfân appear in some way to have been transposed, for both Izzet Ullah and the Chinese routes agree with the maps in making Pijan lie considerably to the *east* of Turfân. [Pichan is situated between Turfân and Hami.] According to the tables of the Chinese survey, the former lies in lat. 42° 52′, long. 90° 28′; the latter in lat. 43° 4′, long. 89° 18′ (*Russ. in Cent. Asia*, p. 521). ["Pichan or Pachan is a large straggling village with several miles of cultivation. The bazaar is inside a mud fort. Population, Turks, with a number of Tunganis and Chinese." (Dalgleish, p. 53.)]

When Shah Rukh's ambassadors passed this way in 1419, most of the people of Turfán were still idolaters; there was a huge temple in the town, with a figure of Sakya Muni on the platform.

[2] [R., p. 547: "Partirno da Turfân a 4 di settembre dell' anno 1605."]

[From Turfân which he left on the 9th December, 1886, Dalgleish on his way to Kucha, passed over a rough and stony road to Dah-din (10th December), the valley becomes fertile, Tokhtasun (11th December) a small town within mud wall fort; visited Urumtsi; left Tokhtasun (29th December) for Su Bashi (30th December), then Eghar Bulak in ravine (30 December), Uzma Dhung, Kumish (1st January, 1887), Kara Kizil (2 January), Ushak Tal (3rd January), Tavilgo (4th January), Karashahr (5th January), river 200 yards wide, Kalka Mazar, Dhung Zil Langar, Shorshuk (6th January), Kurla (9th January), Shangkho (10–11th January), Charchi (12th January), small village end of the Kurla district, Ishma, small village (13th January), Chadar (14th), Yenghi Hissar large village (15th), Bugor, old stage in plain (16th), Yenghi abad (17th) very small village, Awat, Yaka arik, fair sized village (18th), Ush Kara Langar, Kucha (19th January, 1912).]

[3] *Aramuth*, according to Pétis de la Croix, is Kara Khoja (see *supra*, III, pp. 132–3), but I suspect he is speaking without authority, as he often does. Thus, when speaking of the forerunners of Timur's invasion of India, who, after crossing the Indus, reach *Uchh* before advancing against Multân, he notes "*Outchah*, ville à l'orient de l'Indus *au nord* de Multân," he is simply putting forth his own erroneous deductions from the text as a piece of independent knowledge. And when Pauthier quotes from the same author (*Polo*, p. 197), a professed extract from the *Yasa* of Chinghiz as corroborating, with extraordinary minuteness, certain statements of Marco, I suspect it will prove that Pétis de la Croix had merely borrowed the said statements from Polo himself (*H. de Timur Bec*, ii, 46). Shah Rukh's people reach *Kara-Khoja* in three days from Turfân; in fourteen days more, *Ata-Sufi*; and in two days more, Kamul. [However Pétis de la Croix is probably right in this instance: after leaving Turfân, Goës, like the ambassadors of Shah Rukh, passes Kara Khodja; see I, p. 272.]

[The itinerary of Dalgleish from Hami to Turfân is the following: Hami (22nd November, 1886), good road, Sim Kargha (23rd), Tograchi (24th), Jigda village, Taranchi, Urda lik (27th Nov.),

and thence to CAMUL[1], another fortified town. Here they stopped another month to refresh themselves and their beasts, being glad to do so at a town which was still within the limits of the kingdom of Cialis, where they had been treated with so much civility.

From Camul they came in nine days to the celebrated northern wall of China, reaching it at the place called CHIAICUON[2], and there they had to wait twenty-five days for an answer from the Viceroy of the province. When they were at last admitted within the wall, they reached, after one more day's travelling, the city of SUCIEU[3]. Here they heard much about Peking and other names with which they were acquainted, and here Benedict parted with his last lingering doubt as to the identity in all but name of Cathay and China.

The country between Cialis and the Chinese frontier

Sarik Kumish (28th), Shilder Kumish (29th), village of Chiktem (1st December), Korgha Utra (2nd), Pichan (3rd), Lemyin (5th), Suigim (5th), Suigim (6th Dec.), Turfàn (12th stage).]

[1] Kamil, Kamul, Komul, Qomul, Hami of the Chinese, and formerly called by them I-wu, an ancient city of the Uighúr country, has already been spoken of (*supra*, III, p. 265). It is the point of departure for crossing the desert into China, and near it the road from China branches, one line going north of the T'ien Shan, by Barkul, the Urumtsi district, and Kurkarausu to Ili; the other south of the mountains, by which Goës came. Kamul is the seat of the [Chinese Agent in this region, who bears the title of *Pan She Ta Tchen* and is of lesser rank than the *K'u lun Pan She Ta Tchen*, who resides at K'urun (Urga)]. The climate of Kamul appears to be very mild, for oranges are grown there (*R. in C. Asia*, p. 129). [*Kamul* is the Turkish name of the province called by the Mongols *Khamil*, by the Chinese *Hami*; the latter name is found for the first time in the *Yuen Shi*, but it is first mentioned in Chinese History in the first century of our era under the name of *I-wu-lu* or *I-wu* (Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, ii, p. 20); after the death of Chinghiz, it belonged to his son Chagatai. From the Great Wall, at the pass of Kia yü, to Hami there is a distance of 1470 *li*. *Cf. Marco Polo*, i, 211 *n.*]

[2] *Kia-yu Kwan*, or the "Jade Gate," of the Great Wall, the Jaiguouden of Mír Izzet Ullah's route. *Kwan*, in Chinese, is a fort guarding a defile (Ritter, ii, 213; D'Ohsson, ii, 625; *J. R. As. Soc.*, vii, 283, *seqq.*). This place is probably the *Karaúl* of Shah Rukh's people.

[3] [R., p. 548, "Socceo."]

has an evil fame on account of its liability to Tartar raids, and therefore this part of the road is traversed by merchants with great fear. In the day time they reconnoitre from the neighbouring hills, and if they consider the road safe they prosecute their journey by night and in silence. Our travellers found on the way the bodies of sundry Mahomedans who had been miserably murdered[1] Yet the Tartars rarely slay the natives, for they call them their slaves and shepherds, from whose flocks and herds they help themselves. These Tartars make use neither of wheat nor of rice, nor of any kind of pulse, for they say such things are food for beasts and not for men; they eat nothing but flesh, and make no objection to that of horses, mules, or camels. Yet they are said to be very long lived, and indeed not unfrequently survive to more than a hundred. The Mahomedan races who live on the Chinese frontier in this direction have no warlike spirit, and might be easily subdued by the Chinese, if that nation were at all addicted to making conquests.

In this journey it happened one night that Benedict was thrown from his horse and lay there half dead, whilst his companions who were all in advance went on in ignorance of what had happened. In fact it was not till the party arrived at the halting place that Benedict was missed. His comrade Isaac went back to seek him, but the search in the dark was to no purpose, until at last he heard a voice calling on the name of Jesus. Following the sound he found Benedict, who had given up all hope of being able to follow his companions, so that his first words were: "What angel has brought thee hither to rescue me from such a plight?" By help of the Armenian he was enabled to reach the halting place and there to recover from his fall.

[1] [R., p. 548: "per voler andare per li soli."]

CHAPTER XIII OF BOOK V

How our Brother Benedict died in the Chinese territory, after the arrival of one of our members who had been sent from Peking to his assistance.

TOWARDS the northern extremity of the western frontier of China the celebrated wall comes to an end, and there is a space of about two hundred miles through which the Tartars, prevented by the wall from penetrating the northern frontier, used to attempt incursions into China, and indeed they do so still, but with less chance of success. For two very strongly fortified cities, garrisoned with select troops, have been established on purpose to repel their attacks. These cities are under a special Viceroy and other officials deriving their orders direct from the capital. In one of these two cities of the province of SCENSI[1], which is called CANCEU, is the residence of the Viceroy and other chief officers; the other city called SOCIEU[2], has a governor of its own, and is divided into

[1] [Su chau and Kan chau are now in the Kan Su Province, but in the days of Goës, Kan Su was a part of the Shen si Province.]

[2] *Su chau*, the Succuir [and Sukchur] of Marco Polo [I, pp. 217–219] the *Sukchú* of [Rashíd ud-dín and of] Shah Rukh's embassy, and the *Sowchick* of Anthony Jenkinson's reports. [Su-chau had been devastated and its inhabitants massacred by Chinghiz Khan in 1226.] The Persian envoys describe it (1419) as a great city of a perfectly square form, with a strong fort. The bazaars were fifty cubits in width, kept clean and watered. There were four gates on each side, and behind (over?) each gate was a pavilion of two stories with a roof *en dos d'âne* after the Chinese fashion. The streets were paved with vitrified brick, and there were many great temples. See also Hajji Mahomed in Notes to Prelim. Essay.

Canceu is the still existing *Kan chau*, the *Canpichu* of Polo [I, pp. 219–23], the *Camexu* of Pegolotti, the *Kamchú* or *Kamjú*

two parts. In one of these dwell the Chinese, whom the Mahomedans here call Cathayans[1], in the other the Mahomedans who have come for purposes of trade from the kingdom of Cascar and other western regions. There are many of these who have entangled themselves with wives and children, so that they are almost regarded as natives, and will never go back. They are much in the position of the Portuguese who are settled at AMACAO[2] in the province of Canton, but with this difference, that the Portuguese live under their own laws and have magistrates of their own, whereas these Mahomedans are under the government of the Chinese. Indeed they are shut up every night within the walls of their own quarter of the city, and in other matters are treated just like the natives, and are subject in every thing to the Chinese magistrates. The law is that one who has sojourned there for nine years shall not be allowed to return to his country.

To this city are wont to come those western merchants, who, under old arrangements between seven or eight kingdoms in that quarter and the Empire of China, have leave of admission every sixth year for two-and-seventy persons, who under pretence of being ambassadors go and offer tribute to the Emperor. This tribute consists of that translucent marble of which we spoke before, of

of Rashíd and the Ambassadors (see *supra*, III, p. 128). The latter say it was nine posts from Sukchu, and was the seat of the *Dankshi* or chief governor of the frontier. They describe here a great temple, and one of those gigantic recumbent figures, representing Gautama in a state of Nirwana, which are still to be seen in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. This one was fifty paces long, with figures of other divinities and *Bakshis* round about, executed with great vivacity. There was also a singular pagoda of timber, fifteen stories high, which turned upon a pivot. Here the envoys had to deposit their baggage, and received thereafter all supplies from the Chinese government.

[1] [R., p. 549: "nell' una stanno gli Catai, che da qui avanti chiamaremo col suo primo nome di Cinesi."]

[2] [R., p. 549: "città di Maccáo."]

small diamonds, ultramarine, and other such matters; and the so-called ambassadors go to the capital and return from it at the public expense. The tribute is merely nominal, for no one pays more for the marble than the Emperor does, considering it to be beneath his dignity to accept gifts from foreigners without return. And indeed their entertainment from the Emperor is on so handsome a scale, that, taking an average of the whole, there can be no doubt that every man pockets a piece of gold[1] daily over and above all his necessary expenses[2]. This is the reason why this embassy is such an object of competition, and why the nomination to it is purchased with great presents from the chief of the caravan, with whom it lies. When the time comes the *soi-disant* ambassadors forge public letters in the names of the kings whom they profess to represent, in which the Emperor of China is addressed in obsequious terms. The Chinese receive embassies of a similar character from various other kingdoms, such as Cochin-China, Siam, Leuchieu, Corea, and from some of the petty Tartar kings, the whole causing incredible charges on the public treasury. The Chinese themselves are quite aware of the imposture, but they allow their Emperor to be befooled in this manner, as if to persuade him that the

[1] [R., p. 550: "ducato."]

[2] Martini and Alvarez Semedo speak in similar terms of the embassies, or pretended embassies, that came periodically to Peking from Central Asia. The latter says that their present to the Emperor always consisted of 1000 *arrobas*, or 1333 Italian pounds, of jade, 300 being of the very finest quality; 340 horses; 300 very small diamonds; about 100 pounds of fine ultramarine; 600 knives; 600 files. This was the old prescriptive detail which none might change. The cost price of the whole might be some 7000 crowns, but the Emperor's return present was worth 50,000 (p. 27; see also narrative from Busbeck in Notes to Essay at beginning of the first volume).

These sham embassies, disguising trading expeditions, were of old standing in China, going back at least to the days of the Sung Emperors. (Rémusat, in *Mém. de l'Acad.*, viii, 77–8.)

whole world is tributary to the Chinese empire, the fact being that China pays tribute to those kingdoms.

Our Benedict arrived at Socieu in the end of the year 1605, and it shows how Divine Providence watched over him, that he came to the end of this enormous journey with ample means, and prosperous in every way. He had with him thirteen animals, five hired servants, two boys, whom he had bought as slaves, and that surpassing piece of jade[1]; the total value of his property being reckoned at two thousand five hundred pieces of gold[2]. Moreover both he and his companion Isaac were in perfect health and strength.

At this city of Socieu he fell in with another party of Saracens just returned from the capital, and these confirmed all that he had already been told about our fathers at Peking, adding a good deal more of an incredible and extravagant nature; for example, that they had from the Emperor a daily allowance of silver, not counted to them, but measured out in bulk! So he now wrote to Father Matthew[3] to inform him of his arrival. His letter was intrusted to certain Chinamen, but as he did not know the Chinese names of our fathers, nor the part of the city in which they lived, and as the letter was addressed in European characters, the bearers were unable to discover our people.

At Easter however he wrote a second time, and this letter was taken by some Mahomedan who had made his escape from the city, for Mahomedans also are debarred from going out or coming in, without the permission of the authorities. In this letter he explained the origin and

[1] [R., p. 550: "e doi putti cattivi, che aveva comprati, e con la più fina pietra di iaspe che vi era."]

[2] [R., p. 550: "ducati d' oro."]

[3] [R., p. 551: "ai padri di Pacchino."]

object of his journey, and begged the fathers to devise some way of rescuing him from the prison in which he found himself at Socieu, and of restoring him to the delight of holding intercourse with his brethren, in place of being perpetually in the company of Saracens. He mentioned also his wish to return to India by the sea route[1], as usually followed by the Portuguese.

The fathers had long ere this been informed by the Superior's letters from India of Benedict's having started on this expedition, and every year they had been looking out for him, and asking diligently for news of him whenever one of those companies of merchants on their pretended embassy arrived at court. But till now they had never been able to learn any news of him, whether from not knowing the name under which he was travelling, or because the ambassadors of the preceding seasons really had never heard of him.

The arrival of his letter therefore gave great pleasure to the fathers at Peking. It was received late in the year, in the middle of November[2], and they lost no time in arranging to send a member of the Society to get him away some how or other and bring him to the capital. However on re-consideration they gave up that scheme, for the bringing another foreigner into the business seemed likely to do harm rather than good. So they sent one of the pupils who had lately been selected to join the Society but had not yet entered on his noviciate. His name was John Ferdinand, he was a young man of singular prudence and virtue, and one whom it seemed safe to entrust with a business of this nature. One of the converts acquainted with that part of the country was sent in company with

[1] [R., p. 551: "per via di Quantone."]

[2] [The letter was received, according to Ricci, writing to Acquaviva, not in the middle of November, but "nel principio del mese di novembre dell'anno 1606." See R., p. 551 *n.*]

him. His instructions were to use all possible means to get away Benedict and his party to the capital, but if he should find it absolutely impossible either to get leave from the officials or to evade their vigilance, he was to stop with our brother, and send back word to the members of the Society. In that case it was hoped that by help of friends at Court, means would be found to get him on from the frontier.

A journey of this nature might seem unseasonable enough at a time of the year when winter is at the height of severity in those regions; and the town at which Benedict had been detained was nearly four months'[1] journey from Peking. But Father Matthew thought no further delay should be risked, lest the great interval that had elapsed should lead Benedict to doubt whether we really had members stationed at Peking. And he judged well, for if the journey had been delayed but a few days longer the messengers would not have found Benedict among the living. They carried him a letter from Father Matthew, giving counsel as to the safest manner of making the journey, and two other members of the Society also wrote to him, giving full details about our affairs in that capital, a subject on which he was most eager for information.

Our Benedict in the meantime, during his detention at that city endured more annoyance from the Mahomedans than had befallen him during the whole course of his journey. Also, on account of the high price of food in the place, he was obliged to dispose of his large piece of jade for little more than half its value[2]. He got for it

[1] [R., p. 552: "tre o quatro mesi."]

[2] [R., p. 552: "E in quella terra il vitto molto caro, et egli, se bene aveva molta mercantia, non aveva nessun danaro; per questo fu forzato a vendere tutta la pietra iaspe, che aveva, per la metade di quello che valeva."]

twelve hundred pieces of gold[1], a large part of which went to repay money which he had borrowed, whilst with the rest he maintained his party for a whole year. Meanwhile the caravan of merchants with their chief arrived. Benedict was obliged to exercise hospitality, and in course of time was reduced to such straits that he had to borrow money to maintain his party; this all the more because owing to his nomination as one of the seventy-two ambassadors he was obliged (again) to purchase some fragments of jade. He hid a hundred pounds of this in the earth to preserve it from any tricks of the Mahomedans, for without a supply of this article he would have been absolutely incapacitated from taking part in the journey to Peking.

John Ferdinand[2] left Peking on the eleventh of December in that year; and his journey also was attended with a new misfortune, for at SINGHAN[3], the capital of the province of SCIENSI, his servant ran away, robbing him of half his supplies[4] for the journey. Two months more of a fatiguing journey however brought him to Socieu, in the end of March 1607[5].

He found our Benedict laid low with a disease unto death. The very night before it had been intimated to him, whether by dream or vision, that on the following day one of the Society would arrive from Peking; and upon this he had desired his comrade the Armenian to go to the bazaar and buy certain articles for distribution among the poor, whilst at the same time he earnestly

[1] [R., p. 552: "ducati."]

[2] [John Fernandez, Christian name of the Chinaman Chong Ma-li, a lay brother, born in 1581; joined the Jesuits in 1610; he left for Su chau on the 12th December 1606.]

[3] [The great city of Si-ngan.]

[4] [R., p. 553: "dinari."]

[5] [R., p. 553: "l' ultimo giorno di marzo dell' anno seguente 1607."]

prayed God not to suffer the hopes raised by his dream to be disappointed. Whilst Isaac was still in the bazaar some one told him of the arrival of John Ferdinand from Peking, and pointed him out. The latter followed the Armenian home, and as he entered saluted our brother Benedict in the Portuguese tongue. From this he at once understood what the arrival was, and taking the letters he raised them aloft with tears of joy in his eyes, and burst into the hymn of *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine.* For now it seemed to him that indeed his commission was accomplished, and his pilgrimage at an end. He then read the letters, and all that night kept them near his heart. The words that were spoken, the questions that were asked may be more easily conjectured than detailed.

John Ferdinand did his best to nurse him, hoping that with recovered strength he might yet be able to undertake the journey to Peking. But strength there was none; as indeed physician there was none, nor proper medicines; nor was there anything to do him good in his illness, unless it were some European dishes which John Ferdinand cooked for him. And thus, eleven days[1] after the latter's arrival, Benedict breathed his last; not without some suspicion of his having been poisoned by the Mahomedans.

These latter had fellows always on the watch, in order to pounce upon whatever the dead man might leave. This they did in the most brutal manner; but no part of the loss which they caused was so much to be deplored as the destruction of the journal of his travels, which he had kept with great minuteness. This was a thing the Mahomedans fell on with open jaws! For the

[1] [In his letter of the 22nd August 1608, Ricci says ten days instead of eleven. See R., p. 553 *n.*]

book also contained[1] acknowledgments of debt which might have been used to compel many of them to repay the sums which they had shamelessly extracted from him. They wished to bury the body after their Mahomedan ritual, but Ferdinand succeeded in shutting out their importunate priests, and buried him in a decent locality[2] where it would be practicable to find the body again. And these two, the Armenian and John Ferdinand, having no service-books, devoutly recited the rosary as they followed his bier[3].

It seems right to add a few words in commemoration of a character so worthy. Benedict Goës, a native of Portugal, a man of high spirit and acute intellect, on his first entrance into the society was sent as a volunteer to join the mission in the Mogul Empire. For many years he gave most active aid to that mission, instructing Mahomedans, Hindus, and converts as far as his own acquirements went, and gaining the love of all as he did so. Yet he was not a priest; but he was held in high esteem for his great good sense and other valuable qualities natural and acquired. Hence also he was admitted to

[1] [R., p. 554: "in lingua persiana."]

[2] [R., p. 554: "comprando una cassa di legno assai buona, lo sotterrò in un luogo netto."]

[3] ["Here at Su-chou," writes Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, ii, p. 292, "where he might well think himself near to his goal, and where, nevertheless, he came to be detained for sixteen weary months, the devoted Jesuit traveller succumbed in 1607 to disease and privations. I had thought of him and his plucky perseverance at all the points—Lahore, Peshawar, the Pamirs, Sarikol, Yarkand, and Khotan—where I had touched the line of his wanderings. And grateful I felt now to Fate which had allowed me to reach the site of his tragic end. There is nothing to suggest even approximately the spot where his wearied limbs were laid to rest by the young Chinese convert whom the Jesuit fathers had despatched from Peking to his relief, and who arrived just a few days before all earthly trouble was ended. But I hope that when the Catholic Mission at Su-chou shall have built its permanent chapel, means may be found to recall to those who worship in it the memory of Benedict Goëz."]

the intimate friendship of the Mogul Sovereign, and when this prince was despatching an embassy to Goa, along with his own envoy he sent Benedict also in the same character.

This king indeed entertained a project for the conquest of (Portuguese) India, and it may be ascribed to Benedict's prudence that war with so powerful a monarch was averted.

A short time before his death he wrote to warn our members at Peking never to put faith in Mahomedans, and also in deprecation of any future attempts to travel by the route which he had followed, as being both dangerous and useless.

A circumstance is well known in our Society which manifests the holy character of the man. Remarking how many years had past without the opportunity of confession and absolution, "I am dying," he said, "without this consolation, and yet how great is God's goodness! For He does not allow my conscience to be disturbed with anything of moment in the review of my past life[1]!"

A truly abominable custom prevailed among those merchants, that the property of anyone dying on the way should be divided among the rest of the company. On this account they laid hold of Isaac the companion of Benedict, and tied him up, threatening him with death unless he would call upon the name of Mahomed. Ferdinand, however, sent a memorial to the Viceroy at Canceu claiming Isaac's liberation. The Viceroy passed his orders on the petition, desiring the Governor of Socieu to decide according to right and justice, and to restore the youth's uncle to him with the property of the deceased[2]

[1] [This passage does not appear in Ricci.]

[2] [R., p. 555: "Per questo si risolse il fratello Giovanni di andare a Canceo, che sta tre giorni di cammino di Succeo, a dar libello al vicerè, chiedendoli che gli facesse ritornare Isac; che

At first the governor was favourable to Ferdinand, but when some forty[1] of the Saracens joined together to bribe him, he then threatened to flog Ferdinand, and kept him three days in prison. The latter did not, however, a bit the more desist from his undertaking, but when he ran short of money to prosecute his suit, he sold all the clothes that he could do without to raise a small sum. He was detained for five months about this business, and yet had no means of communicating with the Armenian, from his ignorance of Persian; the other being equally unable to speak either Portuguese or Latin. When they were called before the Court, Ferdinand recited the Lord's Prayer, whilst Isaac repeated the name of Benedict Goës with a few words of Portuguese; and as nobody understood a word of what either of them said, the judge gave it as his opinion that they were talking in the Canton dialect, and understood each other perfectly! Latterly, however, Ferdinand learned in about two months to talk Persian, and so was able to converse with the Armenian.

Sometimes the Mahomedans raised objections from the extreme discrepancy of their physiognomies, which they said evidently betrayed one to be a Saracen and the other a Chinaman. But Ferdinand answered that his mother had been Chinese, and that he took the character of his features after her. Nothing, however, moved the judge so much as what occurred one day when Ferdinand declared before the Court that Isaac was heartily opposed to the Mahomedan religion, and that in any case if he really did belong to that faith he would never touch pork;

per poter far meglio questo si fece egli figliuolo di un fratello del fratello Benedetto e di Isac armenio, dando il suo cognome di *Cium* a ambedue, e il nome al modo della Cina, e venuto della provincia di Quantone."]

R., p. 555: "trenta o quaranta."]

and taking a piece of pork out of his sleeve he offered it to Isaac, and both of them began to eat it, to the intense disgust of the Mahomedans and to the amusement of the other spectators. Indeed when the Saracens saw this they gave up the case as hopeless, and went out of Court, spitting at Isaac as they went, and saying that he had been deluded by that Chinese impostor. For it was true that on the whole journey neither Isaac nor Benedict had ever eaten pork, in order not to give offence to the Mahomedans; or if they ever did so, at least it was in private. These circumstances moved the judge to decide in Ferdinand's favour, and to order all that Benedict had left to be restored to him[1]. Nothing was found, however, except the pieces of jade which had been buried[2]. From the proceeds of these debts were paid, and means furnished for the journey to Peking. But still there was not enough to cover the great expense of all those months of detention, so they had to borrow twenty pieces of gold on the security of some bits of jade which still remained. At last they both got to the brethren at Peking, to whom the whole affair had caused a good deal of anxiety[3]. They had now cause for both grief and joy; Benedict's loss was to be mourned, and the Armenian to be congratulated on his escape. Him they received as if he had been one of our

[1] [R., p. 556: "Con questo il giudice diede sententia che gli ritornassero i Saraceni il suo zio e quanto era restato del fratello Benedetto, e gli avrebbe tornato anco il putto cattivo; ma gli messero i Saraceni tanta paura se diceva voler ire col fratello che, avanti il giudice, disser voler restar con i Mori, e così il giudice non lo volse forzare a ire."]

[2] [R., p. 556: "Non si ritrovò altra cosa delle robe e denari che le quattro cento libre di iaspe molto cattivo, del quale vendettero più della metà e pagorno i debiti del fratello Benedetto, e l' altro volevano portare a Pacchino."]

[3] [R., p. 556: "Tutto questo tempo, che fu di otto mesi, sino alla arrivata del fratello Giovanni Ferdinando e Isac armenio, che fu a 28 di ottobre, stettero i padri di Pacchino con molta sollecitudine e paura."]

own body, for Benedict had spoken in strong terms of the faithful help which he had rendered throughout the journey.

Ferdinand brought to Peking a cross elegantly painted on gilt paper, the only one that Benedict had ventured to carry among those Mahomedans, and also the three rescripts of the three kings, viz. of Cascar, Quoten and Cialis, all which are now preserved as memorials in our house at Peking. There also are preserved the letters patent of Father Jerome Xavier, with other letters of his which had arrived during the journey, and letters likewise from Alexius Menezes, archbishop of Goa, and from the said Jerome, to the members of the society at Peking, in which they expressed themselves as feeling satisfied that Cathay could not be a long way from Peking, and that probably the two kingdoms had a common frontier.

Isaac the Armenian stopped a month at Peking, and during that time he communicated to Father Matthew from his own recollection, assisted by some papers of Benedict's, all that we have related in these three chapters. He was then despatched to MACAO by the road which our people are in the habit of using, and was there most kindly received by the Society and its friends. Having then sailed on his way back to India, the ship was taken by pirates[1] in the Straits of SINCAPURA, and the Armenian was plundered of all his trifling possessions and reduced to a wretched state of bondage. He was ransomed, however, by the Portuguese of Malacca, and went on to (Western) India. Hearing there of his wife's death, he proceeded no further towards the Mogul's territories, but settled at a certain town of the East Indies called

[1] [R., p. 557: "corsari olandesi."]

CIAUL, where he still survives at the date when this is written[1].

[1] Du Jarric's statement about Isaac is somewhat different. According to that writer he was taken by a *Dutch ship* on his way to Malacca. The captain was so struck by his history that he caused it all to be written down, and sent him to Malacca. Thence the fathers of the Society sent him on to Cochin and Goa, where he fell in with Father Pinheiro (who had been stationed at Lahore when Goës started on his journey). The Provincial of India gave Isaac one hundred *pardaos*, and he went with Pinheirò to Cambay (p. 226).

Chawul (Ciaul) is a port of the Konkan about thirty-five miles south of Bombay, which was an important place of trade in the sixteenth century.

[The end of the narrative in Ricci's text is as follows: "Et, essendosi Isac imbarcato per passare all' India e da lì ritornare al Mogore, dove stava sua moglie e figliuoli, fu presa la barca da' corsari olandesi nello stretto di Sincapure e, riscattato da quei di Malacca, arrivò pure al fine all' India, doppo sì gravi travagli."]

NOTE I. (See page 182.)[1]

THE PASSES OF THE HINDU KUSH.

Wood, in his Journey to the Oxus[2], names only four such passes. Three of these are reached from Kabul through the valley of Koh-Damán north of that city, and diverge from each other near Charekar; viz., the Pass of Panjshir or Khawak, the Pass of Parwān, and the Pass of Ghorband; but each of these in fact represents a group of several routes over the mountains. The fourth that he mentions is the Pass of Hajjiyak[3], lying much further west, passing by Bamian, and usually, in modern times at least, approached from Kabul by the road running west from that city by Rustam Khail, south of the offshoots of the Indian Caucasus called the Pugman Range and Kohistan of Kabul.

If we turn to Sultan Baber we find the number of Passes raised to seven. Those which he names are *three* leading out of the Panjshir Valley, viz. (1) Khawak, (2) Túl, (3) Bazarak; then (4) the Pass of Parwān; and *three* described as in Ghorband, viz. (5) Yangi Yuli or the "New Road," (6) Kipchak, and (7) Shibrtu[4].

As Ritter understands this list it does not include the Hajjiyak at all. But we know that the Shibrtu route, which Baber says was the only one passable in winter, lies some twenty-five or thirty miles west of Bamian, and I have little doubt that the Kipchak of Baber is the Hajjiyak, which, leading by what was in old times the great and flourishing city of Bamian, must always have been a main line across the mountain barrier; and it is scarcely conceivable that Baber should have omitted it in his list. That both Kipchak and Shibrtu are mentioned by the king among the passes reached from Ghorband, is, I suppose, to be accounted for by the fact that a transverse route does pass along the whole length of the Ghorband Valley to the foot of the Hajjiyak Pass, whilst there is also a lateral communication from Bamian to Shibrtu.

The account in the *Ayin Akbari* is remarkable, as it seems partly copied from Baber and partly modified. This also mentions seven passes, viz. (1) Hawak (read *Khawak*), (2) Tool (*Túl*),

[1] See also the map facing page 529.

[2] *Journey to the source of the River Oxus*, 1841, p. 186.

[3] Called also Hajikak and Hajigak.

[4] Leyden and Erskine's *Baber*, p. 133 *seq*

(3) Bajaruck (*Bazarak*), (4) not named, but probably Parwān; (5) "by the Hill of Kipchak, and this also is somewhat easy to pass. The sixth (6) is by the Hill of Sheertoo (read *Shibrtu*), but in the summer when the waters are out you must go by the route of Bahmian and Talakan (*Talikhan*). The seventh (7) is by the way of Abdereh. In winter travellers make use of this road, it being the only one passable in the depth of that season." This last route is, I presume, to be looked for in the Koh-i-Baba, still further west than Shibrtu, but I believe no existing map will help us to it.

The most complete notice of the Passes from the Panjshir and Ghorband Valleys is to be found in a Report by Major R. Leech of the Bombay Engineers, published at Calcutta by the Indian Government[1]. By help of this we make out the following list of the whole number, commencing with the most westerly:

PASSES FROM PANJSHIR.

1. Pass of ANJUMAN. This is a pass starting from Paryan near the head of the Panjshir Valley and crossing into Badakhshan direct. It probably descends the Kokcha Valley by the lapis-lazuli mines. Paryan is perhaps the *Perjan* of Sharifuddín (in P. de la Croix) which Timur passed in his expedition against the Kafirs. Leech's Reports mention traditions of Timur's doings in the Passes into Kafiristan that ascend from Paryan.

2. KHAWAK Pass, at the very head of the Panjshir Valley, crossing to the Valley of Anderab, which it descends to the town of that name. [Taken by Alexander to enter Bactriana.]

3. TÚL. This is a loop line to the Khawak Pass. It quits the latter about twenty miles short of the summit and rejoins it at Sirab about twelve or fourteen miles[2] beyond the summit in the descent to Anderab.

4. ZARYA ascends from Safed Chir on the Panjshir R. some six miles below Túl, and joins the last pass just before reaching Sirab.

5. From UMRAZ (or Murz of Wood's survey), fifteen miles further down the Panjshir, and about thirty-one miles from the entrance of the valley, three bad passes, called Shwa, Urza, and Yatimak, lead across the mountains joining the Bazarak Pass (No. 6) on the other side of the ridge. The two last of the three are seldom free from snow.

[1] I have only MS. extracts of this report, for which I am indebted to Dr. F. Hall, of the India Office Library.

[2] These distances in the Panjshir Passes I take from Wood's survey as embodied in a map by Mr. J. Walker. The distances here as given in Leech's report are inconsistent, and in fact impossibly small. In the Ghorband Passes I have to take Leech's distances.

6. BAZARAK. This quits the Panjshir at the village of that name, twenty-eight and a half miles from the mouth of the valley, and descends upon KHINJAN on the Anderab River.

7. SHATPAL. This starts from Gulbahar at the entrance to Panjshir Valley, and joins the Bazarak Road on the other side at Kishnabad or Kishtabad, twenty-one miles from Khinjan.

PARWĀN PASSES.

8. Pass of PARWĀN, from the town of that name, once a place of consequence (see p. 209), descends upon Bajga belonging to Anderab, apparently to the west of Khinjan. Baber says this pass is a very difficult one, and that between Parwān and the great *col* there are seven minor passes called the *Haft Bacha* (Seven young ones).

9. Pass of SALULANG (Sir-ī-lung of Wood). This starts from Tutan Dara, six miles north-west of Charekar and descends, like the last, somewhere not far from Khinjan.

PASSES FROM GHORBAND.

10. KUSHAN. This is the pass which leads close under the great peak specially known as Hindu Kush. It starts from a point in the Ghorband valley about ten miles from Tutan Dara. Kushan lies some miles up the pass. It descends upon Khinjan like the two last, which it probably receives before reaching that place.

11. GWALIAN. This leaves the valley some twenty miles from Tutan Dara. It descends upon Gozan on the Anderab river.

12. GWAZYAR. This pass leaves the valley near the ruins of the old town of Ghorband, some twenty-four and a half miles from Tutan Dara. It leads to Kilagai, a small town on the road from Khinjan to Baghlan and Kunduz.

13. CHAR DARYA. This pass leaves the valley at about twenty-nine miles from Tutan Dara, and descends upon GHORI, a considerable town. It is passable for Kafilas of every description.

From this the road goes on along the valley of Ghorband, throwing off one or two minor passes, and eventually joins the Hajiyak road at the ruins of Zohak near Bamian.

14. The Pass of HAJJIYAK or Bamian.

15. SHIBRTU.

16. ABDEREH, for which my only authority is the *Ayin Akbari* as already quoted. These two last are beyond the limits to which the name Hindu Kush is applied.

Of these Passes Hajjiyak was that crossed on his celebrated journey by Burnes, the first European traveller who saw and described the great rock idols of Bamian; it was also that crossed

by Wood on his journey northward to the Oxus. It was probably by this pass that Chinghiz crossed, for the siege of Bamian was one of the events of his campaign in these regions; and by it Hiuen Tsang travelled to India.

The Pass of Chardarya was crossed by Aurungzib. The Pass of Salulang was attempted by Capt. Wood[1], but unsuccessfully, owing to the lateness of the season. Timur on his expedition into India crossed the Hindu Kush by the Pass of Túl, and returned by that of Shibrtu. The Khawak Pass was crossed by Wood and Lord on their return from the Oxus. By this pass or one of its branches Ibn Batuta had crossed five hundred years before[2]; and we have already seen reason to believe that one of the passes into the Panjshir Valley was crossed by Friar Odoric on his return to Europe[3]. Hiuen Tsang also returned by Panjshir and Anderab on his way to China.

I have already observed that the mention by Goës of Parwān

[1] Wood himself calls it the Pass of Parwān, but it is evident from comparison with Leech's report that it was the Pass called in the latter Salulang.

[2] See p. 9 *ante*. Ibn Batuta after passing KUNDUZ and BAGHLAN (see map) arrived at Andar (ANDARAB), where he says a city formerly existed which had altogether disappeared. Starting for the Hindu Kush (the name which he uses) they met with hot springs, in which he washed, and lost the skin of his face in consequence. These were no doubt the hot springs of SIRAB, near where the Passes of Túl and Khawak diverge in the Upper Valley of Anderab, and which are mentioned by Wood as having temperatures of 108° and 124° *Fahr.* (*Journey*, p. 413). The Moor next mentions halting in a place called *Banjhir* (PANJSHIR) where there had been formerly a fine city on a considerable river descending from the mountains of Badakshan. All the country had been ruined by Chinghiz and had never recovered. He then arrived at the mountain of PASHAI (*supra*, p. 9). The Pashais are mentioned repeatedly by Leech as one of the most numerous tribes in the Panjshir valley and adjoining passes. These, I gather, are now Mahomedans, but as the name is mentioned also by Elphinstone as that of one of the Kafir tribes, no doubt part of them in the mountains have retained their heathenism and independence. He then reaches Parwān and Charkh (CHAREKAR, which Leech also calls *Ciarka*). It will be seen that these data leave nothing ambiguous in the traveller's route excepting the short alternative of the Khawak and Tul routes over the actual ridge of the Hindu Kush (see *Ibn Bat.*, iii, 82–8).

Edrisi speaks of the people of the towns of *Banjhir* and *Hariana* on the Banjhir (Panjshir River) as employed in mining silver, and those of the latter as notorious "for the violence and wickedness of their character." The position of this town of Panjshir does not seem to be known now (though Mahomedan coins exist struck in the ninth century), but the valley has retained its character to this day. "This fair scene," says Wood, "is chiefly peopled by robbers, whose lawless lives and never-ending feuds render it an unfit abode for honest men." *Hariana* is perhaps PARYAN, at which there are silver mines marked in Wood's survey. Edrisi also speaks of Andarab as a town surrounded by gardens, orchards, and vineyards, where they stored the silver from Panjshir and Hariana (i, 476 *seq.*).

[3] *Supra*, II, p. 10.

as occurring just before the entrance of their Kafila to the mountains involves strong probability that he crossed by the pass taking its name from that town. One of the minor difficulties of the narrative, however, is the application of the name *Aingharan* to the district which he reached after crossing the mountains. Now I find from Wood's survey, as embodied in J. Walker's map that the name *Dara-i-Aingharan* is applied to two of the valleys in the vicinity of Bamian. It is a possible explanation, therefore, that the Kafila might from Parwān have struck up the Ghorband valley and crossed the Hajjiyak Pass. This circuitous route would also be more consistent with the great length of time assigned to the journey, and with the identification of Khulum as the Calcia of our traveller. None of these grounds, however, are stable enough to build upon with much confidence[1].

[1] In the preparation of this note I have had greatly to regret the want of access to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, which contains a variety of valuable papers bearing on the subject.

[Since Sir Henry Yule wrote this note, the Hindu Kush has been explored and the following list of passes from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* may prove useful for comparison: "The Hindu Kush is crossed by the following passes, going from east to west—the Karambar or Ishkamán, the Darkot, the Baroghil (at the eastern end of the range, elevation about 12,000 feet), the Yur, the Vost, the Nuksán, the Kharteza, the Dora, and in the extreme West of the main range the Bamian or Irak Pass, a great trade route into India from Central Asia. These passes lead from Chitral into Wakhán and Badakhshán. Of the Kafiristan passes little is known. The Kháwák Pass (13,200 feet) is the most important of the routes between Badakhshán and Káfiristán From Deh-i-Parian in the Panjshir valley a pass leads by Anjúman to Badakhshán. The other principal passes are—the Thal, the Kháwák, the Bazárak, the Shatpal, the Parwān, the Saraláng, the Káoshán, the Gwálián, the Gwazgar, the Chárdar, the Gholáláy, the Faringal, and the Ghorband. Most of the passes are not difficult. Some are practicable for *káfilas* or caravans of laden carts. On some, snow lies for but three months in the year. Others are covered by perpetual snow. These are impracticable for laden animals, but foot-passengers slide over and down them on leathern aprons."]

NOTE II.

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NOTE III.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I.

Pp xxii, 201; III, p. 186 *n.* *Read* Periegetes *instead of* Periergetes.

Pp. xxiii, 262. Letter of Sempad (1243); the letter was written between 1248, date of his departure, and 1250.

P. 8, note 1, line 3. *Read* Hau Han Shu *instead of* Han Han Shu.

P. 9, note 2, line 5. *Read* Chavannes *instead of* Chevannes.

P. 29. On Theophylactus, see Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue*, pp. 249 seq. On *Tabγač* = uighúr *tapqač*, see V. Thomsen, *Insc. de l'Orkhon*, 1896, p. 139.

P. 41. *Read* TSIN *instead of* TS'IN.

P. 60, line 6. Read *Samanids* instead of *Sassanids*. Read *Lun tsang* instead of *Lunt sang*; *Aṃcuvarman* instead of *Aṇçuvarman*.

P. 70, note. T'ai Tsung died during the fifth moon 549.

P. 101, note 1, line 1. Read *J. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxviii *instead of* vol. xxvii.

P. 110, note 2. *Read* Izdbuzid *instead of* Idbuzid.

P 193. On Kattigara, *see* Dr. A. Hermann in the Berlin Geog. Soc. *Zeitschrift*, N. 10, 1913, and the *Geographical Journal*, May 1914, p. 579. He places Kattigara on the northern borders of Annam, just where Richthofen and Hirth, on the authority of the Chinese annals, have placed the southern limit of the Chinese Empire at the time.

P. 205, note 3. *Titeupuli*. Prof. Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue*, p. 227 *n.*, shows that *Ti-t'eou-pu-li* has never existed.

P. 378, note 4. Read CHENG TING FU *instead of* CH'ENG TING FU.

VOLUME II.

P. ix. *Add* Dr. Nob. Luigi Tinti Canonico Decano Prof. di Teologia e Pastorale nel Seminario vescovile di Portugruaro, Delegato del Vescovo di Concordia — Vita e Missioni nell' Indo-Cina del Beato Odorico da Pordenone dei Frati Minori (1285–1331). Con illustrazioni.) — Roma, Desclée, Lefebvre & Ci, 1901, 8vo, pp. 178 + 1 f. n. ch. ind. ill.

Gives (p. 161) a sketch of the sarcophagus as it stood before the XVIIIth cent., surmounted with a bust of Odorico, showing the project of restoration.

P. 71. See *Notice sur le grand et le petit Pou lu* [Baltistan and Gilghit] from the *T'ang Shu* in Chavannes' *Tou-Kiue*, pp. 149–154.

P. 199. Prof. PELLIOT has devoted an article to the Turkish name of wine in Odoric of Pordenone (*T'oung pao*, July, 1914, pp. 448–453). He thinks with Yule that *bigni* must be *bagni*, but Turkish, not Persian. "Ce qu'on boit au Tchö kiang, c'est surtout du vin de sorgho, et les crûs en sont célèbres dans toute la Chine. Précisément, c'est un produit un peu analogue, c'est-à-dire un produit de la fermentation de céréales, qui était designé en Perse sous le nom de *bāgni*. Il me paraît donc probable... que *bāgni* désigne les bières, vins de sorgho, vins de millet, bref toutes les boissons fermentées autres que le produit de la vigne et à l'exclusion des alcools distillés. Pour de telles boissons, simples ou composées, c'est d'Asie centrale que le nom de *bāgni* aurait gagné le monde iranien."

P. 203. In the *Bul. de l'École d'Extrême-Orient*, XIV, No. 8, 1914, Prof. H. MASPERO in the narrative of an archaeological Mission through the Che Kiang Province has given an interesting description of the *Hia T'ien-chu sze* or *Ling-yin sze*, situated on the western side of the Si Hu.

P. 223. *Bogtak*. According to Prof. Pelliot, the word is found already in the list of Wei words contained in the *Nan Ts'i Shu* (VIth century).

P. 224. "Un grand préfet ou un autre officier qui va au palais du prince, entre et sort à droite du poteau dressé entre les deux battants des portes. Il évite de mettre le pied sur le seuil." *Li Ki*, Chap. I, K'iu li, Partie I, Art. II, 27, p. 17; transl. by Couvreur.

P. 241. *Tartar Lamb*.—Dr. B. LAUFER has made a new study of the question in his paper, *The Story of the Pinna and the Syrian Lamb* (*Journ. of American Folk-Lore*, April–June, 1915), and he has come to the following conclusion (p. 126): "The traditions of the Chinese have enabled us to study the development of the story in its various stages, from the beginning of the Christian era down to the thirteenth century, and to recognize its origin, growth and significance. We have seen that it takes its birth from the pinna, and that the Aristotelian doctrine of the fusion of vegetal and animal characteristics, applied to the life-habits of the pinna, is the very germ, the protoplasm, so to speak, which has called into existence the West-Asiatic notion of a vegetal lamb. This vegetal lamb therefore was evolved from a marine mollusk, never from a plant, and least of all from the cotton-plant. For this reason Yule was misguided in seeking for 'the plant about which these fables have gathered,' and in regarding it as a certain genus of ferns. Animal figures shaped by the Chinese from the rhizome of a fern greatly stirred the imagination

of scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and were believed to have yielded the basis for the so-called Syrian lamb. It is the uncontested and great merit of H. Lee to have utterly destroyed these scientific fables, which, as usual, are more colossal and more baffling than the fables themselves, whose mystery they try to solve."

P. 245. Prof. PELLIOT suggests that Tozan was Tung-sheng chau. See *Journ. N. C. B. R. As. Soc.*, 1915, p. 28. Elsewhere (*T'oung pao*, Dec. 1914, p. 634) he says that it is pretty sure that Tozan is the Košang of Rabban Cauma, that Košang is an alteration, of Tošang = Tung sheng = Tokto.

P. 247. In *T'oung pao*, July, 1914, pp. 405–418, Dr. B. LAUFER raised the question: *Was Odoric of Pordenone ever in Tibet?* He says: "Tibet has left no profound or lasting impression upon his mind, because he rubbed elbows but superficially with its north-eastern borderland." He comes to the conclusion: "Odoric of Pordenone has never traversed Tibet proper, has never been at Lhasa,—a feat with which he has been unduly credited for so long and to which he himself lays no claim. The honor of being the first Europeans to have reached Lhasa is justly due to the two Jesuit Fathers Grueber and Dorville, who spent two months there in 1661."

P. 248. With regard to bread and wine in Tibet, Dr. LAUFER has, *l.c.*, p. 412: "Such a statement cannot possibly be advanced by any one who has had but the slightest contact with the Tibetan borderlands and the most superficial acquaintance with Tibetan people. First of all, there is nothing like bread in Tibet, where even the preparation of dough is unknown Parched barley-flour mixed with tea or milk into a porridge forms the staple food, and the alcoholic beverage called *č'aṅ*, obtained from fermented barley, is neither wine nor beer, but a liquor *sui generis*. Even granted that Odoric simply committed a mistake in the choice of his words, and merely intended to say that food and drink abound in Tibet, his statement nevertheless remains very strange. The majority of Tibetans eke out a wretched living as poor shepherds or farmers, and earn enough to be kept from starvation; but emphasis on the food-supplies being as abundant as anywhere in the world is thoroughly out of place for a poor country like Tibet."

P. 248. Respecting the tents of black felt, Dr. LAUFER says: "Certainly the Tibetans understand the art of making felt; but the tents inhabited by the pastoral tribes of Tibet, throughout the country, are covered with a black cloth woven from yak-hair. In this respect, and in its quadrangular structure, the Tibetan tent represents a dwelling-type of its own, which is plainly distinguished from the Mongol circular felt tent. It is impossible to assume that in the days of Odoric there may have been Tibetan

nomads living in felt tents, and thus come to the Friar's rescue. ...It is obvious beyond any doubt that Odoric's observation refers, not to Tibetan, but to Mongol tents."

P. 250: Dr. LAUFER writes, *l.c.*, p. 411: "The word *bakshi* is not, as stated by YULE (also *Marco Polo*, I, p. 314), connected with Skr. *bhikshu*. The Tibetans are acquainted with both words, translating the latter by the term *dge-sloṅ*, and writing the former *pag-ši* (Jäschke's spelling *pa-ši* is incorrect) The Tibetan dictionary *Li-šii gur k'aṅ*, fol. 23*a*, explains this word by *btsun-pa* ('respectable, reverend'), and states that it is derived from the language of the Turks (*Hor*). The word seems to be, indeed, of Turkish origin (VAMBERY, *Primitive Cultur*, p. 248, RADLOFF, *Wörterbuch der Türk-dialecte*, IV, col. 1445)."

P. 251. With regard to the word *Abassi*, Dr. LAUFER says; *l.c.*, p. 411: "Odoric plainly states that the word is of the Tibetan language, and it has to be sought, therefore, in Tibetan only. ...The Sa-skya hierarchs, who practically ruled Tibet in the age of the Mongols, bore the Tibetan title *a P'ags-pa* (eminent, excellent) and were spoken of as the *a P'ags-pa b La-ma*. This word, variously articulated *p'ags-pa*, *p'ag-pa*, *p'as-pa*, *p'a'-pa*, is the source of Odoric's *Abassi*." "This term," adds Dr. Laufer, "is ither a common title nor a title at all, but merely a personal name.

P. 251. With regard to the hair, Dr. LAUFER remarks, p. 413, that boar's tusks are generally employed by Tibetan women for making the parting of their hair; if Odoric had really crossed Tibet to Lhasa and beyond, he could not have failed to notice that quite different styles of hair-dressing prevail in other parts of the country.

P. 254. Prof. E. H. PARKER in a notice of this volume in the *Geographical Journal*, August, 1914, says: "As to the Tibetans drinking out of their ancestors' skulls, it may be pointed out that they do it even now; not to refer to other and remoter authorities, it is only necessary to quote the graphic account of Tibetan family life this very year, as given in the *North China Herald* for March 14, where the practice is plainly mentioned." I have not found the passage referred to in the number of the *N. C. Herald* for March 14.

VOLUME III.

P. 48. *Land of the Goths.* In a somewhat acerb anonymous article in *The Athenaeum* of Dec. 25, 1915, a critic, whom I could easily name, remarks that the MS. from which are drawn the *Documents relating to the Mission of the Minor Friars to China in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries, edited by the* Rev. A. C. Moule in the *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1914, reads "per terram Cothay"

I cannot but regret that these documents had not appeared before I had myself printed the letters, the proofs of which I lent to Mr. Moule, because I might have added this note (*J.R.A.S., l.c.*, p. 550) evidently used by the *Athenaeum* reviewer: "Wadding transcribed this word *Gothorum*, and, in the second letter, *Kathan*. It probably stands (as M. Pelliot suggests) for Marco Polo's Toctai, the Chinese T'o-t'o, descended from Chingis' eldest son, Chu-ch'ih, Khan of Kipchak, whose capital was at Saraï, on the Volga, north of the Caspian Sea."

P. 52. *I have been thinking*...The text of the *J.R.A.Soc.*, July 1914, p. 552, reads: "Cogitauj uos non sine causa mirarj quod tot annis in provincia tam longinqua consistens nunquam meas litteras recepistis."

P. 52. *The Lord Kathan Khan.* The text of the *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1914, p. 552, reads: "domini Cothay Canis." See note *supra*, p. 269.

P. 58. The Rev. A. C. Moule, *J.R.A.S.*, July 1914, p. 557, remarks that Quinquagesima fell on 13th February in 1306.

P. 73. "Zayton which is about three weeks' journey distant from Cambaliech." The *J.R.A.S.*, July 1914, p. 566, has: "Zayton que distat a Cambaliech itinere mensium fere trium."

P. 119, note 1. Instead of "See *supra*, p. 214," read "See supra, II, p. 214."

P. 120. Instead of "See p. 265," read "See II, p. 231."

P. 127. In a paper on Karajang inserted in the *Journ. R.A. Soc.*, Oct. 1915, p. 781, Dr. LAUFER believes that YULE was correct in his conception, and that in accordance with his suggestion, *Jang* indeed represents the phonetically exact transcription of a Tibetan proper name. This is the Tibetan *a Jaṅ* or *a Jàns*, pronounced *Jang* or *Djang*. It will be remembered that YULE (*Marco Polo*, II, p. 72) analysed the word into *Karájáng*, in which the first element was the Mongol or Turki *Kárá* (black). *Jang* has not been explained; but probably it may have been a Tibetan term adopted by the Mongols, and the colours may have applied to their clothing. *Jaṅ* is a Tibetan tribal and geographical term. *Jaṅ* or *Jang* is the Tibetan designation of the Mo-so and the territory inhabited by them, the capital of which is Li-kiang fu.

P. 144. My friend, Prof. M. PROU, remarks that *Chiaveria* is not key-money. The *Clavarii* were the collectors of taxes; they had charge of the keys of the municipal safe. Du Cange has: "*Clavaria*, Munus *Clavarii*; Locus ubi *Clavarius* reponebat omnia ad *Clavariam* spectantia; *Clavarius*, Ital. *Chiavaio* et *Chiaivolo*, Cui claves fisci communis commissae sunt; *Clavariae Jus*, Vectigal, quod pro mercibus in regesta inscribendis pensitabatur." E. Levy, *Petit Dict. provençal-français*, p. 179, col. 1, gives: "*Clavaria*, s. f., trésorerie; édifice ou se trouve la

trésorerie; circonscription d'un trésorier, d'un receveur des revenus ecclésiastiques."

P. 144, note 6. The same friend suggests that *Lelda* might be read *leida*; we have in Provençal *leuda, leida, leda, lesda, lesna*. Cf. E. Levy, *Dict. provençal-français*, 1909, p. 224, col. 1, p. 225, col. 2: *leudier, leidier, lesdier*, percepteur de la leude.

P. 182, note. The *Athenaeum* critic remarks that Fu ting is found in chap. 132 of the *Yuen Shi*, Hiang shan in chap. 135, and Gemboga in chap. 123.

P. 186. The An ts'aï (Asii, Asiani) changed their name into A-lan-na (Alans) under the Posterior Han; during the second Wei, they called themselves *The su* [Su to] and Wen-na-sha. Cf. Rémusat, *Nouv. Mél. As.*, 1. p. 239.

P. 187. The massacre of Alans took place at Chen ch'ao, a little north of the Kiang, not at Ch'ang chau (1275). Cf. Pelliot, *T'oung pao*, Dec. 1914, pp. 641–2.

P. 194, note. *Instead of* Ta yi chi lio, *read* Tao yi chi lio.

P. 237. Mangoes. *A'nbâ*, Mango. "C'est un arbre de l'Inde que l'on ne trouve que dans l'Inde et la Chine. Il a une tige épaisse, des branches et des feuilles pareilles à celles du noyer. Le fruit ressemble au *mokl* espagnol. Les Indiens le recueillent quand il est formé et le confisent dans de l'eau, du sel et du vinaigre. Il a un goût pareil à celui de l'olive. On en use à titre de condiment et il excite l'appétit. L'usage prolongé de ce fruit assainit l'odeur des transpirations et détruit la fétidité des émanations intestinales." (*Ibn el-Beïthar*, in *Not. et Ext.*, XXV, 1881, p. 471.)

Volume IV.

P. 20. Kanauj, in Farrukhābād District, United Provinces.

P. 190, note. *Instead of* A-si-you, *read* A-si-yen. Cf. p. 231. Prof. Chavannes has since altered his opinion.

P. 193. Fifth line from foot of page, *suppress* T'ien shan.

P. 222, note. *Read* K'iu *tan instead of* K'iu *lan*.

P. 228, note. *Read* Toan tac, *instead of* To antac.

P. 235. The *Cailac* of Rubruquis is the *Kayálik* of ancient writers, the *Kiyák* of the *Jahán Kushái*. "It was situated, according to the most trustworthy critics, to the south-west of the Imil River, and near the modern Kopál." (N. Elias, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 288.)

P. 239. *Kia-yü Kwan*, or the "Jade Gate." I should have referred to my note in *Marco Polo*, 1, p. 193, in which I said: "According to the Chinese characters, the name of Kia-yü Kwan does not mean 'Jade Gate,' and as Mr. Rockhill writes to me, it can only mean something like 'barrier of the pleasant Valley.'"

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